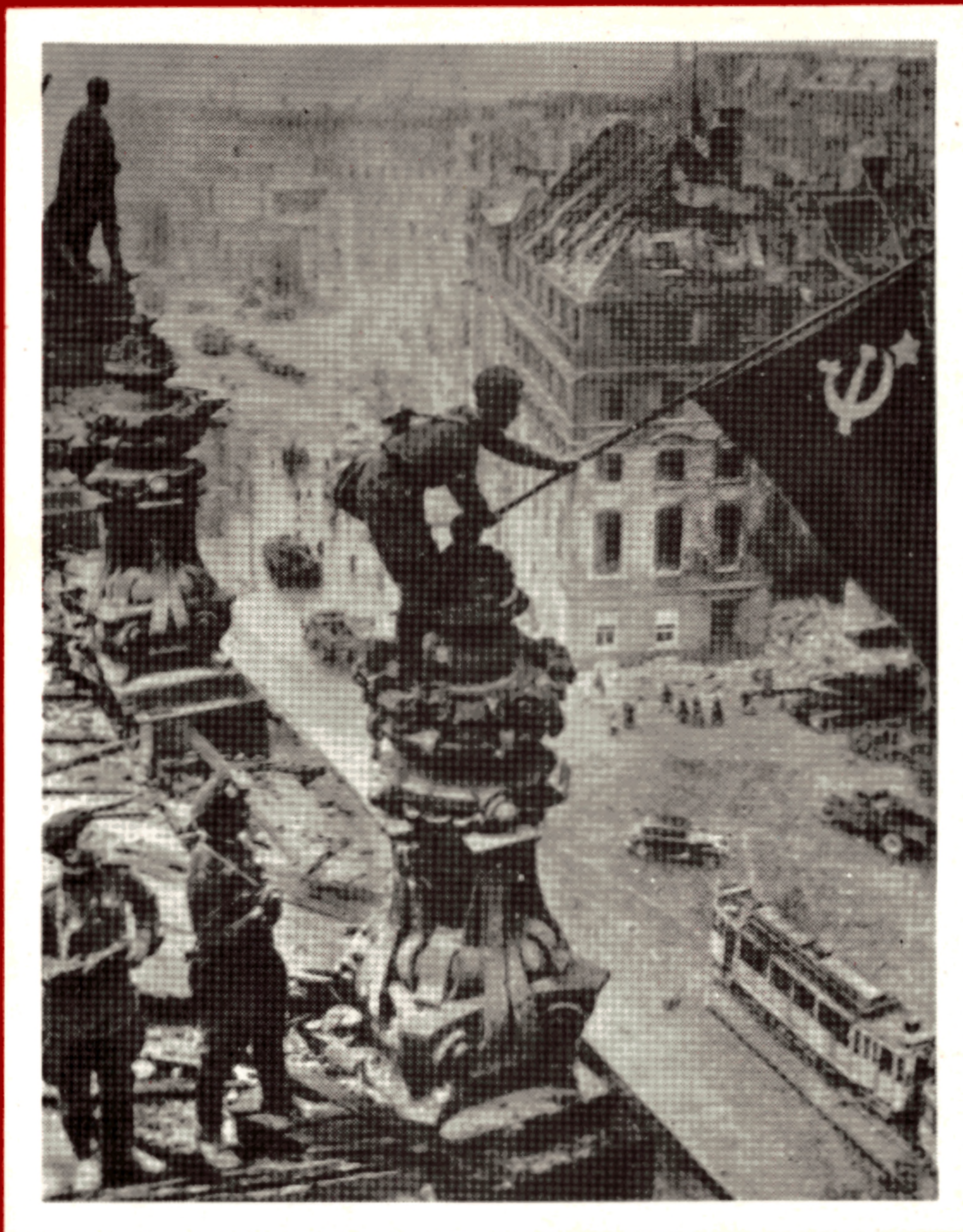


TROTSKYISM OR LENINISM ?



Harpal Brar



Harpal Brar was born in Muktsar, Punjab, India in 1939. Since 1962 he has lived and worked in the United Kingdom. He has been an active participant in the British working class and anti-imperialist movement. Presently he holds the office of Secretary for Fraternal Relations in the IWA(GB), and edits the latter's journal 'Lalkar'. He is a teacher of law at the University of Westminster in London. In 1992 he published his much-acclaimed book, on the reasons

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Trotskyism or Leninism ?

One of the myths perpetrated by Trotskyites, with not inconsiderable help from the imperialist bourgeoisie, is that Leninism and Trotskyism are synonymous; that Trotsky was, after Lenin, the most brilliant and greatest Bolshevik (some even implying that Lenin was a great Trotskyist); that Trotsky was the true inheritor of Leninism and a worthy successor to Lenin, but was, alas, deprived of his rightful place by the cunning manoeuvres of a third class mediocrity and oriental despot to boot, i.e., Joseph Stalin. This anti-Communist myth, repeated *ad nauseam* decade after decade in truly Goebbelsian fashion, has acquired the force of a public prejudice. Anyone with the least knowledge of the subject cannot but be aware of the total falsity of this myth. It is the aim of this book to expose this myth and lay bare the truly reactionary, counter-revolutionary, essence of the petty-bourgeois ideology of Trotskyism, which is as irreconcilably hostile to Marxism-Leninism as is the bourgeoisie to the proletariat—notwithstanding its pseudo-Marxist, ultra-'left' and ultra-'revolutionary' terminology.

Trotskyism met with dismal failure both during Lenin's time and after his death, and it failed "because", to use Stalin's words, "the leading group of the opposition proved to be a group of petty-bourgeois intellectuals divorced from life, divorced from the revolution, divorced from the Party, from the working class." (Stalin, C.W., Vol. 10, P. 345)

This, and not any personal factor, explains the total rout of the Trotskyite opposition by the Bolshevik Party.

Cover Illustration—A Red Army soldier planting the Soviet flag on the Reichstag in May 1945 after the rout of Nazi Germany

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Dedicated to

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

**The leader of the Bolshevik Party,
the inspirer of the Great Socialist October Revolution
and a resolute and uncompromising fighter
against all distortion and falsification of Marxism.**

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PREFACE

One of the myths perpetrated by Trotskyites, with not inconsiderable help from the imperialist bourgeoisie, is that Leninism and Trotskyism are synonymous; that Trotsky was, after Lenin, the most brilliant and greatest Bolshevik (some even implying that Lenin was a great Trotskyist); that Trotsky was the true inheritor of Leninism and a worthy successor to Lenin, but was, alas, deprived of his rightful place by the cunning manoeuvres of a third-class mediocrity and oriental despot to boot, i.e., Joseph Stalin. This anti-communist myth, repeated *ad nauseam* decade after decade in truly Goebbels fashion, not only in Trotskyite publications but also in classrooms by petty-bourgeois professors and teachers of history and sociology, not to mention the imperialist press and electronic media, this myth has acquired the force of a public prejudice. This prejudice is the product of deliberate distortion and falsification by Trotskyism and its bourgeois allies, of Marxism-Leninism, of deliberate inventions, deceptions, innuendoes, omissions and their tendentious interpretations of the history of the Great October Revolution and the revolutionary practice and role of the USSR, on the one hand, and the ignorance of those on whom these deceptions, distortions and downright falsifications are practised, on the other hand. Anyone who has made some study, let alone a deep study, of the subject cannot but be aware of the total falsity of this myth. It is the aim of this book to expose this myth and lay bare the truly reactionary, counter-revolutionary, essence of the petty-bourgeois ideology of Trotskyism, which is as irreconcilably hostile to Marxism-Leninism as is the bourgeoisie to the proletariat - notwithstanding its pseudo-Marxist, ultra-'left' and ultra-'revolutionary' terminology.

The task I set myself in this book is to show that Leninism and Trotskyism are mutually exclusive; that Trotskyism is irreconcilably opposed to Leninism; that those claiming to be Marxist-Leninists are duty bound, in the interests of the proletariat, to wage a ruthless and uncompromising struggle against Trotskyism; that they have to bury Trotskyism as an ideological trend in the working-class movement. Further, I seek to demonstrate that after the death of Lenin in January 1924, as Leninism was upheld by the Bolshevik Party, now under the leadership of Stalin, Trotskyism continued its ceaseless onslaught on Leninism, with some tactical adjustments to the

form of its attack. It now attacked Leninism and the Party's Leninist policy under the guise of attacking 'Stalinism' in the name of Leninism. For all that, Trotskyism continued its counter-revolutionary struggle against revolutionary Leninism, albeit without overtly and specifically naming Lenin as its target. Be it said to the honour of the Bolshevik Party and to its leader, Stalin, Trotskyism was dealt blows equally as shattering as those delivered against it during Lenin's lifetime, causing it to suffer ignominious defeat. In particular I seek to emphasise *three* specific features of Trotskyism - features which bring it into irreconcilable contradiction with Leninism.

Three specific features of Trotskyism

1. 'Permanent revolution'

Trotskyism stands for the theory of 'permanent' revolution, failing to take into account the vast mass of the poor peasantry as a revolutionary force and reliable ally of the proletariat. As Lenin rightly pointed out, Trotsky's 'permanent' revolution is tantamount to 'skipping' the peasant movement and "*playing at the seizure of power.*" Any attempt at such a revolution as was advocated by Trotsky would have ended in certain failure, for it would have denied the Russian proletariat the support of its most dependable ally, the poor peasantry. Only this explains Leninism's unrelenting struggle against Trotskyism from 1905 onwards.

For its part Trotskyism regarded Leninism as a theory possessing "*anti-revolutionary features*" for no better reason that at the proper time Leninism correctly advocated and upheld the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Going far beyond this indignant opinion, Trotskyism asserts:

"The entire edifice of Leninism at the present time is built on lies and falsification and bears within itself the poisonous elements of its own decay." (Trotsky's letter to Chkeidze, 1913).

Leninism, on the other hand, asserts:

"Trotsky has never yet held a firm opinion on any important question of Marxism. He always contrives to worm his way into the cracks of any given difference of opinion, and desert one side for the other. At the present moment he is in the company of the Bundists and the liquidators. And these gentlemen do not stand on ceremony where the Party is concerned" (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol 20 p. 448, 1914).

2. Distrust of Leninism in matters of organisation

Trotskyism stands for the distrust of Leninism, of Bolshevism, in matters of organisation. Whereas Bolshevism stands for the principle of a revolutionary proletarian party of a new type, a disciplined and monolithic Party, hostile to opportunist elements, Trotskyism stands for the co-existence of revolutionaries and opportunists and for the formation of groups, factions and coteries within a single Party. Anyone who is at all aware of the history of Trotsky's notorious August Bloc, in which the Martovites and Otzovists (NOTE 1), the Liquidators (NOTE 2) and Trotskyites happily co-operated in their struggle against Bolshevism, cannot have failed to notice this liquidationist feature of Trotskyism. Thus, during this crucial historical period, whereas Leninism regarded the destruction of the August Bloc as a precondition for the development of the proletarian party, Trotskyism regarded the liquidationist August Bloc as the basis for building a 'real' party.

Throughout this entire period - from 1903 to 1917 - Lenin again and again denounced Trotsky for his "careerism", "Menshevism", "conciliationism" and "liquidationism." Here are a few samples chosen at random from scores of Lenin's writings in the same vein:

In a letter to Zinoviev dated 24 August 1909, Lenin writes: " ... Trotsky behaves like a despicable careerist and factionalist of the Ryazanov-and-co type. Either equality on the editorial board, subordination to the central committee and no one's transfer to Paris except Trotsky's (the scoundrel, he wants to 'fix up' the whole rascally crew of 'Pravda' at our expense!) - or a break with this swindler and an exposure of him in the CO. He pays lip-service to the Party and behaves worse than any other of the factionalists." (Collected Works, Vol 34, p. 400).

When Lenin was waging a life and death struggle to purge the Party of liquidators and otzovists, Trotsky, assuming the role of a conciliator, tried his worst to reconcile the Party with these two bourgeois trends. This caused Lenin to denounce Trotsky in these terms:

"In the very first words of his resolution Trotsky expressed the full spirit of the worst kind of conciliation, 'conciliation' in inverted commas, of a sectarian and philistine conciliation, which deals with 'given persons' and not the given line of policy, the given spirit, the given ideological and political content of Party work.

"It is in this that the enormous difference lies between real partyism, which consists in purging the Party of liquidationism and otzovism, and the 'concilia-

tion' of Trotsky and Co., which actually **RENDERS THE MOST FAITHFUL SERVICE TO THE LIQUIDATORS AND OTZOVISTS, AND IS THEREFORE AN EVIL THAT IS ALL THE MORE DANGEROUS TO THE PARTY THE MORE CUNNINGLY, ARTFULLY AND RHETORICALLY IT CLOAKS ITSELF WITH PROFESSEDLY PRO-PARTY, PROFESSEDLY ANTI-FACTIONAL DECLAMATIONS**". (*Notes of a Publicist, Collected Works*, Vol 16, June 1910, p 211 - emphasis added).

In November 1910, accusing Trotsky of following "in the wake of the Mensheviks, taking cover behind particularly sonorous phrases," of "putting before the German comrades liberal views with a Marxist coating," of being a master of "resonant but empty phrases," of failing to understand and ignoring the "economic content of the Russian revolution," and thereby depriving himself "of the possibility of understanding the historical meaning of the inner-Party struggle in Russia," Lenin goes on to state:

"The struggle between Bolshevism and Menshevism is ... a struggle over the question whether to support the liberals or to overthrow the hegemony of the liberals over the peasantry. Therefore to attribute [as did Trotsky] our splits to the influence of the intelligentsia, to the immaturity of the proletariat, etc., is a childish naïve repetition of liberal fairy-tales."

Adding: "Trotsky distorts Bolshevism, because he has never been able to form any definite views on the role of the proletariat in the Russian bourgeois revolution".

Countering Trotsky's lies and falsifications in the German Social-Democratic press and accusing Trotsky of following a policy of "advertisement," of "shamelessness in belittling the Party and exalting himself before the Germans," Lenin concludes:

"Therefore, when Trotsky tells the German comrades that he represents the 'general Party tendency', I am obliged to declare that Trotsky represents only his own faction and enjoys a certain amount of confidence exclusively among the otzovists and the liquidators." (*The Historical Meaning of the Inner-Party Struggle in Russia, Collected Works*, Vol 16 pp. 374-392).

When Trotsky's Vienna Club, stepping up its activities, passed a resolution in November 1910 to organise a "general Party fund for the purpose of preparing and convening a conference of the RSDLP", Lenin characterised this as a "direct step towards a split ... a clear violation of Party legality and the start of an adventure in which Trotsky will come to grief."

Continues Lenin:

"It is an adventure in the ideological sense. Trotsky groups all the enemies of Marxism, he unites Potresov and Maximov, who detest the 'Lenin-Plekhanov' bloc, as they like to call it. TROTSKY UNITES ALL THOSE TO WHOM IDEOLOGICAL DECAY IS DEAR, ALL WHO ARE NOT CONCERNED WITH THE DEFENCE OF MARXISM, all philistines who do not understand the reasons for the struggle and who do not wish to learn, think and discover the ideological roots of the divergence of views. At this time of confusion, disintegration, and wavering it is easy for Trotsky to become the 'hero of the hour' and gather all the shabby elements around himself. The more openly this attempt is made, the more spectacular will be the defeat." (Emphasis added).

Lenin ends this letter by calling, *inter alia*, for "struggle against the splitting tactics and the unprincipled adventurism of Trotsky." (Letter to the Russian Collegium of the Central Committee of the RSDLP, Collected Works, Vol 17, pp.17-22 - December 1910).

In December 1911, being sick and tired of Trotsky's dirty work as an attorney and diplomat for the liquidators and otzovists, Lenin, exposing Trotsky's factionalism, wrote:

"It is impossible to argue with Trotsky on the merits of the issue, because Trotsky holds no views whatever. We can and should argue with confirmed liquidators and otzovists; but it is no use arguing with a man whose game is to hide the errors of both these trends; in his case the thing to do is to expose him as a diplomat of the smallest calibre." (Trotsky's Diplomacy and a Certain Party Platform, Collected Works, Vol 17 pp. 360- 362).

In July 1912, in a letter to the editor of *Pravda*, the daily legal Bolshevik paper printed in Petersburg from 5 May 1912, Lenin advises the editor not to reply to Trotsky's "disruptive and slanderous letters," adding:

"Trotsky's dirty campaign against Pravda is one mass of lies and slander ... This intriguer and liquidator goes on lying right and left." (Collected Works, Vol 35, pp.40-41).

In *The Break-up of the 'August' Bloc* (March 1914), Lenin writes:

"Trotsky, however, has never had any 'physiognomy' at all; the only thing he does have is a habit of changing sides, of skipping from the liberals to the Marxists and back again, of mouthing scraps of catchwords and bombastic parrot phrases."

And: "Actually under the cover of high-sounding, empty and obscure phrases that confuse the non-class-conscious workers, Trotsky is defending the liquidators by passing over in silence the question of the 'underground', by asserting that there is no liberal labour policy in Russia, and the like.

"... Unity means rallying the majority of the workers in Russia about decisions which have long been known, and which condemn liquidationism ...

"But the liquidators and Trotsky, ... who tore up their own August bloc, who flouted all the decisions of the Party and dissociated themselves from the 'underground' as well as from the organised workers, are the worst splitters. Fortunately, the workers have already realised this, and all class-conscious workers are creating their own real unity against the liquidator disrupters of unity." (Collected Works, Vol 20 pp. 158-161).

In his article *Disruption of unity under cover of outcries for unity*, written in June 1914, Lenin denounces Trotsky for his factionalism and liquidationism and exposes the utter falsity of the charge of splittism hurled by Trotsky and the liquidators at the Bolsheviks. Writing in his allegedly non-factional journal, *Borba*, Trotsky, having accused the Bolsheviks of splittism for the sole reason that they exposed and opposed liquidationism, goes on to admit that the Bolshevik "splittist tactics are winning one suicidal victory after another." This said, Trotsky adds:

"Numerous advanced workers, in a state of utter political bewilderment, themselves often become active agents of a split."

Here is Lenin's retort to this accusation and 'explanation':

"Needless to say, this explanation is highly flattering to Trotsky ... and to the liquidators. Trotsky is very fond of using with the learned air of the expert, pompous and high-sounding phrases to explain historical phenomena in a way that is flattering to Trotsky. Since 'numerous advanced workers' become 'active agents' of a political and Party line [Bolshevik Party line] which does not conform to Trotsky's line, Trotsky settles the question unhesitatingly, out of hand: these advanced workers are 'in a state of utter political bewilderment', whereas he, Trotsky, is evidently 'in a state' of political firmness and clarity, and keeps to the right line! ... And this very same Trotsky, beating his breast, fulminates against factionalism, parochialism, and the efforts of the intellectuals to impose their will on the workers!

"Reading things like these, one cannot help asking oneself: is it from a lunatic asylum that such voices come?" (Collected Works, Vol 20 pp. 327-347).

Continues Lenin: *"The reason why Trotsky avoids facts and concrete references is because they relentlessly refute all his angry outcries and pompous phrases. It is very easy, of course, to strike an attitude and say: 'a crude and sectarian travesty'. Or to add a still more stinging and pompous catchphrase, such as 'emancipation from conservative factionalism'.*

"But is this not very cheap? Is not this weapon borrowed from the arsenal of the period when Trotsky posed in all his splendour before audiences of high-school boys?" (ibid.)

Lenin concludes his article with a brilliant description of Trotsky's wavering and vacillation between the Party and the liquidators, calling him a *"Tushino turncoat"* appearing before the Party *"with incredibly pretentious claims, unwilling absolutely to reckon with either the Party decisions, which since 1908 have defined and established our attitude towards liquidationism, or with the experience of the present-day movement in Russia, which has actually brought about the unity of the majority on the basis of full recognition of the aforesaid decisions."* (ibid.)

This brilliant description appears in the main body of this work and is, therefore, excluded from the preface.

About the same time - early 1914 - Trotsky, writing in issue no. 2 of his journal *Borba*, falsely attributed to the *"Polish Marxists"* - not just Rosa Luxemburg - the position according to which the right to national self-determination *"is entirely devoid of political content and should be deleted from the programme."* This falsehood drew from Lenin the following observation:

"The obliging Trotsky is more dangerous than an enemy! Trotsky could produce no proof except 'private conversations' (i.e., simply gossip, on which Trotsky always subsists), classifying the 'Polish Marxists' in general as supporters of every article by Rosa Luxemburg ...

"Trotsky has never yet held a firm opinion on any important question of Marxism. He always contrives to worm his way into the cracks of any given difference of opinion, and desert one side for the other. At the present moment he is in the company of the Bundists and the liquidators. And thee gentlemen do not stand on ceremony where the Party is concerned." (The Right of Nations to Self-Determination, Collected Works, Vol 20 p.347).

In his letter to Henriette Roland-Holst, dated 8 March 1916, Lenin asks:

"What are our differences with Trotsky?"

To this question he gives the following answer:

"In brief - he is a Kautskyite, that is, he stands for unity with the Kautskyites in the International and with Chkheidze's parliamentary group in Russia. We are absolutely against such unity ... " (Collected Works, Vol 43, pp. 515-516).

Writing to Alexandra Kollontai on 17 February, 1917, Lenin says:

"... What a swine this Trotsky is - Left phrases, and a bloc with the Right against the Zimmerwald Left!! He ought to be exposed (by you) if only in a brief letter to Sotsial-Demokrat!" (Collected Works Vol 35 p. 285).

Finally, in this letter of 19 Feb, 1917, to Inessa Armand, Lenin writes, *inter alia*:

"There is also a letter from Kollontai, who ... has returned to Norway from America. N. Iv. and Pavlov ... had won Novy Mir, she says, ... but ... Trotsky arrived, and this scoundrel at once ganged up with the Right wing of Novy Mir against the Left Zimmerwaldists!! That's it!! That's Trotsky for you!! Always true to himself: twists, swindles, poses as a Left, helps the Right, so long as he can ... " (Collected Works Vol 35 p. 288).

In the light of the foregoing historic evidence, of the most impeccable and irrefutable kind, it can safely be asserted that Trotsky was during this long period - between 1903 and 1917 - a Menshevik and a liquidator who waged a most dirty and factional campaign against the Bolsheviks' attempts to build a revolutionary Party of the proletariat.

Although people with knowledge about the history of the Bolshevik Party know only too well that From 1903 to August 1917 Trotsky was a Menshevik and a liquidator, Trotskyites generally maintain a studied silence over this question or, worse still, they try and excuse him on this account. It is, therefore, very refreshing to discover some ardent Trotskyites who condemn Trotsky's Menshevism, centrism, conciliationism and factionalism. In this category fall the Trotskyites of the International Communist League (ICL) of the so-called Fourth International (the official Fourth International, of course, since each of the milliard Trotskyist organisations claims to be the official Fourth International and describes every other Trotskyist organisation as a fake - a hilarious phenomenon reminiscent of the *Life of Brian*). The ICL publish the theoretical journal *Spartacist*. The occasion for their frank admission and condemnation of Trotsky's Menshevism was the review, in *Spartacist* numbers 45 and 46, Winter 1990-91, English edition, by a certain ICL member, Daniel Dauget, of a biography of Leon Trotsky published in 1988 by Pierre Broué. Pierre Broué was a Professor at the Institute of Political Studies of Grenoble University who had been for 40 years

a member of "the ostensibly Trotskyist Lambertist tendency in France" (ICL's description in the said review), i.e., of the Parti Communiste Internationale (PCI).

Broué praises Trotsky for being a "freelancer" - praise which rouses the ICL to indignation and downright outrage. So as not to lose the full force of ICL's fluent prose, the full burning anger and shame, and the thrust of their argument, and so as not to be accused of quoting them out of context, we reproduce here almost the entire section of the review that was concerned with Trotsky's factionalism and Menshevism between 1903 and 1917:

"Trotsky as 'Freelancer'"

"Broué's treatment of Trotsky's political activity between the decisive 1903 Bolshevik-Menshevik split and the October Revolution is at the core of his interpretation, because it is here that he deals with the debates within Russian Social Democracy over the nature, form and structure a revolutionary party must have if it is to take state power, as well as with the role of political and programmatic debate in forging such a party. After the 1903 split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Trotsky became 'a sort of freelancer in the party'.

"Broué praises Trotsky for this, seeing in it the cause for Trotsky's leading role in the 1905 Revolution as chairman of the St Petersburg Soviet and his brilliant propagandist use of his trial following the 1905 defeat:

"In fact, effectively freed from any factional obligations, at a good distance from the ups and downs of the conflicts between the two main factions, satisfied in this respect with his 'unitary' position whose victory seemed to him assured in the future, Trotsky had his hands completely free to devote his attention and activity to the events that were unfolding in Russia ... ' - Broué, p. 97'.

"To read this, one would conclude that Lenin's factional struggle against Menshevism was irrelevant - if not outright counterposed - to intervening in and leading the revolutionary struggle. Indeed, Broué views Trotsky's role as the leading 'conciliator' between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks as exemplary.

"Earlier, as Broué notes, 'Trotsky, partisan of centralization and of the authority of the Central Committee ever since he had been deported to Siberia, was seen in the emigre circles as Lenin's 'hatchet man'.' At the 1903 Congress Trotsky began a programmatic struggle against Lenin on the question of the party. For example, Trotsky opposed the sovereignty of the party congress: 'The Congress is a register, a controller, but not a creator' (Report of the Siberian Delegation, 1903). Although the

programmatic implications were far from clear at the time, the 1903 split was a fundamental split on the party question. Trotsky's federalist position on this question was also reflected in 'Report of the Siberian Delegation' with his rejection of the Bolshevik definition of a party member that required 'personal participation in one of the Party bodies.' In practical terms Trotsky was in favor of the Menshevik definition of a party member as one who gave 'personal assistance' to the party - he wished to allow all the broad 'workers organizations,' which existed alongside the party committees in many major Russian cities, to act in the name of the party regardless of their adherence to the statutes or decisions of party congresses.

"At the same time that Broué enthuses over Trotsky's independence, he mentions in passing that Trotsky was wrong on the party question during this entire period. But what he says pales in comparison with Trotsky's own judgment:

"The deep differences that divided me from Bolshevism for a whole number of years and in many cases placed me in sharp and hostile opposition to Bolshevism, were expressed most graphically in relation to the Menshevik faction. I began with the radically wrong perspective that the course of the revolution and the pressure of the proletarian masses would ultimately force both factions to follow the same road. Therefore I considered a split to be an unnecessary disruption of the revolutionary forces. But because the active role in the split lay with the Bolsheviks - since it was only by ruthless demarcation, not only ideological but organizational as well, that it was possible, in Lenin's opinion, to assure the revolutionary character of the proletarian party (and the entire subsequent history has fully confirmed the correctness of those policies) - my 'conciliationism' led me at many sharp turns in the road into hostile clashes with Bolshevism." - Trotsky, 'Our Differences' (Nov. 1924).

"The traditional 'center' and right wing of the Social Democracy were only too happy to use Trotsky's name and journalistic brilliance as a left cover for their own positions and as a weapon against Lenin. Thus Broué reports that 'Trotsky was on good terms with Kautsky and the 'center' of the German Social Democracy until at least 1912 ... It was Kautsky during this period who, to Lenin's great anger, opened the pages of 'Die Neue Zeit' and 'Vorwärts' to Trotsky.' Broué also details Trotsky's warm relations with the Austro-Marxists of Vienna, noting that he rapidly became 'the uncontested head of the Social Democratic colony in Vienna' from 1909 to 1912. He passes rapidly over the fact that during the same period Rosa Luxemburg viewed Trotsky with 'systematic suspicion' and as a 'dubious individual', no doubt due to his ties to her right-wing opponents in the German Social Democracy.

"Broué's attitude toward Trotsky during these years is exemplified by his treatment of the infamous August bloc. The Vienna 'Pravda' edited by Trotsky attempted to 'conciliate' the Bolshevik and Menshevik factions - Broué approvingly quotes the professional anti-communist Leonard Schapiro's praise of the Vienna 'Pravda' for not being as polemical as the Bolshevik press. A 1910 agreement between the factions provided for Bolshevik financial support to the Vienna 'Pravda', with Kamenev (who was close to Lenin and was Trotsky's brother-in-law) responsible for administering the Bolshevik funds. The agreement stipulated that the Mensheviks would get rid of their right wing, and the Bolsheviks of their left wing. While the Bolsheviks respected the agreement, the Mensheviks did not, and in the subsequent polemics, Trotsky sided with the Mensheviks and got rid of Kamenev. Trotsky's articles, aimed at militants inside Russia who were unfamiliar with the details of the dispute, denounced the Bolsheviks as a 'conspiracy of the emigré clique.' Kautsky solicited and published several articles by Trotsky attacking the Bolsheviks, which provoked angry rejoinders not just from Lenin, but also from Plekhanov and Rosa Luxemburg. When the Bolshevik Prague Congress in 1912 proclaimed that it represented the party as a whole, Trotsky organised a 'unity' counter-conference in Vienna in August.

"In Trotsky's mind [the conference] was to have been the general unification, the reunification of the party. In fact, the Bolsheviks' rejection of it reduced the participants to a bloc against them, which they baptized the 'August bloc'. The Polish Social Democrats and Plekhanov also chose not to appear ... In fact, Trotsky's return to the factional arena proved particularly unfortunate. Independent of his intentions, and even of his precautions, the positions he took after the Prague conference and his role in forming the August bloc made him appear, despite himself, as the soul of a general coalition against the Bolsheviks and an indirect supporter of the 'liquidators'." - Broué, pp.139-140.

"Every qualifier in Broué's description of Trotsky's role in the August bloc is wrong or misleading. As is clear from Trotsky's denunciation of the Bolsheviks as an 'emigré clique', he was well aware that what Broué so delicately terms 'general unification' was a polemical cudgel with which to attack Lenin. Trotsky did not just 'appear' to be the soul of the anti-Bolshevik coalition, he was in fact that soul in that he was the most left-wing, most respected force outside the Bolsheviks. Trotsky's actions were not misconstrued 'despite himself,' but were an accurate reflection of the role he played vis-à-vis the Bolsheviks in the entire period from 1903 to at least 1915."

"The outbreak of WW1 and the betrayal by the parties of the Second Inter-

national, most of whose leaders supported their 'own' governments in the bloody interimperialist war, shifted the grounds of dispute within the world socialist movement, forcing realignments and regroupments. Lenin and Trotsky both fought against the imperialist war, and both attended the gathering of antiwar socialists held in Zimmerwald, Switzerland in September 1915". (pp. 33-34).

Be it noted in passing that the last sentence is either born out of dishonesty or simple ignorance - most likely the former - for everyone with the least knowledge about this matter knows that the Bolshevik slogan of working for the defeat of one's own government in the imperialist war then raging was countered by Trotsky with his chauvinist slogan demanding 'Neither victory nor defeat'. Further, we have provided quotations above from Lenin to the effect that during this period Trotsky was a Kautskyite and fought against the Zimmerwald left headed by Lenin's Bolsheviks. But that does not concern us here. ICL continue:

"Broué argues that after Zimmerwald, despite 'real disagreements' between Lenin and Trotsky, there was 'a reasonable prospect for a gradual rapprochement between the two men who in reality were divided only [sic] by the 1903 split, which had long since been outdated.' What Broué slides over is the fact that Lenin never repudiated the 1903 split - instead he generalized from it to a fully-formed theoretical position on the necessity for revolutionary cadres to organize a vanguard party, separate from reformist and centrist tendencies. Trotsky was ultimately won to Lenin's side on this question in 1917.

"There is something anachronistic and evocative of the worst aspects of French political traditions in Broué's repeated presentation of Trotsky as a simple 'star', 'freelancer', too busy being 'a leader of men' and giving brilliant speeches before and after the Revolution to have been a 'party man' or to have had the time to 'familiarize himself with [the] faction fights in the corridors'. Trotsky was a factionalist before 1917 - on the wrong side. But his program of conciliationism could never have built the sort of hard faction that could win leadership in the party, nor the kind of party that could take state power." (p.34).

Well said, Messrs the Trotskyites of the ICL! We think any comment on this would be superfluous!

All this does not, however, prevent the Trotskyites of the ICL from asserting, without as much as a blush, that Trotsky, after the death of Lenin, was best placed "to carry forward the authentic Bolshevik programme against

Stalin's usurpers." Very strange logic indeed, according to which Trotsky, the Menshevik liquidator, who spent two decades in a mortal struggle against every aspect of Leninism, was better suited to carrying out the 'authentic' Bolshevik programme than someone like Stalin who had spent two and a half decades faithfully supporting and actually carrying out the Bolshevik programme. Here is how ICL put it:

"In his admiration for Trotsky the left-Menshevik, Broué also never considers the potential authority that Trotsky would have gained and retained among stalwart Bolsheviks had he come over the Lenin's side as a hard party man in 1903 - an authority that would have served him well in the subsequent period when he fought to carry forward the authentic Bolshevik programme against Stalin's usurpers." (Ibid. p. 35).

Pigs might fly! The above statement of ICL amounts, if it amounts to anything at all, to a meaningless tautology, namely, had Trotsky been a staunch supporter of Leninism in the period 1903-17, he would have been well placed to carry out the authentic Bolshevik programme after Lenin's death. The problem, however, is that he was not during this long period, nor was he in the subsequent period, a staunch supporter of Leninism. The one who was a staunch Leninist, namely Joseph Stalin, was quite correctly chosen by the Bolshevik Party to lead it in carrying forward the authentic Bolshevik programme against the would-be usurper, to wit, Trotsky.

There is method in ICL's madness. They admit Trotsky's pre-1917 Menshevism in order to present gullible readers with a sanitised version of Trotsky who, it is claimed, suddenly saw the light and after 1917 became a better Bolshevik than anyone else.

"The fact is," write the ICL, "that Broué ... agrees with Trotsky's conciliationism before 1917, and much prefers Trotsky the anti-Leninist to Trotsky the Bolshevik."

Unlike Broué, in a vain attempt to gain credibility for Trotskyism, the ICL would rather make a clean admission of Trotsky's pre-1917 Menshevism and anti-Leninism in order to be able all the more zealously to fasten the label of staunch Leninist on Trotsky's lapel. This trick will not work, however, for apart from the short period during October when he hid his anti-Leninist stock-in-trade in the cupboard, Trotsky continued to practise his anti-Leninism, his anti-Bolshevism, with a zeal worthy of a better cause. It is not only the case that Broué, as is justly claimed by the ICL, *"subtly puts Lenin under the gun"* in order to gain the appreciation of the *"anti-Leninist*

Soviet intelligentsia" (these words were written in the winter of 1990-91), but also the fact that the Trotskyites of the ICL, in common with all other Trotskyites, are attempting to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism, albeit by denouncing pre-1917 Trotskyism. No subterfuges, no tricks, no artful dodging, no deception, can detract from this fact - not even the pretence of praising Leninism.

3. Distrust of Bolshevik leadership

Trotsky stands for the distrust of the leaders of Bolshevism, for discrediting and defaming them. As Stalin correctly observed:

"I do not know of a single trend in the party that could compare with Trotskyism in the matter of discrediting the leaders of Leninism or the central institutions of the Party." (Collected Works Vol 6, p. 366).

In Trotsky's letter to Chkheidze, already cited, Trotsky described Lenin as *"a professional exploiter of every kind of backwardness in the Russian working-class movement."*

If Trotsky could express such ill-mannered views about Leninism, is there anything surprising in the fact that he showered, after Lenin's death, even more vile abuse on Lenin's most faithful pupil, Stalin.

How could Trotsky end up in Bolshevik ranks?

How was it that Trotsky, having such an impeccably anti-Bolshevik and anti-Leninist record, found himself in the Bolshevik ranks in the period of the October revolution? Stalin, in a speech on 19 November 1924, asked and answered this question:

"How could it happen that Trotsky, who carried such a nasty stock-in-trade on his back, found himself, after all, in the ranks of the Bolsheviks during the October movement? It happened because at that time Trotsky abandoned (actually did abandon) that stock-in-trade; he hid it in the cupboard. Had he not performed that 'operation', real co-operation with him would have been impossible. The theory of the August bloc, i.e., the theory of unity with the Mensheviks, had already been shattered and thrown overboard by the revolution, for how could there be any talk about unity when an armed struggle was raging between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks? Trotsky had no alternative but to admit that this theory was useless.

"The same misadventure 'happened' to the theory of permanent revolution, for not a single Bolshevik contemplated the immediate seizure of power on the

morrow of the February Revolution, and Trotsky could not help knowing that the Bolsheviks would not allow him, in the words of Lenin, 'to play at the seizure of power'. Trotsky had no alternative but recognise the Bolsheviks' policy of fighting for influence in the Soviets, of fighting to win over the peasantry. As regards the third specific feature of Trotskyism (distrust of the Bolshevik leaders), it had naturally to retire into the background owing to the obvious failure of the first two features.

"Under the circumstances, could Trotsky do anything else but hide his stock-in-trade in the cupboard and follow the Bolsheviks, considering that he had no group of his own of any significance, and that he came to the Bolsheviks as a political individual without an army? Of course, he could not!

"What is the lesson to be learnt from this? Only one: that prolonged collaboration between the Leninists and Trotsky is possible only if the latter completely abandons his old stock-in-trade, only if he completely accepts Leninism. Trotsky writes about the lessons of October, but he forgets ... the one I have just mentioned, which is of prime importance for Trotskyism. Trotskyism ought to learn that lesson of October too." (*Collected Works*, Vol 6 pp. 366-367).

Trotskyism, however, failed to learn this lesson, and its old stock-in-trade, hidden in the cupboard in the period of the October movement, was dragged into daylight once more, especially after the death of Lenin, through Trotskyist literary pronouncements aimed at undermining the Bolshevik Party principle, belittling and discrediting Lenin (albeit under the guise of praising and exalting Lenin) and asserting the correctness of the much-discredited theory of permanent revolution, which was shattered by the experience of the three Russian revolutions - i.e., that of 1905 and those of February and October 1917.

On arriving in Petrograd in 1917, Trotsky affiliated to the Mezhrayontsi (inter-regional), a group that vacillated between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. In August 1917, declaring that they had no differences with the Bolsheviks, the Mezhrayontsi joined the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks). Trotsky joined the Bolsheviks with them. On joining the Bolshevik Party, quite a number of Mezhrayontsi broke with opportunism; but, as subsequent events were to reveal, for Trotsky and some of his followers, joining the Bolsheviks was only a ruse. They continued to propound their harmful and reactionary views, flout discipline and undermine the Party's organisational and ideological unity.

As Trotskyism, far from abandoning its old nasty stock-in-trade, on the contrary dragged it out into the light of day, it was bound, owing to its entire inner content, to become the centre and rallying point not only of the non-proletarian elements in the USSR who were then (in the 1920s and 1930s) striving to disintegrate the proletarian dictatorship, but also of the imperialist bourgeoisie seeking by a thousand means to overthrow the proletarian regime that had been ushered in by the mighty October revolution. At every crucial stage in the development of the Russian revolution and the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR, Trotskyism continued to maintain its reactionary anti-Bolshevik, anti-Leninist stance in matters of theory as well as organisation, cloaking it under thick layers of 'revolutionary' rhetoric.

Brest-Litovsk

In 1918 the young Soviet Republic, bereft of any army with the will and ability to fight, was fighting for its very survival through signing the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty with German imperialism, thus gaining a much-needed respite for the exhausted population. At a crucial moment in these negotiations, Trotsky, as the head of the Soviet delegation to the peace talks, in violation of the instructions of the Party central committee and the Soviet government, declared the unilateral withdrawal of the Soviet Republic from the war, demobilisation of the Russian Army, and he then left Brest-Litovsk on the spurious ground that *"we can only be saved, in the true meaning of the word, by a European Revolution"* (*Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the RCP(B)*).

This gave the German Command the pretext it needed for ending the armistice, mounting an offensive and obliging the Soviet government to sign *"a much more humiliating peace, and the blame for this rests on those who refused to accept the former peace."* (Lenin, *Political Report of the CC to the Extraordinary Seventh Congress of the RCP(B)*, 7 March 1918, *Collected Works*, Vol 27).

Apropos the failure of the European revolution to come to maturity thus leaving the Bolshevik Revolution to solve its problems on its own, and forcing the Bolsheviks to face reality as it was rather than as they would wish it to be, Lenin admonished Trotsky and his ilk in the Party in the following terms:

"If you are unable to adapt yourself, if you are not inclined to crawl on your

belly in the mud, you are not a revolutionary but a chatterbox; and I propose this, not because I like it, but because we have no other road, because history has not been kind enough to bring the revolution to maturity everywhere simultaneously." (Ibid.)

Thus the young Soviet Republic paid a very heavy price for Trotsky's adventurism and phrasemongering defeatism, which is the chief characteristic of his rotten theory of permanent revolution, according to which nothing good can ever come of any revolution unless it is accompanied by a world revolution.

Trade union debate

With the victorious conclusion of the Civil War of 1918-1920, as the Soviet Republic under Lenin's guidance, switched from war communism to the New Economic Policy (NEP) and embarked on a programme of economic revival and rejuvenation - of restoration of industry through an upsurge in agriculture and by drawing the workers and trade unions into active socialist construction through planned organisation and persuasion (and not coercion), Trotsky and his supporters forced on the Party a discussion on the question of trade unions (a luxury and a diversion from the work of economic construction, from the fight against famine and economic dislocation that the Party could ill afford at the time). Trotsky, the patriarch of bureaucrats, as Stalin rightly called him, insisted on *"tightening up the screws"* and *"shaking up"* the trade unions, and turning the latter into state agencies, and on replacing persuasion by coercion.

The Party discussion on the trade unions resulted in the total rout of Trotsky and his supporters. When the Central Committee of the Party rejected Trotsky's Prussian sergeant's proposal, Trotsky went outside and gathered a group of his supporters with the aim of fighting against the Central Committee. So alarmed was Lenin by Trotsky's factionalism and flouting of Party discipline that he caused the 10th Party Congress (March 1921) to pass a resolution forbidding the formation of factions and disbanding existing factions forthwith. It was further stated that the *"non-fulfilment of this decision of the Congress shall be followed by unconditional and immediate expulsion from the Party."*

Trotsky's return to fully-fledged factionalism

This resolution was to arouse Trotsky's bitter hatred and opposition, for

whenever he could not get his own way on any question, he rushed to form a Trotskyist faction within the Party, even if that meant threatening a split.

During 1921 Lenin's health began to decline. Cerebral arteriosclerosis was already blocking his blood circulation and taking its toll, with the result that this man of inexhaustible energy and drive was tiring easily, and spent most of the summer resting in the village of Gorki, not far from Moscow. The 11th Party Congress, meeting at the end of March 1922, created the new office of General Secretary, to which, one day after the conclusion of that Congress (i.e., on 3 April 1922), on Lenin's initiation and sponsorship, Stalin was appointed. On 26 May 1922, while resting in Gorki, Lenin suffered a severe stroke, which caused a partial paralysis of the right side of his body and loss of speech. He recovered from this stroke remarkably quickly and was back at his desk in early October 1922. After two further minor strokes on December 13 and 16, 1922, he suffered on March 10, 1923, a massive stroke, from which he never recovered and after which he took no further part in politics.

Following the latest stroke suffered by Lenin, Trotsky, with an eye on the leadership, stepped up his factional activity and intensified his vile and slanderous attacks on the Party leadership, its central institutions and its policy. On 8 October 1923 he sent a letter to the Central Committee, in which he asserted that the country was being inexorably led by the Party leadership to a catastrophe, to prevent which he demanded greater inner-Party democracy. Stripped of its Trotskyite verbiage, this meant the right to form factional groupings. A group of 46 followers of Trotsky also issued a manifesto - known as the Statement of 46 - to the same effect. Trotsky's letter and the Statement of 46 were discussed and condemned at a joint plenary meeting of the CC and the CCC with representatives of ten of the largest Party organisations in October 1923.

Trotsky followed his letter with a pamphlet entitled *New Course*, in which in addition to the demand for more Party democracy, he accused the old Bolsheviks - the Party leadership - of degeneration. He counterposed young people, especially students, to veteran Bolsheviks, declaring the former to be the barometer of the Party.

In talking about the degeneration of the 'old guard', Trotsky had used the expression "*we, the old Bolsheviks*," which provoked Stalin to make this observation, full of biting sarcasm:

"First, I must dispel a possible misunderstanding. As is evident ..., Trotsky

includes himself among the Bolshevik old guard, thereby showing readiness to take upon himself the charges that may be hurled at the old guard if it does indeed take the path of degeneration. It must be admitted that his readiness for self-sacrifice is undoubtedly a noble trait. But I must protect Trotsky from Trotsky, because, for obvious reasons, he cannot, and should not, bear responsibility for the possible degeneration of the principal cadres of the Bolshevik old guard ... "

With more than a covert reference to Trotsky's long Menshevik past, Stalin, while admitting the possibility of degeneration of the Bolshevik old guard, goes on to add:

"Nevertheless, there are a number of elements within our Party who are capable of giving rise to a real danger of degeneration of certain ranks of our Party. I have in mind that section of the Mensheviks who joined our Party unwillingly, and who have not yet got rid of their opportunist habits." (Collected Works, Vol 5 p. 395).

The Thirteenth Conference of the RCP(B), held on 16-18 January 1924, strongly condemned the factionalism of Trotsky and his followers, stating that *"the present opposition is not only an attempt to revise Bolshevism, not only a flagrant departure from Leninism but patently a petty-bourgeois deviation. There is no doubt whatever that this opposition mirrors the pressure of the petty-bourgeoisie on the position of the proletarian party and its policy."* (Resolution On the Results of the Discussion and on the Petty-bourgeois Deviation in the Party - CPSU in Resolutions, etc. Vol 2).

Lenin's death and Trotsky's attempt to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism

Lenin, after a further stroke on the morning of 21 January, 1924, died in the evening. Trotsky, although a newcomer to the Party, had convinced himself that he had a better claim to succeed Lenin than old, trusted and tried Bolsheviks such as Stalin. So in October 1924 Trotsky published an introduction to his collected works entitled *Lessons of October*, which purported to deal with the reasons for the Bolshevik victory in the October Revolution. Having made general ritual references in it to the necessity of a revolutionary party for the success of a revolution, Trotsky went on to belittle the role of the Bolshevik Party, extol his own part in the revolution, hinting that Lenin had suddenly changed his previous position for that of Trotsky, to which fact alone was to be attributed the success of the October

Revolution. He also dragged out of the cupboard his old and much-discredited theory of 'permanent revolution', arguing that hostile collisions between the proletarian vanguard and the broad masses of the peasantry were inevitable. One gets the impression from reading his *Lessons of October* that it was Trotsky who organised the October victory.

In other words, the man who had fought against Bolshevism and Leninism for 14 long years, who had sided with the Mensheviks and liquidators to oppose the building by Lenin's Bolsheviks of the proletarian revolutionary party capable of leading the proletariat and the broad masses in seizing political power, who had spent his life opposing Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution with his absurd theory of 'permanent revolution', who had opposed the Bolshevik slogan of defeat of one's own government in the imperialist war (the first world war) with his chauvinistic slogan demanding *Neither victory nor defeat*, suddenly and providentially descended on the scene in Petersburg to rescue the revolution from the frightened and useless lot that constituted the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, the majority of whom, according to this fairy tale worthy of the *Arabian Nights*, were opposed to the October uprising!!

Nothing could be further from the truth. Trotsky's special role in October originated with John Reed, the author of *Ten Days that Shook the World*, who, being remote from the Bolshevik Party, had no knowledge of the secret meeting of its central committee on 23 October, 1917, and was therefore taken in by the gossip spread by people such as Sukhanov. These fairy tales about Trotsky's special role in October were later passed round and repeated in several pamphlets written by Trotskyites, including Syrkin's pamphlet on October. After Lenin's death Trotsky strongly supported these rumours in his literary pronouncements.

Since a systematic attempt was being made by Trotskyites to re-write the history of October and bring up Soviet youth on such legends, Stalin, in a speech delivered at the Plenum of the Communist Group of the AUCC-TU (NOTE 3), refuted - by reference to hard facts - these *Arabian Nights* fairy tales in his characteristically devastating manner. Citing the minutes of the meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party on 23 October 1917, he proved that the resolution on the uprising was adopted by a majority of 10 against 2; that the same meeting elected a *political* centre, called the Political Bureau, to direct the uprising, the members of the Centre being Lenin, Zinoviev, Stalin, Kamenev, Trotsky, Sokolnikov and Bubnov. Thus

the Centre included even Zinoviev and Kamenev who were the only two to vote against the resolution on the uprising. This was possible in spite of the political disagreements between them because there was at that time a unity of views between these two (Zinoviev and Kamenev) and the rest of the Central Committee on such fundamental questions "*as the character of the Russian revolution, the driving forces of the revolution, the role of the peasantry, the principles of Party leadership, and so forth.*" (Stalin, *Collected Works*, Vol 6 p. 341). Thus the decision on the uprising was taken by the Central Committee and the Central Committee alone. Hence the political direction of the uprising was firmly in the hands of the Central Committee.

As to the legend that Trotsky played a 'special' role in that he 'inspired', and was the 'sole leader' of, the October uprising - this legend was spread by Lentsner, and Stalin dealt with it as follows:

"The Trotskyites are vigorously spreading rumours that Trotsky inspired and was the sole leader of the October uprising. These rumours are being spread with exceptional zeal by the so-called editor of Trotsky's works, Lentsner. Trotsky himself, by consistently avoiding mention of the Party, the Central Committee and the Petrograd Committee of the Party, by saying nothing about the leading role of these organisations in the uprising and vigorously pushing himself forward as the central figure in the October uprising, voluntarily or involuntarily helps to spread the rumours about the special role he is supposed to have played in the uprising. I am far from denying Trotsky's undoubtedly important role in the uprising. I must say, however, that Trotsky did not play any special role in the October uprising, nor could he do so; being chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, he merely carried out the will of the appropriate Party bodies, which directed every step that Trotsky took. To philistines like Sukhanov, all this may seem strange, but the facts, the true facts, wholly and fully confirm what I say." (Ibid, pp. 341- 342).

Stalin then passes on to an examination of the minutes of the next Central Committee meeting held on 29 October, 1917. Apart from the members of the Central Committee, there were present at this meeting representatives of the Petrograd Committee as well as representatives of military organisations, factory committees, trade unions and the railwaymen. At this meeting Lenin's resolution on the uprising was adopted by a majority of 20 against 2, with three abstentions. At this meeting too a practical centre was elected for the organisational leadership of the uprising. To this practical centre were elected the following five: Sverdlov, Stalin,

Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov and Uritsky. Let Stalin speak:

"The functions of the practical centre: to direct all the practical organs of the uprising in conformity with the directives of the Central Committee. Thus, as you see, something 'terrible' happened at this meeting of the Central Committee, i.e., 'strange to relate', the 'inspirer', the 'chief figure', the 'sole leader' of the uprising, Trotsky, was not elected to the practical centre, which was called upon to direct the uprising. How is this to be reconciled with the current opinion about Trotsky's special role? Is not all this somewhat 'strange', as Sukhanov, or the Trotskyites, would say? And yet, strictly speaking, there is nothing strange about it, for neither in the Party, nor in the October uprising, did Trotsky play any special role, nor could he do so, for he was a relatively new man in our Party in the period of October. He, like all the responsible workers, merely carried out the will of the Central Committee and of its organs. Whoever is familiar with the mechanics of Bolshevik Party leadership will have no difficulty in understanding that it could not be otherwise; it would have been enough for Trotsky to go against the will of the Central Committee to have been deprived of all influence on the course of events. This talk about Trotsky's special role is a legend that is being spread by obliging 'Party' gossips (NOTE 4).

"This, of course, does not mean that the October uprising did not have its inspirer. It did have its inspirer and leader, but this was Lenin, and none other than Lenin, that same Lenin whose resolution the Central Committee adopted when deciding the question of the uprising, that same Lenin who, in spite of what Trotsky says, was not prevented by being in hiding from being the actual inspirer of the uprising. It is foolish and ridiculous to attempt now, by gossip about Lenin having been in hiding, to obscure the indubitable fact that the inspirer of the uprising was the leader of the Party, V.I. Lenin.

"Such are the facts." (Collected Works, Vol 6 pp 342-344).

Continues Stalin:

"Granted, we are told, but it cannot be denied that Trotsky fought well in the period of October. Yes, that is true, Trotsky did, indeed, fight well in October; but Trotsky was not the only one who fought well in the period of October. Even people like the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, who then stood side by side with the Bolsheviks, also fought well. In general, I must say that in the period of a victorious uprising, when the enemy is isolated and the uprising is growing, it is not difficult to fight well. At such moments even backward people become heroes.

"The proletarian struggle is not, however, an uninterrupted advance, an unbroken chain of victories. The proletarian struggle also has its trials, its defeats. The genuine revolutionary is not one who displays courage in the period of a victorious uprising, but one who, while fighting well during the victorious advance of the revolution, also displays courage when the revolution is in retreat, when the proletariat suffers defeat; who does not lose his head and does not funk when the revolution suffers reverses, when the enemy achieves success; who does not become panic-stricken or give way to despair when the revolution is in a period of retreat. The Left Socialist- Revolutionaries did not fight badly in the period of October, and they supported the Bolsheviks. But who does not know that those 'brave' fighters became panic-stricken in the period of Brest, when the advance of German imperialism drove them to despair and hysteria. It is a very sad but indubitable fact that Trotsky, who fought well in the period of October, did not, in the period of Brest, in the period when the revolution suffered temporary reverses, possess the courage to display sufficient staunchness at that difficult moment and to refrain from following in the footsteps of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. Beyond question, that moment was a difficult one; one had to display exceptional courage and imperturbable coolness not to be dismayed, to retreat in good time, to accept peace in good time, to withdraw the proletarian army out of range of the blows of German imperialism, to preserve the peasant reserves and, after obtaining a respite in this way, to strike at the enemy with renewed force. Unfortunately, Trotsky was found to lack this courage and revolutionary staunchness at that difficult moment.

"In Trotsky's opinion, the principal lesson of the proletarian revolution is 'not to funk' during October. That is wrong, for Trotsky's assertion contains only a particle of the truth about the lessons of the revolution. The whole truth about the lessons of the proletarian revolution is not to funk, not only when the revolution is advancing, but also when it is retreat, when the enemy is gaining the upper hand and the revolution is suffering reverses. The revolution did not end with October. October was only the beginning of the proletarian revolution. It is bad to funk when the tide of insurrection is rising; but it is worse to funk when the revolution is passing through severe trials after power has been captured. To retain power on the morrow of the revolution is no less important than to capture power." (Ibid. pp. 344-345).

Stalin asked the question: "For what purpose did Trotsky need all these legends about October and the preparation for October, about Lenin and the Party of Lenin? What is the purpose of Trotsky's new literary pronouncements

against the Party? ... (Ibid. p. 363).

By way of an answer, Stalin continues:

"Trotsky asserts that all this is needed for the purpose of 'studying' October. But is it not possible to study October without giving another kick at the Party and its leader Lenin? What sort of a 'history' of October is it that begins and ends with attempts to discredit the chief leader of the October uprising, to discredit the Party, which organised and carried through the uprising? ... That is not the way to study October. That is not the way to write the history of October. Obviously, there is a different 'design' here, and everything goes to show that this 'design' is that Trotsky by his literary pronouncements is making another (yet another!) attempt to create the conditions for substituting Trotskyism for Leninism. Trotsky needs 'desperately' to discredit the Party, and its cadres who carried through the uprising, in order, after discrediting the Party, to proceed to discredit Leninism. And it is necessary for him to discredit Leninism in order to drag in Trotskyism as the 'sole' 'proletarian' (don't laugh!) ideology. All this, of course (oh, of course!) under the flag of Leninism, so that the dragging operation may be performed 'as painlessly as possible'.

"That is the essence of Trotsky's latest literary pronouncements." (Ibid. pp. 363-364).

Trotskyism - a rallying point for counter-revolution

Stalin went on to conclude that the danger was "... that Trotskyism, owing to its entire inner content, stands every chance of becoming the centre and rallying point of the non-proletarian elements who are striving to weaken, to disintegrate the proletarian dictatorship," in view of which it was "the duty of the Party to bury Trotskyism as an ideological trend." (Ibid. p. 373).

In later years Trotsky himself was obliged to admit that "in the wake of this vanguard [i.e., the Trotskyist opposition] there dragged the tail end of all sorts of dissatisfied, ill-equipped and even chagrined careerists," adding, however, that the opposition had managed to free itself from "its accidental and uninvited fellow wayfarers." On the contrary, as the contents of the pages that follow reveal, it is precisely the non-proletarian elements, with their irreconcilable hostility to the proletarian dictatorship, their striving for the disintegration of the proletarian dictatorship, who supported the Trotskyist opposition in the USSR and who continued to support him abroad after his expulsion from the Soviet Union. It is precisely the same type of person who has since those times rallied around Trotskyism, driven by an innate

hatred of Marxism-Leninism and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Even the Trotskyite Deutscher is compelled to say: *"Outside the party, formless revolutionary frustration mingled with distinctly counter-revolutionary trends. Since the ruling group had singled out Trotsky as a target for attack, he automatically attracted the spurious sympathy of many who had hitherto hated him. As he made his appearance in the streets of Moscow [in the spring of 1924], he was spontaneously applauded by crowds in which idealist communists rubbed shoulders with Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, and the new bourgeoisie of the NEP, by all those indeed who, for diverse reasons, hoped for a change [i.e., for the disintegration of the proletarian dictatorship through the weakening and disintegration of the Bolshevik Party]"* (Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin*, Pelican, 1966, p.279).

At its plenary meeting held on 17-20 January, 1925, the Central Committee of the RCP(B) characterised Trotskyism as a *"variety of Menshevism"* and Trotsky's ceaseless attacks on Bolshevism as an attempt to *substitute Trotskyism for Leninism*. This meeting resolved to remove Trotsky from the office of Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the USSR, and he was *"warned in the most emphatic terms that membership of the Bolshevik Party demands real, not verbal, subordination to Party discipline and total and unconditional renunciation of any attacks on the ideals of Leninism."*

Emergence of the New Opposition

After the above meeting pronounced against Trotsky and warned that his splittist activity and anti-Leninist propaganda was incompatible with Party membership, Trotsky retreated for a while, awaiting his chance. This chance came when Zinoviev and Kamenev - two old Bolsheviks - frightened by difficulties and overcome by defeatism, went into opposition after the 14th Party Conference (April 1925) affirmed the possibility of building socialism in the USSR. Being incorrigible defeatists and sceptics, Zinoviev and Kamenev denied the possibility of building socialism in the Soviet Union, and in this way found common ground with pessimism, scepticism and defeatism personified, namely, Trotsky, the author of the theory of 'permanent revolution', the epitome of hopelessness.

The New Opposition (as it was called), led by Zinoviev and Kamenev, launched vicious attacks on the Party's Leninist line (on the possibility of building socialism) at the 14th Congress of the Party, which opened in December 1925. After suffering a crushing defeat at that Congress, the New

Opposition, headed by Zinoviev and Kamenev (who had until only recently been seeking to remove Trotsky from the leadership and whom Trotsky, in turn, had been seeking to eliminate from the leadership of the Party) openly embraced Trotskyism. Thus emerged an anti-Party opposition bloc, to which flocked the remnants of the various opposition groups previously squashed by the Party - all motivated by their hatred of, and opposition to, the Party's policy of strengthening the proletarian dictatorship and building socialism in the USSR.

The leaders of this opposition, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, "*granting each other mutual amnesty*," as Stalin put it, and using as an occasion and a pretext the collapse of the British General Strike (that they blamed on the leadership of the Bolshevik Party for having allegedly failed to give leadership and guidance to the British workers), produced their platform, written by Trotsky, which was presented in part to the Plenum of the Central Committee on 6-9 April 1926, and in full to the meeting of July 14-23 1926. In flagrant breach of Party discipline, the opposition organised demonstrations in factories, demanding full discussion of their platform. The communist workers vehemently denounced the opposition leaders and made them leave these meetings. Faced with this humiliating defeat, the opposition leaders beat a retreat and sent a statement, on 16 October 1926, in which they confessed their errors and promised to desist in future from their factional activity against the Party. In the words of Ian Grey:

"Appalled by their own temerity and recklessness, the six leaders - Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Pyatakov, Sokolnikov and Evdokimov - confessed their guilt in a public declaration and swore not to pursue factional activity in future. They also denounced their own left-wing supporters in the Comintern and the Workers' Opposition group." (Ian Grey, *Stalin - Man of History*, Abacus, 1982, pp.213-214).

Formation of an illegal party

The opposition's statement of October, 1926, turned out to be totally insincere and thoroughly hypocritical. As a matter of fact the opposition had formed an illegal party of its own, with a separate system of membership, district committees, and a centre. The illegal party, with a secret illegal printing press, held secret meetings at which the opposition's factional platform, and the tactics to be adopted against the Bolshevik Party, were discussed - all this in violation of the decisions of the 10th Party Congress

banning the formation and continuation of separate factions within the Party.

In October 1926, the Plenum of the Central Committee, sitting jointly with the Central Control Commission, issued a severe warning to the leaders of the opposition, removing Trotsky from the Politburo and Kamenev from his candidate membership of this body. Zinoviev was removed from the Comintern.

The Fifteenth All-Union Party Conference (Oct-Nov 1926) characterised the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition as a Menshevik deviation in the Party, issuing the warning that further development in the direction of Menshevism would lead to the opposition's expulsion from the Party.

At the beginning of 1927 the opposition renewed its attack on the policy of the Comintern vis-a-vis the Chinese revolution, blaming the Comintern and the CPSU for the reverses of the Chinese revolution. Taking advantage of the internal difficulties, as well as of the deterioration in the international position of the USSR, the opposition yet again came out with the so-called 'platform of 83'. Renewing their slander against the Party, the opposition claimed in this platform that the Soviet government was intending to abolish the monopoly of foreign trade and grant political rights to the kulaks. Such slanders could not but encourage the kulaks and imperialism alike in putting pressure on the Soviet government in an attempt to wrest precisely such concessions from the Soviet government. In addition, the opposition demagogically demanded greater freedom in the Party, which it understood to mean the freedom to form factions and to *"indulge in unparalleled abuse and impermissible vilification of the Central Committee, CPSU(B) and the ECCI. They complain of the 'regime' within the Comintern and the CPSU(B). Essentially, what they want is freedom to disorganise the Comintern and the CPSU(B)..."* (Stalin, *Collected Works*, Vol 9 p. 317).

Trotskyism's struggle against 'Stalinism' - a continuation of the struggle against Leninism

What the Trotskyite opposition was fighting against was the regime established by the 10th Congress under the guidance of Lenin - a regime designed to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat through unity and iron discipline within the Bolshevik Party by outlawing factionalism. The underlying principles of the regime established by the 10th Congress were that *"while inner-Party democracy is operated and businesslike criticism of the*

Party's defects and mistakes is permitted, no factionalism whatsoever is permitted, and all factionalism must be abandoned on pain of expulsion from the Party." (Stalin, *The Political Complexion of the Russian Opposition, Collected Works* Vol 10 p. 166).

"I assert", said Stalin, "that the Trotskyites had already started their fight against the Leninist regime in the Party in Lenin's time, and that the fight the Trotskyites are now [i.e., September 1927] waging is a continuation of the fight against the regime in the Party which they were already waging in Lenin's time." (Ibid).

As the opposition's platform drew no support from the workers, it retreated again and handed another declaration to the Central Committee, on 8 August 1927, in which they promised yet again to cease their factional activity, only to violate it a month later.

As the preparations got under way in September 1927 for the Fifteenth Party Congress, the opposition drew up the third statement of its aims and policies. An end had to be put to the opposition's factionalism, its disorganising activity and the charade of repeated violations of its hypocritical declaration of admission of guilt and promises to cease factional activity. So, at the end of October 1927, the Central Committee in a joint meeting with the Central Control Commission, expelled Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Committee, deciding further to submit all the documents relating to the factional activity of the Trotskyite opposition to the Fifteenth Congress for consideration by the latter.

It is worth recalling that during the Party discussion preceding the Fifteenth Party Congress, 724,000 members voted for the Leninist policy of the Central Committee, while a derisory 4,000 votes were cast for the platform of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite opposition bloc, that is, half of one per cent of the membership that took part in this debate.

Why did the opposition fail?

The opposition failed to get any support in the Party organisations, for its line was that of utter bankruptcy - the line of wanting to supplant Leninism by Trotskyism, while the Party wished faithfully to pursue the line of Leninism - that of revolutionary Bolshevism.

"How, then," asked Stalin, "are we to explain the fact that notwithstanding his oratorical skill, notwithstanding his will to lead, notwithstanding his abil-

ities, Trotsky was thrown out of the leadership of the great Party which is called the CPSU(B)?" He went on to answer: "The reason is that the opposition intended to replace Leninism with Trotskyism, to 'improve' Leninism by means of Trotskyism. But the Party want to remain faithful to Leninism in spite of all the various artifices of the down-at-heel aristocrats in the Party. That is the root cause why the Party, which has made three revolutions, found it necessary to turn its back on Trotsky and on the opposition as a whole." (Collected Works Vol 10 p. 165).

Speaking at the Fifteenth Congress of the Party, Stalin returned to this question again. *"How could it happen that the Party as a whole, and after it the working class as well, so thoroughly isolated the opposition? After all, the opposition is headed by well-known people with well-known names, people who know how to advertise themselves ... , people who are not afflicted with modesty and who are able to blow their own trumpets, to make the most of their wares.*

*"It happened because the leading group of the opposition proved to be a group of petty-bourgeois intellectuals divorced from life, divorced from the revolution, divorced from the Party, from the working class." (Stalin, *ibid.* p. 345).*

From factionalism within the Party to counter-revolutionary struggle against the Soviet regime

Faced with utter defeat within the Party, bankrupt politically and isolated from the Party membership, the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc switched over from factional activity within the Party to anti-Soviet and counter-revolutionary struggle against the Bolshevik regime, attracting in the process all the anti-Soviet elements to their camp.

On 7 November, 1927, the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, Trotsky and Zinoviev organised anti-Party demonstrations in Moscow and Leningrad. Poorly attended, these counter-revolutionary demonstrations were easily dispersed by the demonstrators of the working class under the leadership of the CPSU.

By its November 7 actions the opposition had given full proof of its conversion into a counter-revolutionary force openly hostile to the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR. Having infringed all the norms and rules of Party life, the Trotskyites now embarked upon a career of violating state laws which in due course led them to murder, sabotage, wrecking and, finally, to an alliance with fascism.

On 14 November, 1927, the Central Committee expelled Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Party, while other members of their group were removed from the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission.

The Fifteenth Congress of the Party (December 1927), noting that the opposition had ideologically broken with Leninism, had degenerated into Menshevism, had adopted the path of capitulation to international imperialism and the internal bourgeoisie and had become an instrument of struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat, enthusiastically endorsed these expulsions. Moreover it expelled in addition a further 75 members of the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc, as well as 15 Democratic Centralists. Further, the Congress instructed Party organisations to purge their ranks of incorrigible Trotskyites and take steps to re-educate the rank-and-file members of the opposition in the spirit of Leninism.

After the Congress many ordinary members of the opposition recognised their errors, broke with Trotskyism and were restored to Party membership. In January 1928 Trotsky was exiled to Alma-Ata in Central Asia (Kazakhstan). Even there he continued clandestinely to indulge in his anti-Party, anti-Soviet activity. Consequently, in January 1929 he was expelled from the Soviet Union.

Since the opposition intended little by little to switch the Bolshevik Party from the Leninist path to that of Trotskyism, and since the Party wanted to remain a Leninist Party, it was only natural that the Party turned its back on the opposition and raised ever higher the banner of Leninism. This alone explains why, as Stalin put it, *'yesterday's leaders of the Party have now become renegades.'* (Collected Works, Vol 10 p. 199).

Not personal factors but departure from Leninism is the cause of Trotskyism's failure

Instead of grasping this truth, the Trotskyite opposition in its day, and the Trotskyites ever since then, have explained the opposition's defeat by personal factors. This is how Stalin described the far-reaching historical roots of Trotsky's fight against Bolshevism and the reasons for the failure and bankruptcy of the opposition's line:

"The opposition thinks that its defeat can be 'explained' by the personal factor, by Stalin's rudeness ... That is too cheap an explanation! It is an incantation, not an explanation. Trotsky has been fighting Leninism since 1904. From 1904 until the February revolution in 1917 he hung around the Menshe-

viks desperately fighting Lenin's Party all the time. During that period Trotsky suffered a number of defeats at the hand of Lenin's Party. Why? Perhaps Stalin's rudeness was to blame? But Stalin was not yet the secretary of the Central Committee at that time; he was not abroad, but in Russia, fighting tsarism underground, whereas the struggle between Trotsky and Lenin raged abroad. So what has Stalin's rudeness got to do with it?

"During the period from the October Revolution to 1922, Trotsky, already a member of the Bolshevik Party, managed to make two 'grand' sorties against Lenin and his Party: in 1918 - on the question of the Brest Peace; and in 1921 - on the trade-union question. Both those sorties ended in Trotsky being defeated. Why? Perhaps Stalin's rudeness was to blame here? But at that time Stalin was not yet the secretary of the Central Committee. The secretarial posts were then occupied by notorious Trotskyists. So what has Stalin's rudeness got to do with it?

"Later, Trotsky made a number of fresh sorties against the Party (1923, 1924, 1926, 1927) and each sortie ended in Trotsky suffering a fresh defeat.

"Is it not obvious from all this that Trotsky's fight against the Leninist Party has deep, far-reaching historical roots? Is it not obvious from this that the struggle the Party is now waging against Trotskyism is a continuation of the struggle that the Party, headed by Lenin, waged from 1904 onwards?

"Is it not obvious from all this that the attempts of the Trotskyists to replace Leninism by Trotskyism are the chief cause of the failure and bankruptcy of the entire line of the opposition?

"Our Party was born and grew up in the storm of revolutionary battles. It is not a party that grew up in a period of peaceful development. For that very reason it is rich in revolutionary traditions and does not make a fetish of its leaders. At one time Plekhanov was the most popular man in the Party. More than that, he was the founder of the Party, and his popularity was incomparably greater than that of Trotsky or Zinoviev. Nevertheless, in spite of that, the Party turned away from Plekhanov as soon as he began to depart from Marxism and go over to opportunism. Is it surprising then, that people who are not so 'great', people like Trotsky and Zinoviev, found themselves at the tail of the Party after they began to depart from Leninism?" (Collected Works, Vol 10 pp 199-201).

Just as the struggle waged against Trotskyism by the Bolshevik Party headed by Stalin from 1924 onwards was a continuation of the struggle that the Party headed by Lenin had waged from 1903 onwards, equally Trotsky's

fight against the Bolshevik Party headed by Stalin was a continuation of the struggle that Trotskyism waged against the Bolshevik Party when it was headed by Lenin. Lenin had been the chief target of Trotsky's vilifications from 1903 to 1917. After the death of Lenin, Stalin came to occupy this honourable position, became the chief target of the opposition's attack. This was because Stalin, by faithfully defending and carrying forward the Leninist line, became the most representative spokesman of the Bolshevik Party and in that capacity drew the wrath of the opposition in its repeated, if unsuccessful, attempts to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism. It was not a case of the allegedly Leninist Trotsky fighting against an allegedly outside usurper, Stalin, as is put out in Trotskyite fairy tales; on the contrary, it was the staunch and indefatigable Leninist (Stalin) who brilliantly continued the successful Leninist assault on the anti-Bolshevik and petty-bourgeois ideology of Trotskyism. This alone explains Trotskyism's hatred of Joseph Stalin, the very mention of whose name causes Trotskyite gentry to foam at the mouth. This is how Stalin described the opposition's hatred for him:

"First of all about the personal factor. You have heard here how assiduously the oppositionists hurl abuse at Stalin, abuse him with all their might. The reason why the main attacks were directed against Stalin is because Stalin knows all the opposition's tricks better, perhaps, than some of our comrades do, and it is not easy, I dare say, to fool him. So they strike their blows primarily at Stalin. Well, let them hurl abuse to their hearts' content.

"And what is Stalin? Stalin is only a minor figure. Take Lenin. Who does not know that at the time of the August bloc the opposition, headed by Trotsky, waged an even more scurrilous campaign of slander against Lenin? Listen to Trotsky, for example:

"The wretched squabbling systematically provoked by Lenin, that old hand at the game, that professional exploiter of all that is backward in the Russian labour movement, seems like a senseless obsession' (See Trotsky's 'Letter to Chkeidze', April 1913).

"Note the language, comrades! Note the language! It is Trotsky writing. And writing about Lenin.

"Is it surprising, then, that Trotsky, who wrote in such an ill-mannered way about the great Lenin, whose shoe-laces he was not worthy of tying, should now hurl abuse at one of Lenin's numerous pupils - Comrade Stalin?

"More than that. I think the opposition does me honour by venting all its hatred against Stalin. That is as it should be. I think it would be strange and offensive if the opposition, which is trying to wreck the Party, were to praise

Stalin, who is defending the fundamentals of the Leninist Party principle." (Collected Works, Vol 10 pp. 177-178).

Trotsky's regular predictions of doom

Proceeding from the unscientific and pessimistic, not to say anti-Leninist, theory of 'permanent revolution', which was refuted by the experience of the three Russian revolutions and by all further social development in the USSR and elsewhere, Trotsky could, and did, predict nothing but doom. The underlying theme and purpose of all his statements between 1923 and 1940 was to deny all possibility of building socialism in the USSR and thus to undermine the confidence of the Soviet proletariat in building a new society by its own efforts if the world revolution failed to come to its rescue. This was accompanied by vicious attacks on the only guarantee for the successes of the USSR during this epoch-making period of particular difficulty and particular achievement, namely the Leninist leadership of the Party and state of the proletarian dictatorship. Of course these attacks were always hidden under a guise of attacking the 'bureaucratic state apparatus', or 'Stalinist bureaucracy', with the alleged desire to improve matters. And when the oft-predicted disaster did not happen, this only provided Trotsky with an occasion to report on invented widespread disaster, disillusionment and demoralisation as a means of bringing about the fulfilment of his jeremiads.

Trotsky's 'New Course' predicts degeneration of the Party.

In 1923, at the time of the New Economic Policy (NEP), Trotsky predicted immediate doom for the proletarian dictatorship through the "*degeneration of the state apparatus in a bourgeois direction.*" In his *New Course*, written in 1923, he claimed that "*Bureaucratism has reached an excessive and truly alarming development.*" This is how he predicted the restoration of capitalism through the NEP, claiming that quantity *would* at a certain stage be transformed into quality:

"... *The rapid development of private capital ... would show that private capital is interposing itself more and more between the workers' state and the peasantry, is acquiring an economic and therefore a political influence ... [S]uch a rupture between Soviet industry and agriculture, between the proletariat and the peasantry, would constitute a grave danger for the proletarian revolution, a symptom of the possibility of the triumph of the counter-revolution.*

"What are the political paths by which the victory of the counter-revolution

might come if the economic hypothesis just set forth were to be realised? ... [T]he political process would assume in the main the character of the degeneration of the state apparatus in a bourgeois direction ... If private capital increased rapidly and succeeded in fusing with the peasantry, the active counter-revolutionary tendencies directed against the Communist Party would then probably prevail ...

"The counter-revolutionary tendencies can find a support among the kulaks, the middlemen, the retailers, the concessionaires, in a word, among elements much more capable of surrounding the state apparatus than the Party itself ...

"... [T]he negative social phenomena we have just enumerated and which now nurture bureaucratisation could place the revolution in peril should they continue to develop ... bureaucratism in the state and party apparatus is the expression of the most vexatious tendencies inherent in our situation, of the defects and deviations in our work which .. might sap the basis of the revolution ... Quantity will at a certain stage be transformed into quality." (Chapter 4).

In all this, Trotsky forgets completely the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course, the introduction of the NEP did unleash capitalist elements, in the countryside in particular; of course it was a partial return to capitalism. All that was known to the author of the NEP, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. But there was no other way of transition from war communism to socialism except through the NEP even though the latter, by unleashing capitalist elements in the countryside, carried the danger of capitalist restoration. This danger, however, this possibility of capitalist restoration, could never be realised as long as the proletarian dictatorship exercised its iron rule over hostile capitalist classes - kulaks and traders. That is why Lenin called for the maximum strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This, in turn, could only be done through unity of will and iron discipline in the ruling Bolshevik Party. That is why he caused the Tenth Party Congress to pass the resolution, written by himself, calling for existing factions within the Party to be disbanded forthwith, for the formation of new factions in the future to be banned, and declaring that non-compliance with this resolution by anyone would result in their immediate expulsion from the Party. Trotsky for his part consistently undermined the proletarian dictatorship by his vicious attacks on the leadership of the Party, his denigration of the Party and state apparatus in the USSR, and by flouting all norms and discipline of the Bolshevik Party.

Failure of Trotsky's predictions.

Notwithstanding Trotskyist sabotage, Trotsky's predictions did not come true, thanks to the Leninist leadership of the Party and the state during this very difficult period. Instead NEP Russia was actually transformed into a mighty socialist USSR that then went on to achieve the crowning glory of defeating the mighty Nazi war machine almost single-handedly. As the "degeneration", "initiative-killing bureaucratism", "ossification", "estrangement", and "morbid uneasiness" predicted by Trotsky failed to materialise and the USSR began to be transformed through the collectivisation and industrialisation drive of the Five-Year Plans, Trotsky intensified his attacks on the USSR and the leadership of the Bolshevik Party - revealing in the process his true hideous features as a market socialist, i.e., as a bourgeois socialist of the social-democratic variety.

Contemptible and cowardly capitulator.

In 1933, Trotsky published his pamphlet *Soviet Economy in Danger*, in which he came out in opposition to this second assault on capitalism, i.e., the assault mounted through socialist industrialisation and collectivisation - both measures of world revolutionary historic significance. He declared that the "correct and economically sound collectivisation, at a given stage, **SHOULD NOT LEAD TO THE ELIMINATION OF THE NEP, but to the GRADUAL REORGANISATION OF ITS METHODS.**" (p.32).

In other words, no attempt should be made to eliminate capitalism in general, and capitalism in the countryside in particular.

Gorbachev style, pretending to stand for some sort of control of the market, Trotsky's method of controlling the market is to leave it to the market to control itself!

"The regulation of the market," he says, "itself must depend upon the tendencies that are brought about through its medium." (p. 30).

Every revolutionary giant stride forward of the Soviet economy at that time, because outside the market, is portrayed by this high priest of market socialism as disorder and "economic chaos." He says:

"By eliminating the market and installing instead Asiatic bazaars the bureaucracy has created ... the conditions for the most barbaric gyrations of prices and consequently has placed a mine under commercial calculations. As a re-

sult economic chaos has been redoubled." (p. 34).

Trotsky, who in December 1925, at the 14th Party Congress of the CPSU, had tried to force on the Party the policy of immediate collectivisation of the peasantry, when the conditions necessary for such collectivisation were totally lacking, this same Trotsky in 1933, when collectivisation was well on the way to completion, comes out in opposition to the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class, demanding instead the establishment of *"a policy of severely restricting the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks."* (p. 47).

In other words, capitalism must not be eliminated in the countryside.

Praying for miracles Trotsky declares: *"Commodities must be adapted to human needs ..."* Trotsky's position amounts to this: 'Economic accounting is unthinkable without market relations.' In view of this, it is hardly surprising that Trotsky came to the conclusion that: *"It is necessary to put off the Second Five-Year Plan. Away with shrieking enthusiasm!"* (p. 41).

No wonder then that Stalin, in his Report to the 17th Party Congress (26 January 1934) made the following observation on the Trotskyist programme:

"We have always said that the 'Lefts' are in fact Rights who mask their Rightness by Left phrases. Now the 'Lefts' themselves confirm the correctness of our statement. Take last year's issues of the Trotskyist 'Bulletin'. What do Messieurs the Trotskyists demand, what do they write about, in what does their 'Left' programme find expression? They demand: THE DISSOLUTION OF THE STATE FARMS, on the grounds that they do not pay; THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MAJORITY OF THE COLLECTIVE FARMS, on the grounds that they are fictitious; the ABANDONMENT OF THE POLICY OF ELIMINATING THE KULAKS; REVERSION TO THE POLICY OF CONCESSIONS, AND THE LEASING TO CONCESSIONAIRES OF A NUMBER OF OUR INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES, on the grounds that they do not pay.

"There you have the programme of these contemptible cowards and capitulators - their counter-revolutionary programme for restoring capitalism in the USSR!

"What difference is there between this programme and that of the extreme Rights? Clearly, there is none. It follows that the 'Lefts' have openly associated themselves with the counter-revolutionary programme of the Rights in order to enter into a bloc with them and to wage a joint struggle against the

Party." (Stalin, *Collected Works*, Vol 13 pp. 370-371.

Trotsky's anti-Soviet diatribes are grist to the Imperialist mill

Although bourgeois economics learnt nothing from Trotsky's *Soviet Economy in Danger*, seeing as he had but repeated, in a clumsy way, what had been said a decade earlier by bourgeois economists such as Von Mises and Brutzkus, it was nevertheless extensively quoted in the imperialist press by the bourgeois critics of socialist construction, for it enabled them to stress that their 'objective' and 'impartial' critiques of socialism, and their dogma that it was impossible for society to free itself of the market, were fully accepted by this 'old Bolshevik'. (For a fuller treatment of this subject, the reader is referred to chapter 11 of my book *Perestroika - the Complete Collapse of Revisionism*).

Trotsky's diatribes against the Soviet regime were grasped with alacrity by the German and Italian fascists: "See, my friends," said Goebbels to the German socialists and communists, *"what Trotsky is saying about the Soviet state. It is no longer a Socialist State but a state dominated by a parasitic bureaucracy, living on the Russian people."* (see Appendix 2) These and similar arguments, broadcast by the fascists as well as other imperialist states, were designed to weaken both the faith the masses might have in the USSR as well as their faith in themselves, in their capacity to build a new life for themselves. These Trotskyist arguments were, and continue to be, seized upon by the opponents of communism in the Labour movement as well as by the radical petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Trotskyism thus performed, and continues to perform, the function of confusing and disarming the working-class movement politically and ideologically.

Flying in the face of all reality, ignoring the developments in socialist construction in the USSR, Trotsky continued to predict disaster and to advocate the overthrow of the 'Stalinist bureaucracy' - a euphemism for the Leninist leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state - in other words, the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In an article written in October 1933, Trotsky predicted the restoration of capitalism if 'Stalinist bureaucracy' continued to hold sway:

"The further unhindered development of bureaucratism must lead inevitably to the cessation of economic and cultural growth, to a terrible social crisis and to the downward plunge of the entire society. But this would imply not only the collapse of the proletarian dictatorship but also the end of bureau-

cratic domination. In place of the workers' state would come not 'social bureaucratic' but capitalist relations." (The Class Nature of the Soviet State).

In February 1935 Trotsky predicted the "inevitable collapse of the Stalinist political regime" and its replacement by "fascist-capitalist counterrevolution", unless the removal of the Soviet regime came "as a conscious act of the proletarian vanguard," to wit, the same Trotskyist counter-revolutionaries who denied the very possibility of building socialism in the first place, who tried to put every obstacle (albeit unsuccessfully) in the way of socialist construction, who hand in hand with the imperialist bourgeoisie slandered the Soviet state and Bolshevik Party leadership, who belittled and denigrated every single achievement of socialist industry, agriculture, science, technology and the arts and who ended up by being allies and tools of German and Japanese fascism!! These very contemptible cowards and counter-revolutionaries, these ardent advocates of the programme of capitalist restoration, in the topsy-turvy world of Trotskyist make-believe and intrigue, convince themselves that they are the 'proletarian vanguard'! At the same time we are told by Trotsky that the Bolshevik Party which, following the Leninist line, not only believes in the possibility of building socialism in the USSR but is actually accomplishing it successfully in the face of internal and external difficulties and foes, is a regime of 'Bonapartism' which is bound to make way for 'counter-revolution' unless its removal comes about at the hands of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists who have awarded themselves the title of "proletarian vanguard"!

"The inevitable collapse of the Stalinist political regime will lead to the establishment of Soviet democracy only in the event that the removal of Bonapartism comes as the conscious act of the proletarian vanguard. In all other cases, in place of Stalinism there could only come the fascist-capitalist counterrevolution". (Trotsky, The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism).

Trotsky acknowledges socialist achievements as a means of gaining credibility

By the end of the Second Five-Year plan, however, even the blind could not fail to see the gigantic, truly heroic and world-historic achievements of socialist construction. Even intelligent representatives of imperialism began to make admissions of the achievements of socialism in all walks of life of the USSR - the only country to have achieved full employment while the

capitalist world was reeling under the hammer blows of recession. Trotsky was in danger of being discredited because of the crying discrepancy between Soviet reality and Trotsky's description of it. So Trotsky, that most anti-Soviet of all anti-Soviets, in order to gain some credibility, was compelled to write almost effusively of the gains of socialism in the USSR, again, of course, merely as a prelude to a further scurrilous campaign of lies and slander against the Soviet regime. In his *Revolution Betrayed* (1933), he writes:

"Gigantic achievements in industry, enormously promising beginnings in agriculture, an extraordinary growth of the old industrial cities and a building of new ones, a rapid increase of the number of workers, a rise in cultural level and cultural demands - such are the indubitable results of the October revolution ...

"Socialism has demonstrated its right to victory, not in the pages of 'Das Kapital' but in an industrial arena comprising a sixth part of the earth's surface - not in the language of dialectics, but in the language of steel, cement, and electricity ... a backward country has achieved in less than ten years successes unexampled in history.

"This also ends the quarrel with the reformists in the workers' movement. Can we compare for one moment their mouselike fussing with the titanic work accomplished by this people aroused to a new life by revolution? ... " (p. 16).

Thus quite mysteriously, and without any explanation let alone a correction or an apology from Trotsky, we find that the "smug, negative, disdainful, cliquish, bureaucratic apparatus," characterised on the one hand by "inertia" and on the other by "antagonistic violence towards criticism," staffed with only "careerists and political hangers-on" who are so divorced from reality as to be in danger of losing support of the masses and forfeiting state dominance to the "counter-revolutionary tendencies" among "retailers, middlemen ... and kulaks - this bureaucratic apparatus", i.e., the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state, has somehow risen to the occasion and organised "ten years of successes unexampled in history."

Normally Trotskyism paints a picture of the Soviet people being ordered about and herded around by the 'Stalinist bureaucracy', meekly and sullenly accepting their fate. Yet in some pages of this book, which are characteristically contradicted by some other pages in the same book, Trotsky describes the enthusiasm with which the Soviet youth plunged into economic, cultural and artistic activity, in the following glowing terms:

"To be sure, the youth are very active in the sphere of economics. In the Soviet Union there are now 1.2 million Communist Youth in the collective farms. Hundreds of thousands of members of the Communist Youth have been mobilised during recent years for construction work, timber work, coal mining, gold production, for work in the Arctic, Sakhalin, or in Amur where the new town of Komsomolsk is in process of construction. The new generation is putting out shock brigades, champion workers, Stakhanovites, foremen, underadministrators. The youth are studying and a considerable part of them are studying assiduously. They are as active, if not more so, in the sphere of athletics in its most daring or warlike forms such as parachute jumping and marksmanship. The enterprising and audacious are going on all kinds of dangerous expeditions.

"The better part of our youth,' said recently the well-known polar explorer, Schmidt, 'are eager to work where difficulties await them'. This is undoubtedly true ...

"... [I]t would be a crude slander against the youth to portray them as controlled exclusively, or even predominantly, by personal interests. No, in the general mass they are magnanimous, responsive, enterprising ... In their depths are various unformulated tendencies grounded in heroism and still only awaiting application. It is upon these moods in particular that the newest kind of Soviet patriotism is nurturing itself. It is undoubtedly very deep, sincere and dynamic ... " (Chapter 7).

More scurrilous attacks on socialism

All this, however, is only a prelude to a vicious denunciation of the Soviet regime, a negation of Soviet achievements and everything socialist, and a distortion - nay a downright falsification - of Soviet history. Having been forced to pay lip service to socialism having *"demonstrated its right to victory,"* to the Soviet state having achieved *"ten years successes unexampled in history,"* Trotsky devotes the rest of his book to a vitriolic attack on the USSR and its leadership. We are told, despite all the admissions about *"successes unexampled in history,"* that *"the Soviet State in all its relations is far closer to a backward capitalism than to communism"* (p.22); that, far from achieving the lower stage of communism, what the Soviet Union had achieved was a *"preparatory regime transitional from capitalism to socialism."* (p.52); that this regime was engendering increasing inequalities: *"wage differences in the Soviet Union,"* he asserted, *"are not less but greater than in the*

capitalist countries." (p.228); and that industry was dominated by a "corps of slave drivers" (p.229). Before this transitional regime could develop in the direction of socialism, it was absolutely necessary for there to be "a second supplementary revolution against bureaucratic absolutism" (p.272) because "the bureaucracy can be removed only by a revolutionary force. And, as always, there will be fewer victims the more bold and decisive is the attack" (p.271). Since the Soviet leadership had the overwhelming support of the working class and the collectivised peasantry, Trotsky's references to "revolutionary force" could either mean acts of terrorism against the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, or a military conspiracy, or foreign intervention for the overthrow of the Bolshevik regime - or a combination of all these means. That this is precisely what Trotsky had in mind is made clear in the course of the pages of this book.

Re-assertion of the discredited theory of 'permanent revolution'.

There is also the inevitable statement that the advance towards socialism depends to some extent on the prior victory of the revolution in the rest of Europe (p. 274) - a rehash and latest version of Trotsky's permanent hopelessness that masquerades as the theory of 'permanent revolution'. That being the case, one may be forgiven for asking: what will the "supplementary revolution against bureaucratic absolutism" achieve if the revolution is destined to vegetate and degenerate into hopelessness in the absence of "victory of the revolution in the rest of Europe"?

In addition, the book contains virulent denunciations of all attempts at raising the productivity of labour, unattainable under the conditions of capitalism. Trotsky attacks all wage differentials, piece-work payments, socialist emulation drives - all of which are simply denounced as "a source of injustice, oppression, and compulsions for the majority, privileges and a 'happy life' for the few" (pp. 244-245). Apart from the demagoguery of it all, what comes through is the sheer ignorance, not to mention dishonesty: it would appear that its author has failed totally to grasp the essence of *The Critique of the Gotha Programme*, in which Marx deals, inter alia, with the norms of distribution under the lower and higher stages of communism. In the lower stage, distribution can only be according to the formula *From each according to his ability, to each according to his work*, a formula which does not "remove the defects of distribution and inequality of 'bourgeois right'" (Lenin, *State and Revolution*).

Equating socialism and fascism and spreading defeatist demoralisation

Driven by his intense and insensate hatred of the Soviet state, mindless subjectivism and limitless vindictiveness against the Bolshevik regime for the reason that the latter had decided to expel him for his incorrigible factionalism, Trotsky goes to the despicable length of saying in Chapter 11 of his book *Revolution Betrayed* that *"Stalinism and fascism ... are symmetrical phenomena. In many of their features they show a deadly similarity."*

In the appendix to his book, Trotsky says:

"... with the working class and its sincere champions among the intelligentsia ... our work will actually cause doubts and evoke distrust - not of the revolution but of its usurpers. But that is the very goal we have set ourselves."

Trotsky predicts and calls for the defeat of the USSR in war

Since Trotsky, driven by a combination of egotistical factionalism and bourgeois subjectivism, always referred to the Leninist leadership of the Bolshevik party and the Soviet state as a *"Stalinist bureaucracy"*, *"caste of usurpers"*, *"totalitarian Regime"*, etc., it can hardly be denied that the purpose and intention behind Trotsky's demented vituperations was to malign the Soviet regime by attempting to convince workers all over the world that this regime, indistinguishable according to Trotsky from fascism, was not deserving of their support. Such an attitude is only the prelude to wishing, and calling, for the defeat of this regime in any war against fascism by spreading demoralisation. That Trotskyism took this step not only secretly but also openly is clear from the following disgusting pronouncements concerning the then impending Second World War. In these pronouncements Trotsky predicts with malicious glee the military defeat of the USSR in the coming war. Indeed he goes even further, asserting that a protracted war without a military defeat *"would have to lead to a bourgeois-Bonapartist revolution."* Here are Trotsky's very words:

"Can we, however, expect that the Soviet Union will come out of the coming great war without defeat? To this frankly posed question we will answer as frankly; if the war should only remain a war, the defeat of the Soviet Union will be inevitable. In a technical, economic, and military sense, imperialism is incomparably more strong. If it is not paralysed by revolution in the west, im-

perialism will sweep away the regime which issued from the October Revolution" (Revolution Betrayed, p.216).

What would be the case if the Soviet Union managed to survive the fate assigned to it by Trotsky? Well, the destruction of the Soviet state would ensue just the same. Turn or twist as we may - military defeat or not - the Soviet Union could not survive the war:

"The protracted nature of the war," Trotsky wrote, "will reveal the contradictions of the transition economy of the USSR with its bureaucratic planning [I]n the case of a protracted war accompanied by the passivity of the world proletariat the internal social contradictions of the USSR not only might lead but would have to lead to a bourgeois-Bonapartist revolution." (The Fourth International and the War).

In 1940, nearing the end of his life - a life full of irreconcilable hostility towards Leninism - Trotsky, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, again predicted the defeat of the USSR and the triumph of Hitlerite Germany:

"We always started from the fact that the international policy of the Kremlin was determined by the new aristocracy's ... incapacity to conduct a war.

" ... the ruling caste is no longer capable of thinking about tomorrow. Its formula is that of all doomed regimes 'after us the deluge' ...

"The war will topple many things and many individuals. Artifice, trickery, frame-ups and treasons will prove of no avail in escaping its severe judgment" (Statement to the British capitalist press on Stalin - Hitler's Quartermaster).

"Stalin cannot make a war with discontented workers and peasants and with a decapitated Red Army" (German-Soviet Alliance).

"The level of the USSR's productive forces forbids a major war ... The involvement of the USSR in a major war before the end of this period would signify in any case a struggle with unequal weapons.

"The subjective factor, not less important than the material, has changed in the last years sharply for the worse ...

"Stalin cannot wage an offensive war with any hope of victory.

"Should the USSR enter the war with its innumerable victims and privations, the whole fraud of the official regime, its outrages and violence, will inevitably provoke a profound reaction on the part of the people, who have already carried out three revolutions in this century...

"The present war can crush the Kremlin bureaucracy long before revolution

breaks out in some capitalist country ... " (The Twin Stars: Hitler-Stalin).

Trotsky's predictions refuted by the epic victory of the USSR in World War II

As usual, and happily for humanity, all Trotsky's predictions were totally belied. After initial reverses in the first few weeks of the war, attributable in the main to the Nazi surprise attack, the Soviet defences stiffened. Before long they struck back. The rest of the world, like Trotsky, had given the USSR only a few weeks before collapsing in the face of the onslaught of the allegedly invincible Nazi war machine. The Red Army and Soviet people, united as one under the leadership of the CPSU and their Supreme Commander Joseph Stalin, exploded this myth of Nazi invincibility. Soviet victories in the titanic battles of Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk and Leningrad will forever be cherished not only by the peoples of the former, great and glorious Soviet Union, but also by all progressive humanity.

"The Battle of Moscow had been an epic event ... It had involved more than 2 million men, 2,500 tanks, 1,800 aircraft, and 25,000 guns. Casualties had been horrifying in scale. For the Russians it had ended in victory. They had suffered the full impact of the German 'Blitzkrieg' offensive and, notwithstanding their losses ... they had been able to mount an effective counterattack. They had begun to destroy the myth of German invincibility ... " (Ian Grey, Stalin - Man of History, Abacus, p.344).

The surrender on 1 February 1943 at Stalingrad, by the fascist general Von Paulus and 23 other generals, mesmerised the world. The victory of the Red Army at Stalingrad was incredible as it was heroic. The Nazi losses in the Volga-Don-Stalingrad area were 1.5 million men, 3,500 tanks, 12,000 guns and 3,000 aircraft. Never before had the Nazi war machine, which was accustomed to running over countries in days and weeks, suffered such a humiliating defeat, a defeat *"in which the flower of the German army perished. It was against the background of this battle ... that Stalin now rose to almost titanic stature in the eyes of the world."* (Deutscher, Stalin, p. 472). From now on nothing but defeat stared the Germans in the face, leading all the way to the entry of the Red Army into Berlin and the storming by it of the Reichstag on 30 April 1945 - the same day that the Fuhrer committed suicide. Six days later, Field- Marshall Wilhelm Keitel, acting on behalf of the German High Command, surrendered to Marshall Zhukov.

Stalin and the Great Patriotic War

Although the credit for the victory must correctly be given to the Soviet armed forces and the heroic efforts of the Soviet people, no narrative of these fateful years is complete without a reference, indeed a fulsome tribute, to the undisputed leader of the CPSU(B), the Soviet people, and the Supreme commander of the Soviet forces - Joseph Stalin. Even a renegade like Gorbachev is obliged, apropos the Soviet victory in the Second World War, to admit that: *"A factor in the achievement of victory was the tremendous political will, purposefulness and persistence, ability to organise and discipline people, displayed in the war years by Joseph Stalin."* (Report at the Festive Meeting on the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution held in Moscow on 2 November 1987, p. 25).

Ian Grey, who is a bourgeois but honest writer, has this to say on this score:

"The massive setbacks and the immediate threat to Moscow would have unnerved most men, but the impact on Stalin was to strengthen his grim determination to fight. No single factor was more important in holding the nation from disintegration at this time." (ibid. p. 335).

Further:

"It was in a real sense his [Stalin's] victory. It could not have been won without his industrialisation campaign and especially the intensive development of industry beyond the Volga. Collectivisation had contributed to the victory by enabling the government to stockpile food and raw materials to prevent paralysis in industry and famine in the towns. But also collectivisation, with its machine-tractor stations, had given the peasants their first training in the use of tractors and other machines." (Ibid. p.419).

Quoting Isaac Deutscher, who is far from being friendly to Stalin, approvingly, Ian Grey continues:

"'Collectivised farming had been 'the peasants' preparatory school for mechanised warfare' ...

"It was his victory, too, because he had directed and controlled every branch of Russian operations throughout the war. The range and burden of his responsibilities were extraordinary, but day by day without a break for the four years of the war he exercised direct command of the Russian forces and control over supplies, war industries, and government policy, including foreign

policy." (*Ibid.* pp. 419-420).

Finally the same writer says:

"It was his victory, above all, because it had been won by his genius and labors, heroic in scale. The Russian people had looked to him for leadership, and he had not failed them. His speeches of July 3 and November 6, 1941, which had steeled them for the trials of war, and his presence in Moscow during the great battle of the city, had demonstrated his will to victory. He ... inspired them and gave them positive direction. He had the capacity of attending to detail and keeping in mind the broad picture, and, while remembering the past and immersed in the present, he was constantly looking ahead to the future." (p.424).

Innately hostile as he is to Stalin, Deutscher is nevertheless obliged to paint this picture of Stalin's role during the war:

"Many allied visitors who called at the Kremlin during the war were astonished to see on how many issues, great and small, military, political, or diplomatic, Stalin personally took the final decision. He was in effect his own Commander-in-Chief, his own minister of defence, his own quartermaster, his own minister of supply, his own foreign minister, and even his own chief de protocole. The stavka, the Red Army's GHQ, was in his offices in the Kremlin. From his office desk, in constant and direct touch with the commands of the various fronts, he watched and directed the campaigns in the field. From his office desk, too, he managed another stupendous operation, the evacuation of 1,360 plants and factories from western Russia and the Ukraine to the Volga, the Urals and Siberia, an evacuation that involved not only machines and installations but millions of workmen and their families. Between one function and the other he bargained with, say, Beaverbrook and Harriman over the quantities of aluminium or the calibre of rifles and anti-aircraft guns to be delivered to Russia by the western allies; or he received leaders of the guerrillas ... from German occupied territory and discussed with them raids to be carried out hundreds of miles behind the enemy's lines. At the height of the battle of Moscow, in December 1941, when the thunder of Hitler's guns hovered ominously over the streets of Moscow, he found time enough to start a subtle diplomatic game with the Polish General Sikorski, who had come to conclude a Russo-Polish treaty. ... He entertained them [foreign envoys and visitors] usually late at night and in the small hours of the morning. After a day filled with military reports, operational decisions, economic instructions, and diplomatic haggling, he would at dawn pore over the latest dispatches from the com-

missariat of Home Affairs, the NKVD ... Thus he went on, day after day, throughout four years of hostilities - a prodigy of patience, tenacity, and vigilance, almost omnipresent, almost omniscient." (Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin*, pp. 456-457).

And further:

"... [T]here is no doubt that he was their [the Soviet troops'] real Commander-in-Chief. His leadership was by no means confined to the taking of abstract strategic decisions, at which civilian politicians may excel. The avid interest with which he studied the technical aspects of modern warfare, down to the minute details, shows him to have been anything but a dilettante. He viewed the war primarily from the angle of logistics ... To secure reserves of manpower and supplies of weapons, in the right quantities and proportions, to allocate them and transport them to the right points at the right time, to amass a decisive strategic reserve and to have it ready for intervention at decisive moments - these operations made up nine-tenths of his task" (Ibid. p.459).

Deutscher also dispels any notion of popular hostility to the Soviet regime:

"It should not be imagined that a majority of the nation was hostile to the government. If that had been the case no patriotic appeals, no prodding or coercion, would have prevented Russia's political collapse, for which Hitler was confidently hoping. The great transformation that the country had gone through before the war had ... strengthened the moral fibre of the nation. The majority was imbued with a strong sense of its economic and social advance, which it was grimly determined to defend against danger from without..." (Ibid. p.473).

So much then for the Trotskyist drivel about the "new aristocracy's incapacity to conduct a war," the "discontented workers and peasants and a decapitated army" making it impossible to make a war, the alleged inferiority of the weapons of the Red Army, Stalin being unable to "wage an offensive war with any hope of victory," and the war crushing "the Kremlin bureaucracy."

Far from being crushed, the Soviet regime emerged from the war much strengthened. Far from crushing the Soviet regime by its war against the USSR, the Nazi regime itself was crushed, as was Germany. What is more, the Soviet victory demonstrated beyond measure the correctness of the policies of industrialisation and collectivisation pursued, in the teeth of Trotskyist and imperialist opposition, by the Soviet regime before the war.

"The new appreciation of Stalin's role did not spring only from after-thoughts born in the flush of victory. The truth was that the war could not have been won without the intensive industrialisation of Russia, and of her eastern provinces in particular. Nor could it have been won without the collectivisation of large numbers of farms. The muzhik of 1930, who had never handled a tractor or any other machine, would have been of little use in modern war. Collectivised farming, with its machine-tractor stations, had been the peasants' preparatory school for mechanised warfare. The rapid raising of the average standard of education had also enabled the Red Army to draw on a considerable reserve of intelligent officers and men. 'We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years. Either we do it, or they crush us' - so Stalin had spoken exactly ten years before Hitler set out to conquer Russia. His words, when they were recalled now, could not but impress people as a prophesy brilliantly fulfilled, as a most timely call to action. And, indeed, a few years' delay in the modernisation of Russia might have made all the difference between victory and defeat." (Deutscher, *Ibid.* p.535).

This is how Deutscher captures the victory parade in Red Square at the end of the war.

"On 24 June 1945 Stalin stood at the top of the Lenin Mausoleum and reviewed a great victory parade of the Red Army which marked the fourth anniversary of Hitler's attack. By Stalin's side stood Marshall Zhukov, his deputy, the victor of Moscow, Stalingrad, and Berlin. The troops that marched past him were led by Marshall Rokossovsky. As they marched, rode, and galloped across the Red Square, regiments of infantry, cavalry, and tanks swept the mud of its pavement - it was a day of torrential rain - with innumerable banners and standards of Hitler's army. At the Mausoleum they threw the banners at Stalin's feet. The allegorical scene was strangely imaginative ...

"The next day Stalin received the tribute of Moscow for the defence of the city in 1941. The day after he was acclaimed as 'Hero of the Soviet Union' and given the title of Generalissimo." (*Ibid.* p.534).

In "these days of undreamt-of triumph and glory," continues Deutscher: *"Stalin stood in the full blaze of popular recognition and gratitude. These feelings were spontaneous, genuine, not engineered by official propagandists. Overworked slogans about the 'achievements of the Stalinist era' now conveyed fresh meaning not only to young people, but to sceptics and malcontents of the older generation..."* (*Ibid.* p.534).

Thus, at the end of the war Trotskyism stood thoroughly discredited -

thoroughly bankrupt - and regarded as no more than an information bureau and anti-communist ally of imperialism - in particular during the US-led war of aggression against the Korean people, during which most Trotskyists, consumed by their genetical hatred of the Soviet Union, effectively sided with US imperialism and against the forces of national liberation and socialism.

The cold war - Imperialism's response to the prestige of victorious socialism.

The USSR's successes in the collectivisation of agriculture, massive socialist industrialisation, gigantic achievements in education, science, technology and culture, with a continuously rising standard of living for the working class and the collective peasantry, and her crowning victory in the anti-fascist Great Patriotic War, with the resultant victory of People's Democratic governments in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania, brought Soviet prestige to soaring point. It was this spectacle of triumphant, confident and advancing socialism that put the fear of God into the hearts of the imperialist bourgeoisie and caused the latter, under the leadership of US imperialism which had emerged from the war as the strongest imperialist power, to initiate the cold war, establish the NATO aggressive warmongering military alliance and re-arm West Germany as a member of this alliance.

The NATO warmongers threatened the USSR with an economic blockade and nuclear blackmail. But the USSR defied the blockade and military threats alike. It re-doubled its efforts to build its economy and destroy the US monopoly of the atom bomb. At the end of September 1949, in the same week as Comrade Mao Tse-tung proclaimed the People's Republic of China and the success of the Chinese revolution, the world heard the detonation of the USSR's first atom bomb. Even such a Trotskyite writer as Isaac Deutscher, whose hatred for Stalin is total and who never misses a chance of describing Stalin as "*dull and dreary*", is obliged to admit:

"He [Stalin] achieved some of his vital objectives. He resisted Western pressures firmly enough to deter any American design for spreading the war; and Soviet nuclear industry progressed by leaps and bounds and produced its first hydrogen bomb in 1953, shortly after the Americans had achieved the feat. The basic sectors of the Soviet economy, having reached their pre-war level of output in 1948-49, rose 50 per cent above in Stalin's last years. The moderni-

sation and urbanisation of the Soviet Union was accelerated. In the early fifties alone its urban population grew by about 25 millions. Secondary schools and universities were giving instruction to twice as many pupils as before 1940. Out of the wreckage of the world war the foundations had been re-laid for Russia's renewed industrial and military ascendancy, which was presently to startle the world." (Stalin, pp. 585-586).

A few pages further down, Deutscher observes:

"... it is a fact that 'Stalin found Russia with a wooden plough and left her equipped with atomic piles' ... This summary of Stalin's rule is, of course, a tribute to his achievement." (Ibid. p. 609). The words quoted by Deutscher are quoted from his own obituary of Stalin published in the *Manchester Guardian* of 6 March 1953.

Of course, only the demented Trotskyites can argue that the above achievements took place automatically on the foundation of socialist property relations inherited from the October Revolution - not because of, but despite, the leadership, as it were. No, such achievements do not come without correct leadership. One has only to compare the leadership, the policies pursued by the leadership, and the consequences and achievements of those policies, in the USSR up to the mid-fifties with those of the leadership from the 20th Party Congress (1956) onwards until the August 1991 coup resulting in the disintegration of the USSR to realise what a chasm divides the two periods. Even Roy Medvedev, no friend of Stalin's and the author of the thoroughly anti-Stalin *Let history judge*, has been obliged to say: "Stalin found the Soviet Union in ruin and left it a superpower. Gorbachev inherited a superpower and left it in ruin."

Triumph of Khrushchevite revisionism and the resuscitation of Trotskyism

Thus, in view of her gigantic achievements, which were the fruit of dogged persistence in following the Leninist path of socialist construction, working people treated with utter contempt the Trotskyist ravings against the USSR and its leadership. All this, however, changed with the triumph of Khrushchevite revisionism in the CPSU after the death of Stalin. Khrushchevite revisionism could get nowhere in its desire to undermine socialism, reach an accommodation with imperialism, and start the long process on the road back to capitalism, unless it attacked the person who had, after the death of Lenin and in a bitter struggle for the victory of the Lenin-

ist line on the question of socialist industrialisation and collectivisation, become the most representative spokesman of, and whose name was indelibly and inextricably linked with, the building of socialism in the USSR, namely, Joseph Stalin. Hence Khrushchev's attack on Stalin in his so-called secret report to the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU in 1956. With this attack on Stalin's alleged 'personality cult' - all, incidentally, in the name of Leninism and with the alleged purpose of returning to true Leninist norms - began the long political and economic process that brought forth ripe capitalist fruit under the loving and tender care of Khrushchev's last successor, Gorbachev. I cannot here go further into this question, with which I have dealt in greater detail in my *Perestroika - the Complete Collapse of Revisionism*.

Khrushchev's attack on Stalin brought some retrospective credence to Trotskyist counter-revolutionary fulminations against the USSR from the mid-twenties onwards. As under the tutelage of Khrushchev and his successors, the CPSU itself, as well as the revisionist parties in Europe and elsewhere, really did begin to degenerate, the long-repeated Trotskyist jeremiads about the alleged Thermidor and degeneration gripping the CPSU from 1923 onwards came to acquire the semblance of plausibility.

Trotskyism sides with every single counter-revolutionary movement.

In the aftermath of the triumph of revisionism at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU, and under its direct stimulus, bourgeois-nationalist tendencies within the working-class parties, acting in close coordination with the imperialist agencies and broadcasting media as well as the church, came to the fore in some of the People's Democracies. In a number of places - most notably Hungary - these led to counter-revolutionary uprisings. Everywhere in these upheavals directed against socialism and the rule of the working class, the Trotskyites were, as was to be expected, on the side of imperialism, reaction, counter-revolution and clerico-fascism. The XIth World Congress of Trotskyites paid homage to the CIA-Vatican inspired and led Hungarian counter-revolution in the following glowing terms:

"The Hungarian revolution of October-November 1956 went the farthest on the path of a fully-fledged antibureaucratic political revolution." (Imprecor, Nov. 1979).

James Burnham, the American Trotskyist, and Trotsky's trusted hench-

man until 1940, openly advocated, from 1950 onwards, the US policy of "liberation of captive nations" - a policy of destabilising People's Democracies in eastern Europe.

Trotskyism and the Czechoslovak counter-revolution.

When the extreme revisionists in Czechoslovakia, under the leadership of Dubcek, impatient with the slow speed of 'reform' aimed at restoring a capitalist economy and a multi-party bourgeois democracy, started the so-called Prague Spring, they euphemistically declared that their aim was "to free Marxism from Stalinist and bureaucratic distortions" and to "formulate the humanist vocation of the communist movement." The meaning of these apparently attractive slogans became all too clear during 1989, by which time the liquidation of the Communist Parties in Poland and Hungary, the dismantling of what remained of socialist planning of the economy in those countries, and the plunge into capitalism and bourgeois democracy, under the tender mercies of imperialism and its spiritual arm, the Vatican, had become obvious. Dubcek, in a letter to the Party leadership, pleaded with them not to condemn reforms in Poland and Hungary. So did his colleague, Jiri Pelikan, who called upon the "democratic movement in western Europe [to] develop a dialogue with Solidarnosc ... in Poland, with the Democratic Forum ... in Hungary, with Charter 77 ... in Czechoslovakia", that is, with the forces of capitalist restoration. Then, in 1968, as well as subsequently in the late 1980s and the beginning of the present decade, the Trotskyites, true to form, were to be found on the side of counter-revolution.

The Trotskyist, Petr Uhl, was one of the most active members of the anti-communist Charter 77. On 15 October 1988, the luminaries of Charter 77 and other opposition groups signed a Manifesto of the Movement for Civil Liberty which, inter alia, demanded "economic and political pluralism," freeing of business from "the yoke of centralised bureaucracy," "complete re-establishment of private enterprise in ... commerce, craft industry, small and medium business," and the integration of the Czech economy ... in a natural way with the world economy, based upon the international division of labour" - that is, a manifesto for the restoration of capitalism and bourgeois democracy. While declaring himself to be in sympathy with this manifesto of the velvet counter-revolution, Uhl did not judge it opportune to append his signature to it, even criticising it as "liberal democratic" and "totalitarian." The conclusion? Instead of denouncing it and disassociating himself from

it, he welcomed the manifesto because of the inclusion in it of *"the demand for workers' control in the big firms,"* of the kind that abounds in the imperialist countries with its humbug of a share-owning democracy.

After the success of the counter-revolution and the implementation of the above manifesto, Uhl stated:

"One might discuss the extent to which Trotsky's theory of the political revolution has been justified. I think that it is in Czechoslovakia that the reality is nearest to this theory."

He goes on to add by way of an explanation of this 'political revolution' and the composition of this anti-communist coalition: *"so long as people can say they are against 'communism, Stalinism and bureaucracy, then everybody is in agreement"* (Imprecor, no 304, 1990, p. 26).

And further: *"There were those who saw in Charter 77 a step in the direction of political revolution - of whom I was one; others saw in it a means of propagating the word of Christ. It was a veritable laboratory of tolerance."* (Imprecor no 300, 1990, p.8).

Comrade Ludo Martens, Chairman of the Belgian Party of Labour (PTB), in his book *The Velvet Counter Revolution*, which I recommend to any reader desiring a detailed account of these events, justly remarks in this regard:

"To overthrow and destroy socialism (whether it be a strong and vigorous socialism or an eroded and sickly socialism), the clerico-fascists, reactionary nationalists, the agents of the CIA and social democrats all stick together and needless to say they show great 'tolerance' towards those pseudo-socialists who back up their political agitation with repeated quotations from Trotsky" about the so-called anti-bureaucratic, political revolution, which turns out, as it was always meant, to be no more than another expression, wrapped up in 'left' verbiage, for the simple restoration of capitalism. Thus has Trotskyism arrived at its 'political revolution' against "Stalinist bureaucracy"!!

The Belgian Trotskyist, Ernest Mandel, greeted the events of 12 January 1990 as: *"the sudden access of hundreds of millions of men and women from the Eastern countries to political life."* (Imprecor, no. 300, 1990, p.8). The meaning of this meaningless hyperbole was made clear by the selfsame puffed-up and pompous Trotskyist gentry a mere ten months later, on 23 November 1990: *"According to Petr Uhl, there are probably only a few thousand, even a few hundred militants from Civic Forum at the regional and local*

level."

Further: *"The student movement, which largely inspired the events of November 1989, no longer exists."* (Imprecor, no. 319, 1990, p.4).

In Czechoslovakia, the *"access to political life"*, over which Mandel waxed so lyrical, happened at a time when the masses were following the counter-revolutionary Civic Forum, under the leadership of Havel, a notorious CIA agent. This is what Pavel Pechacek, head of the Czech section of the CIA-financed Radio Free Europe, has to say in this instance:

"We have always played an important role. According to the leader of the student revolt in Bratislava, it was Radio Free Europe which lit the fuse. We always had close contacts with Havel, Carnogursky and Dienstbeir, who today are members of the new government, but who for years worked for us as independent correspondents."

These were the people - the Havels and Pechaceks - who *"awakened the masses to political life"* in Czechoslovakia. Knowing full well that the Civic Forum stood for restoration of capitalism, that Vaclav Klaus, head of the Civic Forum since October 1990 and one of the principal advisors to Havel, is not only on record expressing his admiration for Milton Friedman and Hayek, the two bourgeois economists most admired by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, former President of the USA and former Prime Minister of Britain respectively, but also his commitment to *"a market economy, without qualification"* - knowing all this Mandel told a Belgian financial paper on 21 March 1990:

"The transition to a completely western model is possible, but this is not the case in countries like the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia" (De Financieel Economische Tijd, 21.3.90).

Knowing all this, why did the Trotskyists go along with the Civic Forum? Their innate hatred of socialism and communism is the answer. This truth is blurted out by the dim-witted Uhl, who explained that his support for the Civic Forum and Havel was motivated by a desire to get rid of the remnants of the socialist system!

After several political somersaults and mental contortions, the Trotskyist Uhl finally, and not unexpectedly, carved for himself a nice little niche in the new bourgeois Czech state, as the head of the Czech Press Agency, a position to which he was appointed in February 1990, from which to propagate the wonders of capitalist restoration and the *"access to political life"* set

in train by this restoration - 'anti-bureaucratic revolution' if you like.

From jabbering away about workers' control only the previous day, Uhl had little difficulty in getting on with the job of informing the masses that the Czech state represents society:

"It is generally understood that, if we depend on the State, we support the government, which is not exactly the case. Of course we must 'respect' the government, but if there is a conflict, it would be up to a parliamentary committee to make a decision, because parliament represents the State more than the government does. Our task is to propagate news abroad about Czech society. This is the concern of the Czech State because it represents Czech society for the moment." (Imprecor, no. 304, 1990, p.27).

If this drivel amounts to anything at all it amounts to the worst form of parliamentary cretinism, according to which the Czech parliament and bourgeois Czech state are synonymous, and since, according to this Trotskyist imbecile, the state represents society, it is *"our task to propagate news abroad about Czech society."*¹¹ This is the beginning and end, the sole meaning, of the much trumpeted Trotskyist *"anti-bureaucratic, political revolution."* Nothing could be clearer than this.

The Belgian Trotskyist Mandel and the French Trotskyist Broue crudely defend counter revolution

Mandel, notorious for his anti-Marxism and vulgar economism, had for more than two decades held the view that in the absence of a violent counter-revolution capitalism could not be restored in the socialist countries. Proceeding from this erroneous premise, he has all along advocated multi-party democracy (democracy for all). Since, according to his reasoning, there was no danger to socialism and the real enemy lay in 'bureaucracy', through multi-party democracy socialism would acquire a democratic character. Towards the end of 1989, in regard to the counter-revolutionary movement in Timisoara, which resulted in the overthrow and foul murder of Ceaucescu and his wife, Helena, Mandel surpassed even the lying imperialist media in denouncing the *"hideous Stalinist crimes in Timisoara"* - crimes which turned out not to have been committed after all. The bourgeois media's inflammatory figures of 70,000 to 100,000 dead in Timisoara, and the horror stories about mass graves, turned out to be totally fabricated. The correction, of only 700 deaths, most at the hands of the army rather than the Securitate, was made in half-inch columns relegated to in-

side pages.

In regard to the counter-revolutionary movement in the German Democratic Republic Mandel declared:

"I am delighted over what is happening in Berlin. The anti-socialist movement is really weak." Welcoming this "revolution," he went on to exclaim: "Everything Trotsky ever hoped for could now become reality." (Dans Humo, 21.12.89).

In Trotskyist, as indeed in imperialist, circles, whereas Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Trotsky are revolutionaries, Stalin and the Bolshevik Party that he led are counter-revolutionaries!!

It is worth while reproducing the views of Mandel, considered to be the theoretician of the Trotskyist IVth International, on the counter-revolutionary programme of capitalist restoration embodied in Gorbachev's *Perestroika*. During an interview he gave to a journalist of *New Times*, he was asked:

"Is it not true that Mikhail Gorbachev stated that Perestroika is a true new revolution?"

To which Mandel replied: *"Yes, he does indeed and again this is very positive. Our movement has defended this thesis for 55 years and was therefore labelled as counterrevolutionary. Today people, both in the Soviet Union and in a large part of the international communist movement, understand better where the real counterrevolutionaries were."* (no. 38, 1990, French edition).

Again, in the same Belgian financial paper already referred to, Mandel expresses himself on this question in the following terms:

"The reformer Yeltsin represents the tendency which wants to reduce the gigantic state apparatus. Consequently he follows in Trotsky's footsteps." (21 March 1990).

These wonderful admissions from the Trotskyist Mandel, for which we thank him heartily, only make our job of exposing Trotsky's anti-communism and anti-Bolshevism, easier. For once, Mandel is absolutely correct. Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Trotsky do have the same ideological and political physiognomy - they all stand for capitalist restoration.

This same despicable Mandel had earlier described the arch reactionary monarchist, Sakharov, as one of the *"radical and progressive left"* and the bourgeois-nationalist Sajudis of Lithuania as belonging to *"the radical democratic and nationalist popular movement"!!* (*Imprecor*, no. 285, 3 April 1989).

Without exception, all the Trotskyists everywhere supported the counter-revolutionary brainchild of the CIA and the Vatican, Solidarnosc in Poland, cheering its rise and accession to power - again in the name of Trotsky's *"anti-bureaucratic political revolution"*.

The French Trotskyist Broué, already referred to, for his part applauds the counter-revolutionary movements of eastern Europe which two years after the publication of his *Trotsky* came to head the capitalist-restorationist regimes, and correctly attributes to Trotsky the following version of *"political revolution."*

"The demands appearing in these movements of workers and youth reconstitute those that defined the program of 'political revolution' as Trotsky sketched it: democracy, freedom for parties, destruction of the bureaucratic apparatus, 'free' trade unions, electoral freedom and the right of criticism, ending infringements on human rights, punishing those responsible for crimes, winning the democratic rights of speech, assembly, demonstration, as well as the appearance of a free - and hence stimulating - press." (op. cit. p.943).

The American Trotskyist ICL's sophisticated defence of counter revolution

Of course the correct and candid representation by Messrs Mandel and Broué of Trotsky's *"political revolution"* against *"Stalinist bureaucracy"* is highly embarrassing to the Spartacists of the ICL, who are forever presenting a sanitised version of Trotskyism in an effort to gain for the latter some credibility in the eyes of progressive workers in order to be able to carry out all the more successfully the propagation of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and the theory of permanent hopelessness. That is why they fly into a rage against Mandel and Broué's straightforward admissions of the simple truth.

What is the ICL's own position? While it may appear to an unwary or superficial observer that they defend the gains of socialism and socialist construction, and workers' states, this is not the case. They are second to none in maligning the former socialist regimes, especially the Soviet regime from 1923 to 1953, which they have always denounced as *"bureaucratic"*, needing to be overthrown by a *"political revolution."* In unguarded moments, however, dropping their usual mask, they reveal the reactionary essence of their Trotskyist political line. In an article written in November 1992 for the sole purpose of presenting a sanitised version of Trotskyism,

the truth literally oozes out, despite themselves, in the following lines:

"The idea that 'socialism' could be built in a single country (and a backward one at that), surrounded by imperialist enemies, is a nationalist perversion of Marxism.

"Stalin's dogma of 'socialism in one country' was the ideological afterbirth of a political counterrevolution which DEFEATED Leninist internationalism and brought to power a nationalist bureaucratic caste".

Was the idea of socialism in a single country really a "nationalist perversion of Marxism," was it really "Stalin's dogma" and "the ideological afterbirth of a political counterrevolution which defeated Leninist internationalism and brought to power a nationalist bureaucratic caste"? If what Spartacist says is true, would it be worth while for them, or for anyone else, to defend the gains of this "nationalist perversion"? The Spartacists of the ICL only had to ask this question to realise that they were giving away their whole game, of appearing to defend socialism in words while undermining it in deeds. Are the Spartacists really so ignorant of Lenin's writings as not to realise that this "nationalist perversion" of socialism in one country was not "Stalin's dogma," but Lenin's? He and he alone must get the credit (or discredit) for the authorship of this 'dogma'. The Spartacists ought not to be so ignorant, for they claim that they are Leninists and make the same claim for their guru, Trotsky. Let them then read Lenin's 1916 article *Military Programme of Proletarian Revolution*, and his article on cooperation at the beginning of 1923, just as Trotsky was writing his anti-Leninist, counter-revolutionary pamphlet *New Course*. And let them read the following lines taken from Lenin's 20th November 1922 speech to the Moscow Soviet:

"We have approached the very core of the everyday problems, and that is a tremendous achievement. Socialism is no longer a matter of the distant future, or an abstract picture, or an icon. Our opinion of icons is the same - a very bad one. WE HAVE BROUGHT SOCIALISM INTO EVERYDAY LIFE and must here see how matters stand. That is the task of our day, the task of our epoch. Permit me to conclude by expressing confidence that difficult as this task may be, new as it may be compared with our previous task, and numerous as the difficulties may be that it entails, we shall all - not in a day, BUT IN A FEW YEARS - all of us together fulfil it whatever the cost, SO THAT NEP RUSSIA WILL BECOME SOCIALIST RUSSIA." (V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 33 p. 443 - Emphasis added).

After this, if the Spartacists have the courage of their convictions, they

ought to accuse Lenin of the "dogma" they attempt to pin on Stalin's shirt sleeve; they ought to lay the blame for this "nationalist perversion" at the doorstep of Lenin rather than depositing it at Stalin's.

SWP Trots welcome the demise of communism

The largest British Trotskyist organisation, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), having cheered every counter-revolutionary movement in eastern Europe from the CIA-Vatican inspired Hungarian uprising to the capitalist-restorationist Solidarnosc and the Civic Forum in Czechoslovakia, greeted with frenzied glee the demise of socialism in the USSR. Its organ, *Socialist Worker*, declared joyfully: "*Communism has collapsed. Now fight for real socialism.*" (31 August 1991). It went on to cheer the toppling of the statues of Sverdlov, Dzerzhinsky, and other "*former Communist Party icons*"; it even considered it opportune to carry a picture of the statue of the great Lenin down and to declare "*Communism has collapsed... It is a fact that should have every socialist rejoicing.*"

The SWP went as far as to argue that Yeltsin's victory had brought "*the workers of the USSR closer to the spirit of the socialist revolution of 1917, not further from it.*"

Well, since the Berlin wall came down on 9 November 1989, what has this 'death of communism' and the fight for 'real socialism' brought in its trail? Exactly what imperialism had been desiring and working for over decades. Exactly what every intelligent observer, not consumed by anti-communist hate, expected it to be. The market forces have been let loose over the unhappy peoples of eastern Europe and the former USSR. Everywhere there is rising unemployment, contraction of production, catastrophic rates of inflation, national strife, rising racism, anti-semitism and fascism, increased crime, drug trafficking, prostitution, black market and hunger. There has been an astronomic rise in the prices of basic necessities such as food, accommodation, electricity and clothing. In other words, all the freedoms have been unleashed that are associated with a free market economy and the Trotskyite "*political revolution*" against "*Stalinist bureaucracy.*"

In the former German Democratic Republic, for instance, between the beginning of 1990 and the end of 1991, the economy contracted by 20% as entire industries were shut down. In the first half of 1990, industrial output fell by a huge 40%; in the second half of the same year by another 40%! By the spring of 1991, a third of East Germans had either lost their jobs or were

put on short time. From 270,000 in July 1990, unemployment jumped to 1 million by the end of 1991 and 1.5 million in 1992.

In Poland, 2 million workers, representing 15% of the workforce, are unemployed, and, while real wages have fallen by 30%, the cost of living has risen by 40%.

The picture is the same in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, where industrial production has fallen by a fifth.

In the USSR, which had a giant economy before 1985, industrial production is down by 40% since then; the rate of inflation stands at a staggering 2,500%; the currency is in ruin, with the rouble, which used to have a value higher than the US dollar, now having a rate of exchange of 800 roubles to the dollar (March 1993).

The same goons of the SWP who with such lurid delight greeted the "death" of "communism" as the beginning of the fight for "real socialism", two years later on bemoan, in the manner of innocent virgins, the fact that the changes are hurting the workers. Writing in the *Socialist Worker* of 9 November 1991, they say:

"Wealth, freedom, democracy - This, the media claimed, was the future for east Germany as the Berlin Wall came down on 9 November 1989.

"In the weeks which followed Czechoslovaks, Bulgarians and Romanians threw off their Stalinist rulers too. Poles and Hungarians increased the pressure for reform.

"Two years on and those same politicians, commentators and pundits are silent. Not one of their predictions has come true, none shows any prospect of coming true.

"... the market economy has not led to prosperity, simply deepened the misery."

On the contrary. Every prediction of bourgeois politicians and media has come true. Capitalism is being restored, and this process, as was known to everyone (including the dim-witted Trotskyists whose "antibureaucratic political revolution" against "Stalinism" and "the command economy", shorn of all its 'left' verbiage, amounted to this capitalist restoration), can only take place amid misery and ruin for the masses of workers and an extraordinary enrichment of the few. The movement involving the demolition of all central planning and the introduction of private property cannot but express itself in shocks, jolts and dislocation, which are hurting the working class of

he former socialist states.

It is indeed the SWP gurus who, if they had any sense of shame and a grain of socialism in them, ought to be quiet at the very least, since it is their darlings, Lech Walesa and his Solidarnosc in Poland, Havel and his Civic Forum in the Czech Republic, Boris Yeltsin in Russia, etc., all leaders of the Trotskyist "anti- bureaucratic revolution", who are introducing the wonders of 'democracy' and the 'free market'. Instead of wisely keeping quiet, Socialist Worker, having summarised the results of introduction of the market economy in eastern European countries, goes on mildly to complain:

"Yet this, and the misery being suffered in east Germany and Poland, has not stopped Russia's President Boris Yeltsin proposing a programme of rapid and widespread privatisation and the quick removal of food and rent subsidies."

But it would appear that they are not happy with the results as yet, for they believe that the newly established bourgeois regimes have not been thorough enough in destroying all the traces, instruments and institutions connected with the previous regimes in the former socialist states:

"And not a week goes by without revelations proving the hated Stasi, the Securitate, the Hungarian AVO and all the other riff raff which once enforced the Stalinist regimes, are still around!"

The above sentence, apart from revealing that their hatred is most reserved for the socialist regimes, is also a clever attempt to fool the simple Simons, who swell the rank and file of Trotskyist organisations everywhere and who have a weakness for catchphrases, into believing that the former regimes in eastern Europe were Stalinist, i.e., Leninist. In the preface of my book *Perestroika, The Complete Collapse of Revisionism*, referring in this context to the Trotskyites, revisionists and social democrats, I said:

"This revolting gentry - in particular the counter- revolutionary Trotskyites - have been gloating with delirium over the alleged collapse, in Eastern Europe and the USSR, of Stalinism. Just the contrary. What has collapsed is revisionism, and its inevitable degeneration into ordinary capitalism. What is called 'Stalinism' by these despicable creatures is only Leninism in practice. When Leninism was practised in the USSR, as it undoubtedly was during the three decades of Stalin's leadership of the CPSU, it achieved world- historic feats on all fronts - economic, social, cultural, diplomatic and military - which is precisely the reason why the very name of Stalin has become the target of so much abuse on the part of the bourgeoisie and its 'hired prize-fighters'. So what has

collapsed is revisionism, even though in order to confuse the proletariat, the sly and yet unthinking and uncouth Trotskyites, using the word 'Stalinism' as a swear word rather than as a political characterisation, have been applying it to the very revisionists who entertain mortal hatred of Stalin." (pp. viii-ix).

In the end when all is said and done, *Socialist Worker* is well satisfied with the achievements of the counter-revolution in eastern Europe, and ends with the following smug, not to say smutty, conclusion:

"What Socialist Worker said in November 1989 remains true today: 'what is really wonderful about the new movements in eastern Europe is they raise the possibility of a society which is better, freer and more democratic than that which exists east or west at the moment'."

In other words, what a wonderful thing it was to have replaced the former socialist regimes with bourgeois regimes and free market economies, the consequences of which Mr Alan Gibson, the writer of this article in *Socialist Worker*, so dementedly and in such self-annihilatory a manner, bemoans!!

The same SWP, which in August 1991 had with great counter-revolutionary zeal declared that Yeltsin's victory had brought *"the workers of the USSR closer to the spirit of the socialist revolution of 1917"*, now declares, through the column of the despicable John Molyneux, that *"it is precisely the viciously anti-working class nature of Yeltsin's free market 'reform' that makes him aspire to dictatorial powers in order to impose his programme. Consequently no socialist should now support Yeltsin."* (*Socialist Worker*, 10 April 1993, *"Russia: should we take sides?"*)

Such is the logic of the counter-revolutionary gentry of the SWP: support for Yeltsin's counter-revolution in August 1991 on the pretext that his victory brought the USSR proletariat *"closer to the spirit of the socialist revolution of 1917"* and opposition to Yeltsin in April 1993 for his attempt to put into effect the declared programme of the very counter-revolution over which the SWP waxed so eloquent!!

Nothing could reveal better the hideous social-democratic face of the SWP than the fact that the same *Socialist Worker*, which felt elated at the death of communism, suffered a deep "depression" and "post-election demoralisation" in the wake of the fourth consecutive electoral rout of the Labour Party. Bleated the *Socialist Worker*: *"The election result was a disaster for everyone who wants a better society."*

The crudity of SWP's defence of capitalism and its representatives compelled even the Spartacists of the ICL, another counter-revolutionary Trotskyite organisation, to make the following correct observation:

"An organisation [i.e. the SWP - HB] which found a cause 'that should have every socialist rejoicing' in the victory of Yeltsin's counter-revolutionary forces that have brought poverty, mass unemployment and misery to the masses of the former Soviet Union, while finding a cause to make 'socialists' sob in the defeat of Neil Kinnock's scab-herding Labour traitors, obviously has a pretty twisted weathervane..." (Workers Hammer July/August 1993).

And further down in the same article, continue the ICL: *"Capitalist counter-revolution in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has meant untold misery for the working masses of those countries - poverty, homelessness and starvation - and made an onslaught of bloody nationalist fratricide. Europe - East and West - faces massive unemployment, the ominous rise of anti-Semitism, racist and fascist terror, attacks on women's rights... Now that the unifying thread of anti-Sovietism no longer mutes their rivalries the imperialist ruling classes are trying to tighten the screws of exploitation on the proletariat at 'home'. At the same time, they try to sell the lie to the working class and oppressed that 'communism is dead', that any attempt to overthrow this system of exploitation and oppression is condemned in advance, useless, even criminal.*

"The SWP presents itself as a fighting alternative. If there were any justice in this world, these Third Camp renegades should feel ashamed to even try to show their face in public! From Poland to East Germany to Moscow, they were among the foremost cheerleaders for the forces of counter revolution that are now devastating Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union. While most of the rest of the left followed suit, howling along with the imperialist wolves in championing any and every anti-Soviet 'movement', the SWP not only supported some of the darkest forces of reaction but offered them as a model for the struggle against Stalinist 'totalitarianism'.

"So, for example, following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the Cliffites heralded the CIA-funded Islamic reactionaries who are now drowning any shred of social progress in that country in blood. Socialist Worker (4 February 1989) enthused that a 'Mojahedin victory will encourage the opponents of Russian rule everywhere in the USSR and Eastern Europe'! By rights the SWP should now be pleased that just such 'opponents of Russian rule', i.e., vicious nationalist reactionaries, fascist terrorists, women-hating clericalists, have been unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution." (ibid.).

The SWP may be organised independently, but in terms of its programme and political and ideological physiognomy it is indistinguishable from the social-democratic Labour Party - as indeed are all Trotskyite organisations, who everywhere act as an anti-communist militant wing of social democracy.

The hypocrisy of SWP's fake anti-Labour stance is exposed by another Trotskyite, Sean Matgamna. Writing in the *Socialist Organiser* of 19 November 1992, from a perspective which would have the SWP within the Labour Party to help build the 'left' within it, this is how he tears the mask of false anti-Labourism from the hideous face of the SWP:

"In the 1979 General Election the SWP while proclaiming itself 'the socialist alternative' to the Labour Party, declined to put up candidates, backed the Labour Party! ... It fell to Foot, in a much-quoted interview in the London Evening Standard, to express the SWP's dualism, the approach which left the political labour movement to the right wing, in all its crassness. He said: 'For the next three weeks I am a strong Labour supporter. I am very anxious that a Tory government shouldn't be returned, and I shall be going around to meetings we are having telling everyone to vote Labour' (9 April 1979)."

Concludes Mr Matgamna: *"In his role of SWP ambassador to the bourgeoisie and the media, Foot often blurts out the truth about the SWP's politics, without the usual 'socialist' obfuscation and phrasemongering. Michael Foot's nephew Paul is thus a useful man to have around."*

The Healyite Trotskyites detect Trotsky's line and welcome Gorbachev's Perestroika

The late and unlamented child molester and recipient of funds from a wide variety of sources ranging from the Arab regimes to the CIA for his lifelong devotion to the cause of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, namely the Trotskyite Gerry Healy of the old and notorious Socialist Labour League (SLL), welcomed Gorbachev's *perestroika* and *glasnost* as *"the political revolution for restoring Bolshevik world revolutionary perspectives."* Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and its disintegration, Healy's followers, the Redgrave Trots of the so-called Marxist Party, have gone on to blacken all Soviet development and history by asserting that Lenin had been wrong throughout and that Rosa Luxemburg's denunciation of Lenin as a *"sterile overseer"* aiming at *"blind subordination"* to *"an intellectual elite hungry for power"* through *"pitiless centralism"* was correct.

With the disappearance of the former socialist states and the coming to power of bourgeois regimes, the Trotskyites are at sixes and sevens as to how to explain away their wretched theory of *"anti-bureaucratic political revolution"*. As a result they are at each other's throats. The other offshoots of Healy's lunatic fringe, the Northites and Torrancites, are in convulsions over this. The Northites simply pass the buck on to Trotsky who, they say, got it wrong for there was nothing left with which to have a revolution:

"What was destroyed between 1936 and 1940 was not only the flower of Marxism but its roots."

"It doesn't detract anything from Trotsky's work to say that he simply could not have known, even when he was writing his denunciations of the Moscow Trials, the scale of the bloodbath that was taking place in the USSR."

This can mean one of two things: either that socialism had ceased to exist and capitalism had been restored by the end of the 1930s, in which case, the Northites appear to be arguing Trotsky ought to have then denounced the Soviet regime far more vehemently than he actually did; alternatively it could mean that the workers' state, albeit a 'distorted' one, continued to exist in the USSR but that after the Moscow treason trials there was no 'revolutionary vanguard' left capable of effecting the Trotskyist 'political revolution', and that therefore the 'overthrow of the bureaucracy' could only lead to the establishment of capitalism, to which end the Trotskyists, with their theory of 'political revolution' have worked all these years. In this case, Trotsky was also wrong in advocating his 'political revolution' thereby leading his followers up the blind alley which leads to capitalist restoration. Whichever way one looks at the above Northite quotation, one comes to the conclusion that these gentry are as much at sea in explaining the momentous developments in the USSR as they are at home with Trotskyist gobbledygook.

From the anti-Soviet defeatism, hidden by veritable phrasemongering and a pretended belief in the chimerical *"anti-bureaucratic political revolution"*, the Northite Trots pass over without any difficulty to the following unreserved and absolute defeatism, characterising the whole period from October 1917 onwards as one of unmitigated disaster:

"We should avoid using phrases that become hackneyed from over-use; but in this case it can truly be said that we have come to the end of an entire historical period that was opened in 1917."

Their rivals, from the Torrance faction of Trots, the *Newsline Workers'*

Revolutionary Party (WRP) rump, do not like the Northite 'explanation' whose utter defeatism greatly embarrasses them. In an attempt to gain some credibility for Trotskyism and overcome doubts even among the Trotskyist rank and file as to whether their guru Trotsky's theory of "*political revolution*" and his lifetime spent in anti-Soviet activity ever contained an iota of progressive, let alone revolutionary, content, the Torrancites come down, Mandel fashion, in favour of characterising the counter-revolutionary developments in the former USSR and eastern Europe as "*revolutionary*" in nature. Deriding the Northites, the Torrancites write:

"The comic side of all this is that since the bureaucracy is the 'determining force', if the so-called 'military industrial complex' were to overthrow Yeltsin, reinstating the USSR, then no doubt North would have to declare that the USSR was once again a workers state. He would have to say 'Thank god for the Stalinist bureaucracy'."

Thus we find one section of Trots (the Northites) blaming Trotsky for not being firm enough in his fulminations against the Soviet Union, thereby misleading his followers into the blind alley of supporting an allegedly workers' state in need of political revolution, when, say the Northites, socialism had already been destroyed and therefore there was nothing left against which to have a revolution. The other section (Torrancites) exonerate themselves from all responsibility for lifelong anti-Soviet and anti-communist activity by pretending that the counter revolution has not taken place at all, that Yeltsin represents the "*political revolution*", which, in the course of time, will "*restore Bolshevism*."

Some other Trots

For its part, the Trotskyist rag *Socialist Organiser*, referred to immediately above, exulted over the victory of the Yeltsin forces thus: "*His brave defiance of the Stalinist establishment will help workers to see what the issues are - an opening society, with the beginnings of the rule of law and some degree of democratic self-control, on one side, and stifling ice-age Stalinist dictatorship on the other.*" (SO Supplement, 20 August 1992).

The 'Militant' Trotskyites were no less despicably shameless in welcoming the Yeltsin counter-revolution: "*All over the world workers will see this as people's power reducing the threat of dictatorship to a poorly scripted farce. Every dictator will tremble at the prospect of his own subjects taking such action.*"

'Workers Power', yet another Trotskyist outfit, being fully cognisant of the "socially counter-revolutionary nature of Yeltsin's programme" and the "spivs and racketeers" who supported him, nevertheless felt obliged to back Yeltsin: "No matter what the socially counter-revolutionary nature of Yeltsin's programme, no matter how many spivs and racketeers joined the barricades to defend the Russian parliament, it would be revolutionary suicide to back the coup-mongers and support the crushing of democratic rights ...

"It is far better that the fledgling workers' organisations of the USSR learn to swim against the stream of bureaucratic restorationism than be huddled in the "breathing space" of the prison cell."

Looking forward with great enthusiasm *"to the next stage - the task of rapidly dismantling the instruments of central planning"* (*Workers Power*, September 1991), *'Workers' Power'*, reducing its counter-revolutionary logic to an absurdity, calls for *"workers control"* of the counter-revolution! - for a *"workers Yeltsin"* who will not stop half way.

"Revolutionaries share the workers' hatred for all the real and symbolic representatives of their oppression. We support the closing down of the palatial CPSU offices, private shops and sanatoria, the rooting out of the KGB officers. But we put no trust in Yeltsin or the leadership of the main soviets in the chief towns and cities to carry out the destruction of the Stalinist dictatorship.

"We seek at every point to involve the masses independently in the process of the destruction of the CPSU dictatorship ...

"The workers must control the process of destruction of the Stalinists through to the end and not let Yeltsin preserve what is useful to him."

Like the Socialist Organiser, it - *Workers Power* - too was fully aware of the forces supporting Yeltsin. Its on the spot report stated that those manning the Yeltsin barricades *"were not, for the most part, the most audacious workers and students of Moscow,"* adding:

"Rather they were in the majority small businessmen, speculators and owners of ['free enterprise'] co-operatives, the traditional base of the [Russian nationalist] 'Democratic Russia' demonstrations, plus a few hundred young enthusiasts. While there have been reports of strike action and mass mobilisations in other parts of the USSR, in Moscow at least the working class played little part in the resistance to the coup".

There are, of course, innumerable other Trotskyist groups of which nothing at all has here been said. It is not, however, either possible or

necessary or even desirable to make reference to all of them, for they represent no more than variations on themes already encountered in the brief sketch given above of the major Trotskyist tendencies. What unites them all, however, is that they are all Trotskyists. They are, therefore, all counter-revolutionary to their finger tips - not out of a desire to be so, but because they cannot help being counter-revolutionaries for as long as they follow Trotsky's petty-bourgeois, pessimistic and counter-revolutionary theory of 'permanent revolution'.

The bankruptcy of Trotskyism and the triumph of socialism

The events of the last few years, which have overwhelmed eastern Europe and the USSR, have not only proved the utter bankruptcy of Khrushchevite revisionism but also exposed, if such exposure was ever required, the thoroughly counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism. These events have proved beyond doubt the inner affinity, notwithstanding the differences in form, of revisionism and Trotskyism. Khrushchevite revisionism, right in form and in essence, was aiming, through the Communist Party, for the same aim of restoring capitalism in the USSR and other east European countries that Trotskyism, 'left' in form and right in essence, had been attempting ever since the twenties through the so-called "*anti-bureaucratic revolution*." This affinity, and the proof in practice in a most vivid form of the counter-revolutionary essence of revisionism and Trotskyism, ought to facilitate the task of exposing and fighting both these counter-revolutionary trends.

We are, however, passing through a time of ideological decay, confusion, disintegration and wavering - a time when renegacy and apostasy are the order of the day. With the complete collapse of Khrushchevite revisionism, the disintegration of the USSR and the east European socialist regimes, as well as the liquidation of the revisionist parties elsewhere, the Trotskyists can yet again be expected to come forward and say: 'We told you so. Trotsky was correct in asserting that socialism could not be built in a single country, etc.' Our task is to refute this nonsensical and counter-revolutionary chatter. The collapse of the USSR, far from proving the correctness of Trotskyism, actually smashes it to smithereens. What it proves is that had Trotskyism (or Bukharinism for that matter) been put into effect in the USSR in the mid-twenties, the latter would have collapsed much earlier, more than six decades ago. The CPSU, however, rejecting Trotskyism and

Bukharinism, went on to construct socialism and a mighty Soviet state - a bastion and a beacon of socialism whose epic achievements in war and peace, whose heroic feats in all spheres of social development, economic, educational, artistic, military and scientific; whose superhuman endeavours to build a new society based not on the exploitation of one human being by another but on the basis of the law of balanced development of the national economy for the satisfaction of the constantly-rising needs of the population, a society based on fraternal cooperation and not on national strife and racism, a society based on sex equality not on sex discrimination; whose titanic struggle against, and crowning victories over, Hitlerite Germany - victories which freed humanity from the scourge of fascism - brought socialism to eastern Europe and imparted a tremendous impulse to the national liberation movements thereby weakening imperialism; and whose unstinting support to the revolutionary proletarian and national-liberation wars elsewhere, whose proletarian internationalism, will continue to inspire humanity in its endeavour to get rid of all exploitation and achieve a classless communist society through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Trotskyism or Leninism?

In this period of ideological confusion, the Trotskyites are bound to come forward with scraps of pompous, high-sounding, empty, obscure and bombastic catchphrases which confuse the intelligentsia and non-class-conscious workers, in an attempt to fill the ideological vacuum and to pass off Trotskyism as Leninism. They are bound to make yet another attempt to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism. They must not be allowed to do this. Every Marxist-Leninist, every class-conscious worker, must play his or her part in frustrating this attempt and in ensuring that it fails as miserably as did all similar attempts in the past.

It is by way of a contribution to frustrating this attempt to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism that this book is presented. The author seeks no other reward than the fulfilment of this aim. The choice is straightforward: either counter-revolutionary Trotskyism or revolutionary Leninism. One or the other. Trotskyism or Leninism?

A few words about this book

Finally, a few words as to the material which constitutes this book. Parts I to IV are based on a series of lectures which I delivered in London at the

invitation of the Association of Communist Workers (ACW), an anti-revisionist group which, although small in numbers, played a very important role in defending the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism against attacks from Trotskyists and revisionists alike. Originally these pages were distributed as a series of four separate pamphlets under the title *Some Questions Concerning the Struggle of Counter-Revolutionary Trotskyism Against Revolutionary Leninism*. The pages dealing with the Spanish Civil War (Part V) were never produced at the time. Since then, on the basis of some of the notes that I had at my disposal and further research on her part, my comrade and friend Ella Rule wrote this section and presented it as a paper to the deliberations of the Stalin Society on 24th March, 1991. The sections dealing with the question of collectivisation and class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat were both written by way of a preface to collections of Stalin's writings on these two important questions. These too appeared as separate pamphlets, the one on collectivisation in 1975 and that on class struggle in 1973. In this last pamphlet, the section dealing with the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact has been much expanded to include substantiating evidence which was not in the original pamphlet. Now that this Pact has come in for renewed criticism, I have decided to include this material. Also, I have updated the text to take account of works which have been published since the original material was produced, or have come to my notice since that time. From the context, and the dates of the publications referred to, the reader will have little difficulty in spotting the new material.

These last two publications were necessitated by a stream of attacks on the Marxist-Leninist policies of the CPSU(B) during the leadership of Stalin (1924-53) from individuals and organisations who called themselves anti-revisionist and, therefore, by definition ought to have been opposed to revisionism as well as Trotskyism. What these people were putting forth in practice, however, was something incredibly confused and incredibly reactionary - in many cases merely a rehash of Trotsky's propositions. Their writings were characterised by a mixture of erroneous platitudinousness and ignorant arrogance. The British anti-revisionist movement of those days really did go in for a considerable amount of "sublime nonsense", to borrow Engels' expression, producing several personages who gave themselves airs about the science of Marxism-Leninism of which they really never learnt a word.

In the 1870s, in the preface to his *Anti-Dühring*, Engels complained bit-

terly about the "infantile disease" which was then afflicting a large section of the German intelligentsia, including a section of the socialist intelligentsia, where *"Freedom of science is taken to mean that people write on every subject which they have not studied and put this forward as the only strictly scientific method."*

This "infantile disease" was rampant among a large section of the 1970s anti-revisionist movement and its fellow travellers, causing great confusion. Again, at the invitation of the ACW, I edited the two collections of Stalin's writings on the subjects referred to above, provided each collection with a lengthy preface with the purpose of refuting the sublime nonsense and platitudes of our opponents who, possessing but little knowledge of the science of Marxism-Leninism but a goodly amount of conceit and ignorance, were dishing out, in the name of Marxism, a great deal of muddled and reactionary nonsense. Since this reactionary nonsense came from quarters at least nominally anti-revisionist, it had to be dealt with.

A long time has passed since the contents of this book were first published in the form of six separate pamphlets. Some of the persons polemicised against have either died or retired, or have simply, and wisely, retreated into the little bourgeois niches they have carved for themselves. Equally, some of the organisations have either gone into voluntary liquidation or faded into political oblivion. Yet others are no longer recognisable as they have changed their names once or more often (this being especially true of the Trotskyite organisations). None of this matters in the least. What is really important are the issues and questions which were then, and show every sign of becoming now or in the future, the subject of heated arguments and polemics. In that case all we need to do is to remove the name of the person or organisation while using the substance of the argument against those who might insist on putting out nonsense of the type which was put forward by the people I polemicised against two decades ago. Moreover those against whom I polemicised are insignificant today, or were perhaps insignificant even at that time. But similar nonsense has come from quarters far more significant, whose word carries weight, influence and authority. It is my hope that my polemics against my opponents will have the desired effect of countering equally pernicious nonsense from these high quarters.

Originally, when the contents of this book were distributed as separate pamphlets, each pamphlet was provided with an introduction, so that each could be read on its own if so desired. That form is maintained in the book

now presented. This ought to make it easier for the reader to read different sections of the book in any preferred order. I have deliberately provided a rather lengthy preface in order, first, to bring the text up to date by including a brief reference to the demise of socialism in the USSR and eastern Europe, as a culmination of a long process of revisionist theory and practice in the fields of politics, political economy, class struggle and philosophy, all set in train by the triumph of Khrushchevite modern revisionism at the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU in 1956; second, to provide more evidence of the thoroughly counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism by reference to the response of present-day leading Trotskyite organisations and individuals to the restoration of capitalism in eastern Europe; and finally to provide to all the matters dealt with in this book a degree of coherence which, being originally issued as separate pamphlets, they perhaps did not possess.

It has been decided, also, to provide three appendices - one on what has come to be called Lenin's Testament, another on the relations between Trotsky and the imperialist press and another on the murder of Trotsky by one of his own followers. As they are self-explanatory, there is no need to say anything about them here.

With these words I conclude this preface by expressing the hope that it will make for a useful contribution, no matter how small, in the struggle against Trotskyism and revisionism, and in defence of the eternally true propositions of Marxism-Leninism. I make no pretensions to any originality whatsoever in writing this book. What I have to say in it will be common knowledge to the older generation of Marxist-Leninists. But, to our shame, knowledge of what ought to be generally-known truths is becoming less and less with the younger generation. We meet young comrades who want to join the movement and help with our work. What are we going to do with these comrades? I answer this question in the following words of Stalin's: *"I think that systematic reiteration and patient explanation of the so-called 'generally-known' truths is one of the best methods of educating these comrades in Marxism."* (Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, FLPH Peking, p.9).

If I have succeeded in correctly and systematically reiterating at least some of the so-called 'generally-known' truths in this book, I shall consider myself entirely satisfied with the enterprise involved.

NOTES

1: **Otsavists:** an opportunist group formed in the RSDLP in 1908. It was led by A. Bogdanov. From behind a screen of revolutionary verbiage, the Otsavists demanded the recall of the Social-Democratic deputies from the Third Duma (Czarist parliament) and the cessation of Party activity in legal and semi-legal organisations, maintaining that because reaction was on the rampage the Party had to confine itself to illegal work.

This would have isolated the Party from the masses and turned it into a sectarian organisation incapable of mustering the forces for another revolutionary upsurge.

Lenin showed that the views of the Otsavists were inconsistent, unprincipled and hostile to Marxism. At a conference of an extended editorial board of the Bolshevik newspaper, *Proletary*, in June 1909, a resolution was passed to the effect that "as a clear-cut trend in the RSDLP Bolshevism has nothing in common with Otsavism or ultimatumism" (a variety of Otsavism). A Bogdanov, the Otsavist leader, was expelled from the Bolshevik Party.

2: **Liquidators:** representatives of an opportunist trend in the RSDLP during the period of reaction from 1907-1912. The Mensheviks were utterly demoralised by the defeat of the revolution of 1905-7. They wanted the disbandment of illegal Party organisations and the cessation of underground revolutionary activity. Their aim was to liquidate the revolutionary Party of the working class and set up an openly reformist party. The liquidators urged the working class to come to terms with the bourgeoisie, to reconcile itself to the reactionary regime in Russia.

The liquidators were headed by Martov, Axelrod, Dan, Martynov and other Menshevik leaders. Trotsky in fact sided with the liquidators.

At the Sixth (Prague) All-Russia Conference of the RSDLP (January 1912), the liquidators were expelled from the Party.

3: **AUCCTU:** The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

4: "Among these legends must be included also the very widespread story that Trotsky was the 'sole' or 'chief organiser' of the victories on the fronts of the civil war. I must declare, comrades, in the interest of truth, that this version is quite out of accord with the facts. I am far from denying that Trotsky played an important role in the civil war. But I must emphatically declare that the high honour of being the organiser of our victories belongs not to individuals, but to the great collective body of advanced workers in our country, the Russian Communist Party. Perhaps it will not be out of place to quote a few examples. You know that Kolchak and Denikin were regarded as the principal enemies of the Soviet Republic. You know that our country breathed freely only after these enemies were defeated. Well, history shows that both these enemies, i.e., Kolchak and Denikin, were routed by our troops IN SPITE of Trotsky's plans.

"Judge for yourselves:

(1) **KOLCHAK.** This is in the summer of 1919. Our troops are advancing against Kolchak and are operating near Ufa. A meeting of the Central Committee is held. Trotsky proposes that the advance be halted along the line of the River Belaya (near Ufa), leaving the Urals in the hands of Kolchak, and that part of the troops be withdrawn from the Eastern Front and transferred to the Southern Front. A heated debate takes place. The Central Commit-

lee disagrees with Trotsky, being of the opinion that the Urals, with its factories and railway network, must not be left in the hands of Kolchak, for the latter could easily recuperate there, organise a strong force and reach the Volga again; Kolchak must first be driven beyond the Ural range into the Siberian steppes, and only after that has been done should forces be transferred to the South. The Central Committee rejects Trotsky's plan. Trotsky hands in his resignation. The Central Committee refuses to accept it. Commander-in-Chief Vatsetis, who supported Trotsky's plan, resigns. His place is taken by a new Commander-in-Chief, Kamenev. From that moment Trotsky ceases to take a direct part in the affairs of the Eastern Front.

"DENIKIN: This is in the autumn of 1919. The offensive against Denikin is not proceeding successfully. The 'steel ring' around Mamontov (Mamontov's raid) is obviously collapsing. Denikin captures Kursk. Denikin is approaching Orel. Trotsky is summoned from the Southern Front to attend a meeting of the Central Committee. The Central Committee regards the situation as alarming and decides to send new military leaders to the Southern Front and to withdraw Trotsky. The new military leaders demand 'no intervention' by Trotsky in the affairs of the Southern Front. Operations on the Southern Front, right up to the capture of Rostov-on-Don and Odessa by our troops, proceed without Trotsky.

"Let anybody try to refute these facts."

(Stalin, Collected Works, Vol 6 pp.350-352)

Part I

On the Vanguard Party of the Working Class, and Lenin's Theory of Revolution Versus Trotsky's Theory of "Permanent Revolution"

**"In its struggle for power the proletariat has no
other weapon but organisation."**

**"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no
revolutionary movement."**

- Lenin

Chapter 1

Introduction to Part I

Trotskyism is a bourgeois ideology within the ranks of the working class. Unless and until Trotskyism is buried ideologically, until it is driven out of the working-class movement, it will continue to cause great confusion and harm, and it will continue therefore to disrupt the organisation of the proletariat for a proletarian revolution. Hence the necessity to rout Trotskyism. Hence the necessity to bury Trotskyism as an ideological trend.

For the moment in Britain, Trotskyism is only a bourgeois, erroneous, anti-Leninist and anti-communist ideological trend within the working-class movement, drawing its support on the basis of an anti-Leninist and anti-communist platform, even though its anti-Leninism and anti-communism is camouflaged under the slogan of fighting against 'Stalinism' or 'Stalinist bureaucracy'. It is because of the anti-Leninist nature of its programme that the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the individualistically inclined, particularly the youth from universities and colleges, find Trotskyism very attractive. Hence the overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois composition of most of the Trotskyite organisations in Britain. But, despite the petty-bourgeois composition of most of the Trotskyite organisations, it is undeniable that Trotskyism continues to enjoy some support among certain sections of the working class. Why? Because Trotskyism, consequent upon the bankruptcy of the revisionist Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), became able to present itself as a 'militant left' alternative to revisionism; because the Marxist-Leninist movement in this country is very weak indeed; and because there is still not in existence a real revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat.

As the Marxist-Leninist movement grows, however, and Trotskyism becomes correspondingly weak, Trotskyism will cease to be just another trend - anti-Leninist, anti-communist, erroneous, but a trend nevertheless - and will be driven more and more to become, as Stalin put it, *"a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers, acting on the instructions of the intelligence services ..."* i.e., an advanced detachment of the bourgeoisie. Trotskyism did become just such a detachment of the bourgeoisie in the 1930s. It made an alliance with fascism; it tried its best to

cause the overthrow of the first state of the working class - i.e., the USSR - and there is no doubt whatsoever in our minds that, should the necessity again arise, Trotskyism would revert to the position it occupied in the 1930s. From being a bourgeois trend in the working-class movement it would be transformed into an advanced detachment of the bourgeoisie.

This is the reason why we should be making a study of the content of Trotskyism and the reason for its degeneration. The exposure of Trotskyism as a counter-revolutionary ideology, an ideology which is anti-Leninist and which can, if followed by the workers, only lead to their enslaving themselves, is of the utmost importance from the point of view of the development of the revolutionary movement in this country. Some sincere comrades sometimes assert that 'Trotskyism is counter-revolutionary, there is no need for us to waste any time on it. Everybody knows it is counter-revolutionary'. This approach is incorrect. Not everybody knows that Trotskyism is counter-revolutionary. Trotskyism exercises considerable influence. It is, therefore, our duty scientifically to lay bare the inner counter-revolutionary essence of Trotskyism, to tear the ultra-'left' mask off its face and to expose its real right-wing essence. And we must expose it by reference to historical truth and documentation, not by general gossip - the favourite method of the Trotskyites.

It is our duty not to treat Trotskyism as a joke (even if we correctly treat certain Trotskyites as a joke) but as an ideology which is causing serious harm to the working-class movement. We should refute this bourgeois ideology scientifically and prove to the workers (not just ourselves) that Trotskyism is a counter-revolutionary bourgeois ideology which is anti-communist and anti-Leninist, even though for the sake of convenience and deception it prefers to operate under the signboard of 'Marxism-Leninism'.

Lenin waged a persistent and ruthless struggle against Trotskyism, and Trotskyism was defeated and thrown on the rubbish heap, where it properly belonged, by the events leading up to the October Revolution. The very fact that a few weeks before the October Revolution, Trotsky was forced by events - by reality - to depart from his earlier stand, to join the Bolshevik Party and to accept the programme of the Bolshevik Party is proof enough that Trotskyism had been thoroughly discredited and refuted.

After Lenin's death Trotskyism made another attempt to stage a comeback and to substitute itself for Leninism. It met with complete disaster, as

will be seen in the chapters on the Moscow Trials. It was defeated.

Since the mid-fifties Trotskyism has been making yet another attempt to substitute itself for Leninism admittedly with some mild degree of success. This is because Trotskyism was resuscitated and given a new lease of life thanks to betrayal of Marxism-Leninism by the revisionist renegade ruling clique of the Soviet Union. At the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), there took place a *coup d'état* which brought to power the clique of renegades and scabs headed by N S Khrushchev, whose main aim was to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union. This could not be achieved, however, without at the same time discrediting the gains of socialist construction during the 30-odd years leading up to the 20th Party Congress, and discrediting also the man under whose leadership these gains of socialist construction had been achieved.

It is in this light that the attack on Comrade Stalin is to be understood. Revolutionaries all over the world have tremendous respect and affection for this great Marxist-Leninist who held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of proletarian revolution. Stalin defended, most resolutely and courageously, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union against the enemies of the working class both within and outside of the working-class movement. Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese revolution, had this to say on the 60th birthday of Stalin:

"Stalin is the leader of the world revolution. This is of paramount importance. It is a great event that mankind is blessed with Stalin. Since we have him, things can go well. As you all know, Marx is dead and so are Engels and Lenin. Had there been no Stalin, who would there be to give directions? But having him - this is really a blessing. Now there exists in the world a Soviet Union, a Communist Party and also a Stalin. Thus the affairs of the world can go well."

This really sums up the feelings of the revolutionary people all over the world on the question of Stalin. Precisely for this reason it had indeed become a paramount necessity for the class enemies of the working class to attack Comrade Stalin before they could defeat Leninism in the land of Lenin, before they could capture the fortress from within and pave the way for capitalist restoration. The revisionist renegade clique's attack was not an attack on Stalin as an individual. It was an attack on the Bolshevik Party, an attack on its methods and forms of organisation, an attack on the socialist construction carried out under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party

headed by Comrade Stalin, an attack on the victory of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Stalin in the anti-fascist war. It was only because Stalin had emerged through struggle as the most representative spokesman of the Bolshevik Party that he incurred the hatred of all reactionaries. And it is in this opposition to, and their attack upon, the Bolshevik Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, that the revisionist renegades ruling in the Soviet Union are indistinguishable from the Trotskyites.

Was it surprising then that *"the frantic campaign against Stalin by the leadership of the CPSU enabled the Trotskyites, who had long been political corpses, to come to life again and clamour for the 'rehabilitation' of Trotsky" ?* (*Second Comment on the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU, by the Communist Party of China, 13 September 1963*).

So as a consequence of the 20th Party Congress Trotskyism, long discredited and buried by the people of the world, was dug out of its grave to cause confusion in the ranks of the proletariat.

In a country like Britain where Trotskyites are more entrenched than in any other advanced Western European country, they are relatively well placed to mislead the working class and the militant masses.

In view of what has been said, it becomes the duty of every revolutionary Marxist-Leninist to wage fierce and ruthless struggle against Trotskyism which is nothing but an ideological influence of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the working class.

But in order to wage a struggle against Trotskyism we must first of all know the nature of Trotskyism, the methods it adopts, and the forms in which it makes its ugly appearance from time to time.

The essence of Trotskyism lies in the fact that it is a non-proletarian, bourgeois, ideology which is irreconcilably opposed to Leninism - revolutionary Bolshevism. This truth must be fully grasped by revolutionaries and proletarians everywhere. Trotskyism is opposed to Leninism on such important questions as the nature and role of the Party, the theory of revolution and the role of leadership. From 1903 right up to the October Revolution Trotskyism as an ideology was engaged in a bitter struggle against Leninism and against Bolshevism. In fact, Trotskyism has never ceased waging a bitter struggle against Leninism. Whereas before the October Revolution Trotskyism engaged in an open, frontal, attack on Leninism, during and after the October Revolution it adopted the policy of surreptitiously undermining

Leninism, always under the cover of 'praising' Lenin and Leninism, of course. This was because Trotskyism had been rendered weak and had been proved useless by the three revolutions in Russia - the 1905 revolution, the February revolution of 1917, and the Great October Socialist Revolution also of 1917. Leninism, on the other hand, had emerged victorious and had proved its correctness, having withstood the test of three revolutions. This is how Comrade Stalin described the weak, post-October Revolution, Trotskyism:

"The new Trotskyism is not a mere repetition of the old Trotskyism; its feathers have been plucked and it is rather bedraggled; it is incomparably milder in spirit and more moderate in form than the old Trotskyism; but in essence it undoubtedly retains all the specific features of the old Trotskyism. The new Trotskyism does not dare to come out as a militant force against Leninism; it prefers to operate under the common flag of Leninism, under the slogan of interpreting, improving Leninism. This is because it is weak. It cannot be regarded as an accident that the appearance of the new Trotskyism coincided with Lenin's departure. In Lenin's lifetime it would not have dared to take this risky step." (Problems of Leninism).

One thing must now be added to this profound statement of Comrade Stalin's on the specific features of new Trotskyism, namely, that Trotskyism no longer dared to launch direct attacks, open or surreptitious, against Leninism. On the contrary, it now pursued the same old goal of attacking Leninism and attempting to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism by the indirect and devious, and thus incomparably more dangerous and harmful, method of attacking all the fundamentals of Leninism by attacking Stalin and 'Stalinism', always in the name of 'defending' Leninism, of course.

The real character of Trotskyism is the use of 'left' phrases for the purpose of covering a lack of faith in the working class and the broad masses of people and a surrender to capitalism. The essence of Trotskyism is revealed not by its ultra-'left' phrasemongering, but its far from left activities: *Ultra-'left' phrasemongering to cover up ultra counter-revolutionary actions - such is the nature of Trotskyism.*

There are plenty of people who, having been brought up on the bourgeois-Trotskyist legends and lies, are apt to say: 'Trotsky was a close comrade-in-arms of Lenin; Trotsky never said anything against Lenin; Trotsky was a Bolshevik who was engaged in defending Leninism in the latter's fight against Stalinism', and so forth. But such a view is erroneous and shows a

complete lack of awareness, as well as complete ignorance of historical truth. That Trotsky fought bitterly against revolutionary Leninism and Bolshevism and that Lenin waged a ruthless struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism over a long period (from 1903 to 1917 - before the October Revolution and thereafter) are well-known historical facts which have 'escaped the attention' of the Trotskyites either because they do not want to know the truth or because they are, to use Lenin's terminology, complete 'ignoramus' and 'trouserless boys' who have never learnt or even read any history of revolutionary Bolshevism but merely happened to get into Trotskyite circles *'where going about naked is regarded as 'the thing''* as far as knowledge of Bolshevism and everything it stands for is concerned. That Trotsky launched vicious attacks against Leninism and Lenin is not an 'invention' of Stalin's, as the Trotskyites usually assert, can be seen from the following extracts from a letter of Trotsky's to Chkiedze written in 1913:

"The entire edifice of Leninism is built on lies and falsification and bears within itself the poisonous elements of its own decay."

Further on in the same letter Trotsky describes Lenin as: *"a professional exploiter of every kind of backwardness in the Russian working-class movement."*

Here, straight from the horse's mouth, you have in unadulterated form the true regard that Trotskyism has for Leninism: it regards *"the entire edifice of Leninism"* as having been *"built on lies and falsification"* and it regards Lenin as *"a professional exploiter of every kind of backwardness in the Russian working-class movement."*

Yet this did not prevent Trotsky, after the death of Lenin, from claiming that he was the greatest Leninist fighting against 'Stalinist bureaucracy'. Nor does it prevent present-day Trotskyites, in their ceaseless struggle against Leninism, which equally ceaselessly presents itself as defence of Leninism against 'Stalinist bureaucracy', from using the name of the great Lenin and uttering such downright falsehoods as that Trotsky was Lenin's comrade-in-arms and a great Leninist.

The truth is that Trotskyism is as far removed from Leninism as earth is from heaven. The truth is that Trotskyism has fought against Leninism in the past and is fighting against Leninism now. Before the October Revolution it fought Leninism openly; since the October Revolution it has been engaged in fighting Leninism not so openly. Nowadays it fights Leninism indirectly by launching vicious attacks on Stalin and 'Stalinism'. Why? Be-

cause the denunciation of Stalin is a necessary precondition to the denunciation of Leninism and Bolshevism, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism in the USSR during the time of Lenin and Stalin. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist who successfully applied Leninism to the conditions prevailing in the USSR and the world for three decades. It was under his Leninist leadership, and in the teeth of Trotskyite opposition, that the Soviet people built socialism in the USSR and led the people of the world in the anti-fascist war. These are glorious achievements indeed. If these achievements and three decades of most brilliant application of Leninism are negated, what then is left of Leninism? Is it not clear, then, to everyone that this attack on 'Stalinism' is indeed an attack on Leninism, that it represents another - yet another! - attempt by Trotskyites to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism. This is how Trotskyism uses 'Leninism' to fight against Leninism.

Whether Trotskyism fights against Leninism openly or not so openly is a matter of technical detail. It belongs to the realm of methodology. But the stark reality remains unchanged, namely, that Trotskyism is busy attacking Leninism (granted, more sophisticatedly than before 1917, but attacking Leninism nevertheless).

To sum up, Trotskyism is anti-Leninism, anti-Bolshevism. It is counter-revolutionary.

Leninism, on the other hand, is revolutionary Bolshevism:

"Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and of proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular." (Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*).

These two ideologies - Trotskyism on the one hand and Leninism on the other - are irreconcilably hostile to each other. One cannot accept one of these ideologies without at the same time discarding the other. One cannot be a Leninist without rejecting Trotskyism. Nor can one be a Trotskyist without rejecting Leninism. One thing or the other: Trotskyism or Leninism.

It is now proposed to proceed to substantiate these statements. In order to do this, i.e., to show the real nature of Trotskyism, to show it in its real opportunistic, counter-revolutionary form by stripping it of all the ultra-'left' phraseology, it will be necessary to refer, if only very briefly, to the theory and practice of Trotsky and his followers, i.e., to the theoretical and practi-

cal standpoint of Trotskyism on the most important issues and movements over a period of well over half a century. What, for example, was the position taken by Trotsky in regard to the Bolshevik Party, and what were his strategy and tactics for the Russian revolution? It would be necessary to investigate the position taken by Trotsky and his followers on the controversy raging round the issue of building socialism in one country and then pass on to review the reaction of Trotsky and his followers to the defeat of their policy of opposition to the building of socialism in a single country: did Trotsky and his followers, for example, resort to anti-Party activities, to terror and murder, to wrecking and sabotage to achieve what had been defeated by an overwhelming majority of the Soviet proletariat? Did they or did they not join hands with the fascists for the purpose of attacking the workers' state, for which their hatred was so paramount that they were prepared to conclude an alliance with the Nazis? Did they or did they not try to sabotage the People's Front movements all over the world before the Second World War? Did they or did they not sabotage successfully the People's Front in Spain and thereby contribute to the victory of the Franco-led fascists in that country? Also examined will be the standpoint of Trotsky and the rest of the opposition as regards the Chinese revolution.

Chapter 2

Party of the Proletariat:

Lenin's Idea of a Proletarian Party of a New Type and Trotsky's Liquidationism

Importance of the Party

"In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organisation which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class." (Lenin: *One Step Forward Two Steps Back*).

Owing to the struggle of Leninism against petty-bourgeois individualism and 'aristocratic anarchism', it is now a foregone conclusion for us Marxist-Leninists that if there is to be a proletarian revolution there must be a party of the proletariat to lead the proletariat and the broad masses of the toiling millions in making such a revolution. This truth, which can never be insisted upon too frequently, is confirmed by the history of proletarian revolutions in Russia, in China, etc.

Take Russia, for example. With the great socialist October Revolution the whole of mankind took a gigantic step forward. The October Revolution ushered in a new era - the era of proletarian revolution and of the downfall of capitalism. Following the October Revolution, within a very short time, backward, ignorant and barbaric Russia was turned into a highly cultured and economically developed socialist state whose planned economy and economic development became the subject of study at the hands of economists all over the world. The salvos of the October Revolution placed the formerly backward Russian proletariat at the head of the world proletarian movement and turned Russia from a 'prison of nations' into a free

fraternity of nations. How was such a transformation, declared absurd by the majority of even 'socialist' leaders in Europe, made possible? How was it that within the short space of 20 years, without any outside help and in the teeth of the most frantic hostility from the capitalist states and from the Trotskyite opposition, the USSR was able to advance on the basis of its own resources and build up a socialist state?

It was made possible by:

(1) **the devotion and creative energies of the great masses of people in the factories, in the mines and on the land.** Without the cooperation and participation of the masses of the people, the kind of social transformation successfully achieved in the USSR would have been an impossibility. It was because of the cooperation and participation of the Soviet people that the Soviet Union made tremendous advances in every field - economic, military, ideological and cultural - despite the fact that the revolution had no experts of its own and had to use the experts left over from Tsarism and capitalism, many of whom were the bitterest enemies of Bolshevism and consequently of the October Revolution. Without the wholehearted support, cooperation, enthusiasm and labour heroism of millions upon millions of Russian masses the tremendous advances made by the USSR could not have been accomplished.

(2) **The leadership of a revolutionary party.** It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Soviet state could not have survived, let alone developed, in these conditions if the Russian workers had not been led by a revolutionary party - a party which, on the basis of the quality of its leadership, self-sacrifice and heroism, had won their confidence; a party which they were prepared to follow at every stage of the struggle, before, during and after the revolution.

Without the party the proletariat can neither achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat, nor can it maintain, consolidate and expand this dictatorship in order to ensure the creation of material and spiritual conditions for the complete victory of socialism, the creation of conditions for the transference of society from the lower phase of communism (socialism) to the higher phase of communism, that is, the creation of the conditions for the withering away of the state, when mankind will be able to implement the formula: *"From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."* (Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Programme*).

In 1920 Lenin had occasion to emphasise the importance of a truly revolutionary and disciplined party inseparably connected with, and enjoying the confidence and support of the working class:

"Certainly, almost everyone now realises that the Bolsheviks could not have maintained themselves in power for two and a half months, let alone two and a half years, without the strictest, truly iron discipline in our Party, and without the fullest and unreserved support of the latter by the whole mass of the working class, that is, by all its thinking, honest, self-sacrificing and influential elements, capable of carrying with them the backward strata." (Lenin, CW Vol 31 p. 23, 'Left-Wing' Communism - an Infantile Disorder).

In order to achieve, maintain and expand the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to create *"among the proletarian masses a cementing force and bulwark against the corrosive influences of petty-bourgeois elemental forces and petty-bourgeois habits"* (Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*). It is necessary to imbue the proletarian masses with the spirit of discipline and organisation. It is necessary to help the proletariat to teach themselves as a force capable of leading mankind to its goal of a classless communist society. But the classless society can only be arrived at through an epoch of most stubborn class struggle during which epoch the proletariat needs its party - an iron party which is tempered in struggle.

*"The dictatorship of the proletariat," says Lenin, "is a stubborn struggle - bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative - against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully." (Lenin, *ibid.* p.44).*

When we talk about iron discipline in a truly revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat, does this mean 'blind' discipline? Does such iron discipline exclude all debate and all possibility of conflict of opinion within the party? No, it does not mean that. Truly iron discipline not only does not preclude debate, criticism and the possibility of conflict of opinion within the party but, on the contrary, it presupposes such criticism, debate and conflict of opinion. Iron discipline in a truly revolutionary party is based on conscious and voluntary submission of its members and on their unity of will and unity of action. Without such unity of will and unity of action, without

voluntary and conscious submission, iron discipline is impossible. Here is what Lenin says on the question of the maintenance of discipline in a revolutionary party:

"And first of all the questions arises: how is the discipline of a revolutionary party of the proletariat maintained? How is it tested? First, by the class consciousness of the proletarian vanguard and by its devotion to the revolution, by its perseverance, self-sacrifice and heroism. Secondly, by its ability to link itself with, to keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent, if you like, to merge with the broadest masses of toilers - primarily with the proletariat, but also with non- proletarian toiling masses. Thirdly, by the correctness of the political leadership exercised by this vanguard, by the correctness of its political strategy and tactics, provided that the broadest masses have been convinced by their own experience that they are correct. Without these conditions, discipline in a revolutionary party, that is really capable of being the party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved. Without these conditions, all attempts to establish discipline inevitably fall flat and end in phrase-mongering and grimacing. On the other hand, these conditions cannot arise all at once. They are created only by prolonged effort and hard-won experience. Their creation is facilitated by the correct revolutionary theory, which, in turn, is not a dogma, but assumes final shape only in close connection with the practical activity of a truly mass and truly revolutionary movement" (ibid p.24-25).

For Marxist-Leninists, for truly proletarian revolutionaries, the role of a vanguard party of the proletariat, and the inseparable connections that such a party must maintain with the broadest masses of toilers, can never be over-emphasised. But for the petty-bourgeois intellectuals it is almost impossible to comprehend the importance of a revolutionary party of the proletariat. These petty-bourgeois intellectuals have never been, and never will (even if they describe themselves as 'socialists') be able to comprehend the great role played by the Bolshevik Party during all stages - before, during and after - of the revolution. The mass of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia is only capable of seeing the leaders and a crowd of followers: Lenin did this or Stalin did that. They stubbornly refuse, in the manner of the individualistically-inclined intelligentsia, to recognise the importance and role of the Party, the role of this unique instrument created under the leadership of Lenin, which led the Russian people through all the difficulties of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, fighting against foreign imperialist armed aggression in conjunction with the internal reactionaries and traitors

- the whiteguards - and finally building socialism in a backward country.

It was precisely this inability of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and even of some 'socialists' which caused Lenin to stress against and again the important role played by the Bolshevik Party and its links and relationship with the masses. It provoked the following remark from Lenin:

"Would it not be better if greetings in honour of the Soviet power and the Bolsheviks were frequently attended by a profound analysis of the reasons why the Bolsheviks were able to build up the discipline the revolutionary proletariat needs?"

We have shown above the importance of a revolutionary vanguard - a party of the proletariat - which is inseparably connected with the toiling masses, proletarians and non-proletarians. And we reiterate that the petty-bourgeois intellectuals (among these petty-bourgeois intellectuals must be included the Trotskyites) cannot but reduce organisational and political questions to an personal-individual level. They are incapable of seeing the struggle between two lines on political, organisational and tactical questions as anything other than a struggle between two individuals. That is why from 1923 onwards the aforementioned gentry saw only a struggle between Trotsky and Stalin for personal dominance.

This, we hope to prove by reference to historical facts and documentation (and not by the method adopted by Trotskyites, namely that of simple gossip and lies), was wrong and continues to be so. The struggle between Stalin and Trotsky was not a struggle between two individuals but a struggle between two lines; it was a struggle between revolutionary Leninism and counter-revolutionary Trotskyism; it was a continuation, after the death of Lenin, of the very same struggle between Leninism and Trotskyism that had gone on during Lenin's lifetime covering a period of 20 years. The only difference was that now Lenin was dead, Leninism was being upheld by the Bolshevik Party at the head of which stood Stalin. Trotsky and his followers, in view of the weak position of Trotskyism, deemed it necessary to effect a change in their tactics. It was no longer possible for Trotskyists to attack Leninism openly and directly as they had been able to do before 1917. They therefore adopted the subtle and devious - and hence more harmful - tactic of attacking the Leninist policies of the Bolshevik Party under the guise of attacking 'Stalinism' in order, of course, to 'defend' Leninism. This is how Trotsky and his followers sought to discredit the Leninist policies of the Bolshevik Party headed by Stalin. This was indeed a

classic example of using the name of Lenin to fight against Leninism - against its entire inner content - an obvious example of waving the red flag in order to oppose it, and an obvious example of the usual Trotskyist fraudulent tricks.

It is in this context that Trotsky's attack on Stalin must be understood. Trotsky's attack on Stalin was not directed against Stalin as an individual but against someone who during the course of struggle had emerged as the most representative spokesman of the Bolshevik Party which was upholding, defending and applying Leninism. The main target of Trotsky's attacks, therefore, was not Stalin but the Bolshevik Party. It was revolutionary Bolshevism - Leninism - that was under attack. It was an attack on the methods and forms of organisation of the Bolshevik Party - an attack on the fundamental Leninist policies pursued by the Party.

Not Trotsky versus Stalin, but Trotskyism versus Leninism is the true formulation of Trotsky's relations with the Russian revolution; Trotsky versus the Bolshevik Party with its Leninist policy. This is how matters stand with regard to Trotsky's relations with the Bolshevik Party, both before and after the revolution, and before as well as after the death of Lenin.

On nearly every major issue Trotsky's line was in conflict with the line taken by the Bolshevik Party, and practice proved that on each of these occasions his line was totally incorrect and thoroughly bankrupt. Yet this did not prevent Trotsky, after the death of the great Lenin, from claiming, with his usual modesty, that the Bolshevik Party had been wrong and he had been right all along. One can understand that when the present-day Trotskyites tell lies and indulge in petty-bourgeois egotism, they are only living up to - rather, trying to live up to - their leader Trotsky himself.

Lenin's struggle to build a revolutionary party of the proletariat and Trotsky's struggle to hinder the building of such a party.

After the Bolshevik revolution Trotsky pretended to approve, of course, of the Bolshevik Party - the Party which, prior to 1917, he had tried his best to prevent from coming into being. During the period when Lenin was busy developing the party, Trotsky viciously attacked Lenin and exhausted his not inconsiderable vocabulary of abuse in opposing all that Lenin was attempting to do. Lenin was trying to build a centralised, revolutionary party capable of carrying on its work in defiance of the Tsarist police. Under the conditions then prevailing in Tsarist Russia it was impossible to build such a

party on the basis of open democracy without at the same time subjecting the party membership to frequent arrests at the hands of the Tsarist secret police. Therefore Lenin believed that the membership of the Party should not be open to just anyone who cared to enrol himself into the Party.¹ Various city committees of the Party were picked by the Central Committee and all Committees had the right of co-option. At the 2nd Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) held in London in 1903 this conflict came to a head and Trotsky, along with the right wing of the Congress, violently opposed the standpoint of Lenin on organisational questions. Lenin was defeated on this issue by a majority of two or three votes.

Comrades, it will be worth our while to go through the proceedings of this Congress in a little more detail. The three main items on the agenda of this Congress were:

1. The adoption of the Party programme;
2. The adoption of the Party rules (constitution), and
3. The election of officers.

Though the opportunists at the Congress were deadily opposed to the Party programme, and particularly to the inclusion in the Party programme of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the demands on the peasant question and the right of nations to self-determination, they did not put up their main fight on the question of the adoption of the programme. The main struggle between the two wings (the one being the revolutionary wing headed by Lenin and supported by Plekhanov² and other stable Iskraists; the other being the opportunist wing headed by Martov and supported by Trotsky and other unstable Iskraists, the centre - i.e., the 'marsh' - and the anti-Iskraists - i.e., the Economists and Bundists) represented at the Second Congress of the Party was waged on the question of the Party rules and the election of officers. the sharpest differences arose over the formulation of the first paragraph of the rules dealing with Party membership - who could be a member of the Party? What was to be the nature and composition of the Party? What was to be the organisational nature of the Party? Such were the questions that arose in connection with paragraph one of the Party rules.

Lenin's formulation versus Martov's formulation of the conditions for party membership

According to Lenin's formulation one could be a party member only if one satisfied the following three conditions:

- (a) acceptance of the Party programme;
- (b) financial support for the Party; and
- (c) belonging to one of the Party organisations, i.e., actively participating in the organisation.³

But according to Martov's formulation, supported by Trotsky and other opportunists, only the first two conditions should have to be fulfilled in order to qualify for membership of the party. The third one was in their view quite unnecessary and could, therefore, easily be dispensed with.

Lenin regarded the Party as an organised detachment of the working class and considered, therefore, that its members could not simply enrol themselves in the Party. On the contrary, they had to be admitted into the Party by one of its organisations and consequently they had to submit to the discipline of the Party. But according to Martov's formulation one could enrol oneself in the Party and in as much as one did not belong to an organisation one did not have to submit oneself to the discipline of the Party.

Thus Martov's formulation, unlike Lenin's, contained all the prerequisites for throwing the door of the Party open to all kinds of opportunists, unstable and non-proletarian elements, and so convert the Party from being a disciplined, monolithic and militant organisation of the working class into a heterogeneous, amorphous and loose bourgeois-type organisation, i.e., to convert it from being an advanced detachment of the working class into being a backward detachment of the working class. This was so much so that Martov and other opportunists even demanded that every striker be given the automatic right to join the Party. Likewise it was claimed that every intellectual who sympathised with the Party, every sympathetic professor, every high-school student as well as every participant in a demonstration should have the right to declare himself a Party member.

With the adoption of the programme, the Congress laid the foundations for the ideological unity of the Party. It had also to adopt Party rules to lay the foundations for organisational unity and to put an end to the amateurishness and the parochial outlook of the circles, to the organisational dis-

unity and the absence of strict discipline in the Party.

Martov's formulation did just the opposite. Not only did it leave the door of the Party wide open to unstable, anarchistic, individualist elements, but it also obliterated the dividing line between the Party and the class. The distinction between the advanced detachment and the rest of the working class cannot disappear until classes disappear. Anyone holding any other view, whatever the intentions of the person holding such a view, is trying to obliterate the distinction between the Party and the class and in so doing is trying to deprive the proletariat of its 'general staff'. As Stalin said:

"The working class without a party is an army without a general staff. The party is the general staff of the proletariat." (Foundations of Leninism).

Commenting on Martov's formulation, Lenin said:

"We are the party of a class, and therefore almost the whole class (and in times of war, in the period of civil war, the whole class) should act under the leadership of our party, should adhere to our party as closely as possible. But it would be Manilovism and 'Khvostism' ⁴ to think that at any time under capitalism almost the whole class, or the whole class, would be able to rise to the level of consciousness and activity of its advanced detachment ... to forget this distinction between the advanced detachment and the whole of the masses which gravitate towards it, to forget the constant duty of the advanced detachment to raise ever wider strata to this most advanced level, means merely to deceive oneself, to shut one's eyes to the immensity of our task." (One Step Forward, Two Steps Back).

If Martov's formulation had become entrenched in the Bolshevik Party it would have led to the Party becoming *"inundated with professors and high-school students and to its degeneration into a loose, amorphous, disorganised 'formation', lost in a sea of sympathisers, that would have obliterated the dividing line between the Party and the class and would have upset the Party's task of raising the unorganised masses to the level of the advanced detachment."* (Stalin).

Trotsky played a major opportunist role in this controversy ⁵. He sided with Martov in launching vicious attacks on Lenin's formulation. He opposed Lenin's conception of the Party being the sum total of party organisations and each party member being a member of one of the organisations of the party. He opposed the idea of the party being a single whole with higher and lower leading bodies. He denied the principle of the minority submitting to the decisions of the majority. Such was the opportunist position

taken by Trotsky and Martov on the question of organisation. Their stand was nothing but a concentrated expression of the circle spirit and petty-bourgeois individualism which regards itself above discipline and frowns upon the idea of the minority submitting to decisions of the majority.

Indeed the application of the principle of the minority submitting to the majority and the principle of lower leading bodies being bound by the decisions of higher leading bodies, and the principle of directing party work from a centre, led to accusations of 'bureaucracy', 'formalism', 'wheels and cogs', etc being levelled by Messrs Trotsky, Martov and other opportunists. This is how Lenin describes these anarchists in his book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*:

"This aristocratic anarchism is particularly characteristic of the Russian nihilist. He thinks of the party organisation as a monstrous 'factory'; he regards the subordination of the part to the whole and of the minority to the majority as 'serfdom' ... , division of labour under the direction of a centre evokes from him a tragicomical outcry against people being transformed into 'cogs and wheels' ... mention of the organisational rules of the Party calls forth a contemptuous grimace and the disdainful ... remark that one could very well dispense with rules altogether.

"It is clear, I think, that the cries about this celebrated bureaucracy are just a screen for dissatisfaction with the personal composition of the central bodies, a fig leaf ... you are a bureaucrat because you were appointed by the Congress and not by my will, but against it; you are a formalist because you rely on the formal decisions of the Congress, and not my consent; you are acting in a grossly mechanical way because you plead the 'mechanical' majority at the Party Congress and pay no heed to my wish to be coopted; you are an autocrat because you refuse to hand over power to the old gang."

We shall note that this would be the running theme of Trotsky and his collaborators in their attacks on the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. But *"these cries about this celebrated bureaucracy"* we shall prove were nothing but *"a screen for dissatisfaction"* with the defeat of his bankrupt theory, namely, that it was impossible to build socialism in the USSR.

Trotsky and Martov were incapable of understanding the meaning of, and subjecting themselves to the discipline of, a proletarian organisation. For them the discipline was for the 'many' and not for the 'chosen few'. And, of course, they included themselves among the latter. When the dele-

gates at the Second Congress elected the Central Committee and the Editorial Board of *Iskra* - the Congress had refused to endorse the old Editorial Board as demanded by these gentlemen and hence Lenin's jibe regarding cooption in the above-quoted passage - they were up in arms because the personal composition of these two bodies was not to their liking. They refused to accept the decisions of the Congress, 'justifying' themselves by use of such phrases as "*we are not serfs*" thus undermining the very basis of the unity of the ranks of the Party. No party can preserve the unity of its ranks without the imposition of a proletarian discipline (as to the nature of this discipline see above) which is equally binding on all party members, both leaders and rank and file; which is binding on the 'chosen few' as well as the 'many'. Without this the party can neither preserve its integrity nor the unity of its ranks.

"The complete absence of sensible arguments on the part of Martov and Co against the Editorial Board appointed by the Congress is best of all shown by their own catchword: 'we are not serfs'! ... The mentality of the bourgeois intellectual, who regards himself as one of the 'chosen few' standing above mass organisation and mass discipline, is expressed here with remarkable clarity ... It seems to the individualism of the intelligentsia that all proletarian organisation and discipline is serfdom."

And further:

"As we proceed with the building of a real party, the class-conscious worker must learn to distinguish the mentality of the soldier of the proletarian army from the mentality of the bourgeois intellectual who flaunts his anarchist talk, he must learn to insist that the duties of a party member be fulfilled not only by the rank and file, but by the 'people on the top' as well." (Lenin: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back).

Such is the importance of proletarian discipline in a proletarian party.

We have made a rather detailed examination of the controversy that raged round the question of the membership at the Second Congress of the RSDLP, and the purpose of this examination has been to show:

1. that the stand of Martov, Trotsky and Co on matters of organisation was opportunist and, if it had become entrenched, it would certainly have caused great harm, confusion and disorganisation in the Party.

Lenin says: *"From the point of view of comrade Martov, the borderline of the Party remains quite indefinite, for 'every striker' may 'proclaim himself a*

Party member'. What is the use of this vagueness? A wide extension of the title: Its harm is that it introduces a disorganising idea, the confusing of the class and the Party." (One Step Forward, Two Steps Back);

2. that the petty-bourgeois individualism and 'aristocratic anarchism' of Martov and Trotsky made it impossible for them to rectify their opportunist stand on matters of organisation;

3. that the petty-bourgeois mentality of Martov and Trotsky, with its supreme contempt and disregard for proletarian discipline and organisational rules, made it impossible for them to submit to proletarian discipline and respect organisational rules;

4. that consequently Martov, Trotsky and Co were against any form of organisation that would make the imposition of such (proletarian) discipline a matter of one of its organisational principles;

5. that to these petty-bourgeois intellectuals an iron Party with an iron discipline means nothing more and nothing less than 'bureaucracy';

6. that objectively (subjective desires are irrelevant here) Martov and Trotsky were against the revolution, for without a disciplined, revolutionary, Party there can be no revolution, and

7. that on matters of organisation Trotsky was not just an 'anti-Stalinist' battling against 'Stalinist bureaucracy' but also an anti-Leninist who had battled long against Leninist 'bureaucracy'.

Trotsky's hatred for discipline caused him to take such an opportunist view of organisational principles as to oppose Lenin at the Second Congress. This same petty-bourgeois individualism, amounting to 'aristocratic anarchism', with its extreme hatred for discipline, would lead Trotsky again and again to oppose the Bolshevik Party and its methods and forms of organisation, leading ultimately to Trotsky forming an alliance with the fascists for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet state. Of this more anon.

Trotsky was to claim later on that "*Revolution had been betrayed*" in the Soviet Union by Stalin. We shall merely remark that if Trotsky's opportunist ideas on organisation had prevailed there would have been no Bolshevik Party and therefore no revolution that could be "*betrayed*".

Following the Second Congress of the RSDLP, Trotsky wrote a polemic entitled *Our Political Tasks*, in which he attacked the whole policy of Lenin in the wildest and most abusive possible way. Because Lenin had earlier talked about the division of labour within the party based on the fact that

different branches of revolutionary activity require different abilities, Trotsky mounted a big attack on Lenin, denounced the division of labour in the modern factory, which reduces the workers to mere cogs in the machine. And this, he pointed out, was Lenin's real object - a few dictatorial leaders at the top with the party workers reduced to 'cogs' in the party machine. This was a complaint Trotsky would make again and again whenever he could not get his own way. If the Party agreed with Trotsky everything in the Party was fine; the moment Trotsky's policies are rejected by the Party it suddenly transforms itself into an awful, dreadful, unbearable monstrosity and a 'bureaucracy' to be fought against and have done with. Such is the manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism displayed by Trotsky. Trotsky concluded the above-mentioned polemic thus:

"This evil-minded and morally repugnant suspicion of Lenin, this shallow caricature of tragic intolerance of Jacobinism ... must be liquidated at all costs, otherwise the Party is threatened by moral and theoretical decay." (Trotsky, *Our Political Tasks*, 1906).

This paragraph alone is sufficient to show that Trotsky who, claiming to be a Leninist was out to liquidate 'Stalinism' and to remove Stalin, was, at the time when Lenin was busy building the Bolshevik Party, out to liquidate Leninism and to remove Lenin.

The revolutionary centralised party that Lenin was trying to build had some resemblance to the Jacobins, the revolutionary party of the petty-bourgeoisie in the French revolution. But it also had a very important difference from the Jacobins in that it was the party of the working class; it was the vanguard not of the petty-bourgeoisie but of the Russian working class - the class that had been called upon to lead the Russian people against tyranny and despotism. As already stated, it was impossible within the confines of autocratic Russia to build a revolutionary party capable of leading the Russian working class and the broad masses of the people on the basis of complete and open democracy. It had to have, therefore, by force of the conditions prevailing in Russia, some resemblance to the Jacobins, albeit with the important difference just mentioned.

This accusation of Jacobinism called forth the following comment from Lenin and won Trotsky the well-deserved title of opportunist:

"All these 'dreadful catchwords' about Jacobinism express nothing more than opportunism. A Jacobin who is inseparably linked with the organisation of the proletariat which is conscious of its class interests, is a revolutionary so-

cial Democrat. A Girondist who yearns for professors and high-school students, who is afraid of the dictatorship of the proletariat and who sighs about the absolute value of the democratic demands is an opportunist." (One Step Forward, Two Steps Back).

Let me give you another example, comrades, from the same book, *Our Political Tasks*, of Trotsky's which constitutes further proof of Trotsky's Menshevism and his hatred for Lenin's Bolshevik politics. Trotsky in this book quotes with approval a question put by the Menshevik, Axelrod, who asked:

"Why should not that wag history endow revolutionary bourgeois democracy with a leader from the school of revolutionary Marxism? Why, was it not 'legal' Marxism that provided a leader for the Liberals? Indeed why not?"

In other words, Lenin was the likely leader of the Russian bourgeois class!

Comrades, I ask you: for someone entertaining such a view of Lenin and his politics, is it at all difficult to see why he entertained a similar view of Stalin and his politics? It scarcely needs proof, comrades, that for someone who called Lenin the future leader of the Russian middle classes, it was not at all difficult to go on to accuse Stalin of aiding the rich peasantry and to give a call that 'Stalinism' *"must be liquidated at all costs, otherwise the Party is threatened by moral and theoretical decay."* The fact is that Trotsky issued this call against Leninism - against *"this evil-minded and morally repugnant suspicion of Lenin, this shallow caricature of tragic intolerance of Jacobinism"* in 1906. He repeated this call again and again till the October Revolution. The October Revolution was at the same time a most profound refutation of Trotskyism, and it weakened Trotskyism. Trotskyism had its *"feathers plucked"* and looked a bit *"bedraggled"*. It was precisely for this reason that, after the death of Lenin, Trotskyism adopted the tactic of not openly attacking Leninism, that is, the tactic of not launching frontal assaults on Leninism. Instead it adopted the devious tactic of attacking Leninism in the name and under the guise of defending Leninism, the tactic of attacking 'Stalinism' in order to 'defend' Leninism. It is in this context, comrades, that the attack on comrade Stalin must be understood. It is a continuation of the attack of Trotskyism on Leninism.

The August Bloc of liquidators and Trotsky

Following the defeat of the 1905 Revolution in Russia, there came for-

ward a group of right-wing 'socialists' called liquidators because they wanted to liquidate the centralised Party that was capable of leading the masses in revolution. The liquidators declared that the era of revolutions was over and there could only be slow progress within the framework of the Tsarist constitution. Therefore, argued the liquidators, the centralised Party of the proletariat, with its network of underground organisations, should be disbanded, and they gave a call for the creation of a Liberal-Labour Party, operating legally for reforms within the context of Tsarism. Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, waged a bitter struggle against the liquidators, whose ranks included Trotsky. Trotsky did not openly advocate liquidationism, but he did everything in the way of rendering active assistance to the liquidators by his 'kowtowing' and 'capitulation to the liquidators'. This is how Lenin described Trotsky's position:

"Such people as Trotsky with his puffed up phrases on the Russian social Democratic Labour Party, with his kowtowing to the liquidators who have nothing whatever in common with the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, are the disease of the age ... In reality they are the bearers of capitulation to the liquidators, who are anxious to form a Labour Party on Stolypin lines.

"The real liquidators conceal themselves behind their phraseology and made every endeavour to frustrate the work done by anti-liquidators, that is, the Bolsheviks. Trotsky and the Trotskyists and opportunists like him are more harmful than all the liquidators, for the convinced liquidators state their views openly and it is easy for the workers to recognise the errors of these views. But Trotsky and those similar to him deceive the workers, conceal the evil and make it impossible to expose and remedy it." (emphasis added - HB).

Such was the attitude of Trotsky towards the revolutionary Party during the years of reaction following the defeat of the 1905 revolution, that is, Trotsky helped the liquidators who stood for the liquidation of the Party. He was "more harmful than the liquidators" during this period, and for this reason Lenin waged a ruthless struggle against Trotsky's concealed liquidationism which was "more harmful" than the open liquidationism of the liquidators.

The year 1912 saw the beginning of an upsurge of revolutionary activity all over Russia. In response to this upsurge, in January 1912, the Bolsheviks called a conference of all the Party underground organisations to discuss policy and lay down guidelines for the revolutionary struggle ahead. The conference decided to strengthen the underground organisations in Russia,

the Party organisations were instructed to increase their activity in the direction of the socialist education of the workers in order to enable the working class to lead the Russian masses in their struggle for the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy and the establishment of a democratic republic - a democratic dictatorship of the working class and peasantry.

And what was Trotsky's response to the 1912 Prague Conference of the Bolsheviks? His response was to bring together in Vienna in August 1912 all the Russian groups living in exile who were opposed to the Bolsheviks. The only thing that united these groups was their opposition to the Bolsheviks. All these groups were in favour of the liquidation of the underground Party organisations - the liquidation of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat and its substitution by a *'Labour Party on Stolypin lines.'* The groups represented - the Jewish Socialist Organisation (the 'Bund'), the Lettish Social Democrats, the petty-bourgeois Polish socialist Party, Trotsky and a few followers of his - came to be called the 'August Bloc'. The August Bloc became notorious because at its conference in Vienna it passed anti-Bolshevik and counter-revolutionary resolutions. For all practical purposes, the Vienna conference of the August Bloc proved to be abortive, for none of the groups represented at this conference had any significant connection with the underground organisations of workers in Russia. But the Conference proved invaluable in exposing the opportunist Menshevism of Trotsky and other participants at this joke of a conference in Vienna.

In May 1914 Lenin wrote an article entitled *Disruption of Unity under Cover of Outcries for Unity*. In this article Lenin gives a brilliant exposure of Trotsky's *"high-sounding and empty phrases,"* his factionalism, his liquidationism and the bankruptcy of Trotsky's August Bloc. Lenin ends this article with an unforgettable description of Trotsky. This description, I consider, is very important to an understanding of Trotsky's opportunism. I shall, therefore, quote it in full, and it is my hope that comrades will not regard it as an unnecessary digression. This is how Lenin described Trotsky in May 1914:

"The old participants in the Marxian movement know Trotsky's personality very well, and it is not worth while talking to them about it. But the younger generation of the workers do not know him, and it is therefore necessary to discuss him, for he is typical of all the five grouplets abroad, which, in fact, are also vacillating between the liquidators and the Party.

"In the days of the Old Iskra (1901-03), these waverers, who flitted from the

Economists to the Iskraists and back again, were dubbed 'Tushino turncoats' (the name given in the Troublous times in Russia to the fighting men who went over from one camp to another).

"When we speak of liquidationism we speak of a definite ideological trend, which grew up in the course of many years, stems from Menshevism and Economism in the twenty years' history of Marxism, and is connected with the policy and ideology of a definite class - the liberal bourgeoisie.

"The only ground the 'Tushino turncoats' have for claiming that they stand above groups is that they 'borrow' their ideas from one group one day and from another the next day. Trotsky was an ardent Iskraist in 1901-03, and Ryazanov described his role at the Congress of 1903 as 'Lenin's truncheon'.⁶ At the end of 1903, Trotsky was an ardent Menshevik, i.e., he deserted from the Iskraists to the Economists. He said that 'between the old Iskra and the new lies a gulf'. In 1904-05, he deserted the Mensheviks and occupied a vacillating position, now cooperating with Martynov (the Economist), now proclaiming his absurdly left 'Permanent Revolution' theory. In 1906-07, he approached the Bolsheviks, and in the spring of 1907 he declared that he was in agreement with Rosa Luxembourg.

"In the period of disintegration after long 'non-factional' vacillation, he again went to the Right and in August 1912 he entered into a bloc with the liquidators. He has now deserted them again, although in substance he reiterates their shoddy ideas.

"Such types are characteristic as fragments of the historical foundations of yesterday, when the mass labour movement of Russia was still dormant and every grouplet was 'free' to represent itself as a tendency, group, faction, in a word a 'great power' talking, negotiating amalgamation with others.

"The younger generation of workers should know exactly who they are dealing with, when individuals come before them with incredibly pretentious claims, unwilling absolutely to reckon with either the Party decisions, which since 1908 have defined and established our attitude towards liquidationism, or with the experience of the present day working class movement in Russia, which has actually brought about the unity of the majority on the basis of the full recognition of the aforesaid decisions" (Lenin, CW Vol 20, pp.346-47).

This is an apt description not only of the biggest 'Tushino turncoat' of his time, Leon Trotsky, but also of his followers of our own time, that is, the Trotskyites of the International Socialists (IS), the International Marxist Group (IMG), the Socialist Labour League (SLL), etc., who believe in one

thing today and another thing tomorrow, who borrow their ideas from Trotsky today and from the Labour Party the next day, who denounce the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam today and 'support' it the next day (see the chapter on the Chinese Revolution).

Trotsky continued to oppose Lenin in the latter's attempt at building the revolutionary vanguard party of the proletariat right up to 1917, and it was not until only a few weeks before the Great October Socialist Revolution that Trotsky joined the Bolshevik Party. Yet this well known historical fact is conveniently 'forgotten', by-passed and evaded by the lying Trotskyites and bourgeois radical intelligentsia, by the lying Trotskyite and bourgeois press, who, flying in the face of historical truth, almost daily assert *ad nauseam* that Trotsky was a Bolshevik - a Leninist. May we ask the bourgeois radical intelligentsia and the Trotskyite gentry: how is it that somebody who was always a 'Bolshevik', always a 'Leninist', simply was always opposing Lenin? This is a funny kind of 'Bolshevism-Leninism'!! According to this formulation, one has to remain outside the Bolshevik Party and perpetually to oppose Lenin to be called a 'Bolshevik-Leninist'. Strange, is it not? No, gentlemen Trotskyites and bourgeois intellectuals, that won't do. The answer to our questions is: Trotsky was never a Bolshevik, never a Leninist. He was anti-Bolshevik and anti-Leninist.

Trotsky did not give up his Menshevik stand on organisational questions, that is, on the Party, even after joining the Bolshevik Party. In 1921, when Trotsky's proposal that trade unions should be 'shaken up' and turned into state organs was rejected by the Central Committee of the Party, Trotsky went out of the room where the CC was meeting and tried to gather a few supporters of his for the purpose of fighting against the CC. This incident shows the deep disregard and hatred of bourgeois intellectuals for the Party and for Party discipline.

What did Lenin think of people, such as Trotsky, who flouted the discipline of the Party?

"Whoever," says Lenin, "*weakens in the least the iron discipline of the Party of the proletariat (especially during the time of its dictatorship), actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.*" (CW Vol 31, p.45).

Yes, comrades, Trotsky did weaken "*the iron discipline of the Party*", not "*in the least*" either, but to an utmost degree, both before and after the October Revolution.

The trade union incident and Trotsky's behaviour caused Lenin to say:

"Just think! After two plenums of the central committee (November 9 and December 7) which were devoted to an unprecedentedly detailed, long, and heated discussion of the original draft of Comrade Trotsky's theses and of the entire trade union policy that he advocates for the Party, a member of the Central Committee [i.e., Trotsky] one out of nineteen, chooses a group outside the Central committee and advances the 'collective' 'work' of this group as a 'platform' advising the Party Congress to 'choose between two trends'!"

Lenin continued:

"Can it be denied that even if the 'new tasks and methods' were indicated by Trotsky as correctly as he has in fact indicated them incorrectly, Trotsky's approach to the question alone would have caused harm to himself, to the Party, to the trade union movement, to the work of training millions of trade union members, and to the Republic?" (Lenin, CW Vol 32, p74, Once Again on the Trade Unions, the Present Situation and the Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin).

This incident so alarmed Lenin that he caused the 10th Congress of the CPSU(B) to pass a special resolution against the formation of separate blocs, groups and factions within the Party. Lenin was of the view that Party members were entitled to differ with each other and to resolve their differences by discussion. But once a decision had been arrived at after a thorough discussion, and criticism had been exhausted, unity of will and action of the Party members were necessary, for without this unity a proletarian Party and proletarian discipline are inconceivable. This Trotsky could never understand. Whenever he found himself in a minority he rushed ahead to form a faction within the Party - thus jeopardising the Party and the Soviet Republic.

To sum up, comrades, on the question of the Party, Trotskyism does not take the stand of Leninism. it takes an anti-Leninist stand. Without a vanguard organisation (the Party) the proletariat can never achieve power. Organisation is the most potent weapon that the proletariat has for its own liberation. Without organisation, without the Party, there can be no proletarian revolution. On this important question of the vanguard Party of the proletariat, the stand of Trotskyism is similar to that of the bourgeois radical and liberal labour politicians. On organisational matters, Trotskyism stands for liberalism, i.e., the creation of Labour Party types of organisation meant to be electoral machines within capitalism, and for the destruction of the Bolshevik type parties - the real revolutionary communist parties with

iron discipline.

If one stands for the disorganisation of the vanguard Party of the proletariat, as Trotskyism does in practice, where then is the Bolshevism of such people? Such people as Trotsky who worked for the destruction of the Bolshevik Party can certainly be said to have objectively worked for the continuation of Tsarist autocracy and Tsarist military-feudal imperialism.

Even if we had nothing else against Trotskyism, comrades, the stand of Trotskyism on the question of the vanguard Party of the proletariat alone condemns it and confirms and proves our charge that Trotskyism is an anti-Leninist, anti-Bolshevik tendency within the working-class movement which, as the Marxist-Leninist movement develops, is bound by its inner logic once again to end up by becoming an advanced detachment of the bourgeoisie. But do not worry, comrades, the stand of Trotskyism on organisation is not the only thing that constitutes its anti-Bolshevism and anti-Leninism. And this brings me to the second topic with which I wish to deal this evening, namely, Lenin's theory of revolution and Trotsky's 'absurdly left' theory of 'permanent revolution'.

NOTES

1: This principle is true for all circumstances and is now accepted universally by all Marxist-Leninist parties the world over. Historical experience and the needs of the struggle demand that the membership of the vanguard party should not be open to just anyone who cares to enrol himself into the party - people must be admitted into the party by the party itself. Only the revisionists, Trotskyites and various other bourgeois elements violate this Leninist principle of organisation.

2: After this Congress Plekhanov, following the policy of 'killing with kindness', deserted Lenin and joined Martov and Co.

3: These conditions of party membership are violated by the revisionists and Trotskyites today just as much as they were 60 years ago.

4: Manilovism and Khvostism: **Manilovism** comes from the name of Manilov in Gogol's *Dead Souls* and means smug complacency, and empty sentimental day-dreaming. **Khvostism** means tailism.

5: Commenting on the "anarchist conceptions" contained in Martov's formulation and describing the opportunist views of Martov, Trotsky and Co, Lenin had this to say specifically on the opportunist arguments of Trotsky:

"To this category of arguments [opportunist arguments - HB] which inevitably arise when attempts are made to justify Martov's formulation, belongs, in particular, Comrade Trotsky's statement ... that 'opportunism is created by more complex (or: is determined by more profound) causes than one or another clause in the Rules; it is brought about by the relative

level of development of the bourgeois democracy and the proletariat ...' The point is not that clauses in the Rules may produce opportunism; the point is to forge with the help of the Rules a more or less trenchant weapon against opportunism. The profounder its causes, the more trenchant should this weapon be. Therefore, to justify a formulation which opens the door to opportunism by the fact that opportunism has 'profound causes' is khvostism [tailism] of the purest water. When Comrade Trotsky was opposed to Comrade Lieber, he understood that the Rules constituted the 'organised distrust' of the whole towards the part, of the vanguard towards the backward detachment; but when Comrade Trotsky himself proved to be on Comrade Lieber's side, he forgot this and even began to justify the weakness and instability of our organisation of this distrust (distrust of opportunism) by talking about 'complex causes', the 'level of development of the proletariat', etc. Here is another of Trotsky's arguments: 'It is much easier for the intellectual youth, organised in one way or another to enter themselves on the rolls of the Party'. Just so. That is why it is the formulation by which even unorganised elements may proclaim themselves Party members that suffers from the vagueness typical of the intellectual, and not my formulation which removes the right to 'enter oneself' on the rolls. Comrade Trotsky says that if the Central Committee were 'not to recognise' an organisation of opportunists it would only be because of the character of certain persons, and that once these persons were known as political individuals they would not be dangerous and could be removed by a general Party boycott. This is only true of cases when people have to be removed from the Party (and only half true at that, because an organised party removes members by a vote and not by a boycott). It is absolutely untrue of the far more frequent case: when removal would be absurd, and when all that is required is control. For purposes of control, the Central Committee might, on certain conditions, deliberately admit to the Party an organisation which was not quite reliable but which was capable of working; it might do so with the object of testing it, of trying to direct it into the true path, of correcting its partial aberrations by its own guidance, etc. This would not be dangerous if in general 'self-entering' on the Party rolls were not allowed. It would often be useful for an open and responsible, controlled expression (and discussion) of mistaken views and mistaken tactics. 'But if legal definitions are to correspond to actual relations, Comrade Lenin's formulation must be rejected', said Comrade Trotsky, and again he spoke like an opportunist. Actual relations are not a dead thing, they live and develop. Legal definitions may correspond to the progressive development of these relations, but they may also (if these definitions are bad ones) 'correspond' to retrogression or stagnation. The latter is the 'case' with Comrade Martov." (One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Lenin's emphasis throughout).

6: As a matter of fact Ryazanov's designation was incorrect. As Note 5 shows, at the Second Congress Trotsky played an opportunist role on the important question of the Party, and joined all the other opportunists in opposing Lenin.

Chapter 3

Theory of Revolution:

Lenin's Theory of Revolution versus Trotsky's theory of 'Permanent Revolution'

"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." (Lenin)

"The role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory." (Lenin)

"... practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illumined by revolutionary theory." (Stalin).

Differences between the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks and Trotsky on the character of the Russian revolution.

The Menshevik position on the character of the Russian revolution:

Mensheviks (the reformist socialists) held that the coming revolution in Russia was a bourgeois revolution, and in view of its bourgeois-democratic nature the revolution must be led by the liberal bourgeoisie. The proletariat must not establish close relations with the peasantry, but with the liberal bourgeoisie. The tactics of the proletariat must be to help the liberal bourgeoisie achieve state power. The proletariat must not assume the leadership of the revolution, for a vigorous display of revolutionary zeal by the proletariat might frighten the liberal bourgeoisie into the arms of the autocracy. The proletariat could not take part in any revolutionary provisional government either, for it would be tantamount to repeating the mistake committed by the French socialists in joining the bourgeois government. On the contrary, the proletariat must exercise pressure from

without to compel the liberal bourgeoisie to carry the bourgeois-democratic revolution through to the end.

In a nutshell, the Mensheviks argued, the proletariat must play a subsidiary role - the role of an appendage of the liberal bourgeoisie. It must not play a leading role and it must not establish close relations with the peasantry for that would *"cause the bourgeois classes to recoil from the revolution and thus diminish its sweep."*

The Leninist-Bolshevik position

On the other hand, the Bolsheviks, the Revolutionary Socialists, held that despite the bourgeois-democratic character of the impending revolution, it was primarily the proletariat that was interested in its complete victory, for the victory of this revolution would enable the proletariat to organise itself, grow politically and gain experience in the political leadership of the toiling masses and thereby pass from the stage of the bourgeois revolution to that of the socialist revolution. The proletariat was more interested in the complete victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution than the bourgeoisie because *"in a certain sense, a bourgeois revolution is more advantageous to the proletariat than to the bourgeoisie"* (Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*). Therefore the proletariat must assume the leadership of the revolution.

But the proletariat alone could not successfully carry out its task of leading the bourgeois-democratic revolution and carrying it through to an end without the assistance and active participation of a dependable ally.¹ This dependable ally, the Bolsheviks held, was none other than the peasantry. The peasantry were interested in the success of the revolution for only such an outcome could enable the peasantry to settle accounts with the landlord class and obtain possession of their lands.

Lenin dealt with the role of the Russian peasantry - the role that had been assigned to it by its class position in the coming revolution - in the following terms:

"The peasantry includes a great number of semi-proletarians as well as petty-bourgeois elements. This causes it to be unstable and compels the proletariat to join in a strictly class party. But the instability of the peasantry differs radically from the instability of the bourgeoisie, for at the present time the peasantry is interested not so much in the absolute preservation of private property as in the confiscation of the landed estates, one of the principal forms of pri-

vate property. While this does not cause the peasantry to become socialists or cease to be petty-bourgeois, the peasantry is capable of becoming a whole-hearted and most radical adherent of the democratic revolution. The peasantry will inevitably become such if only the progress of revolutionary events which is enlightening it is not interrupted too soon by the treachery of the bourgeoisie and the defeat of the proletariat. Subject to this condition, the peasantry will inevitably become a bulwark of the revolution and the republic, for only a completely victorious revolution can give the peasantry everything in the sphere of agrarian reforms - everything that the peasants desire, of which they dream, and of which they truly stand in need." (*Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*).

Further, the Bolsheviks held that the liberal bourgeoisie must be isolated, for without the isolation of this treacherous and unstable class there could be no question of a successful bourgeois-democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. Dealing with the Menshevik objection that the Bolshevik tactics "will cause the bourgeois classes to recoil from the revolution and thus diminish its sweep" and rejecting these objections as "tactics of betrayal of the revolution" and as "tactics which would convert the proletariat into a wretched appendage of the bourgeois classes," Lenin wrote:

"Those who really understand the role of the peasantry in a victorious Russian revolution would not dream of saying that the sweep of the revolution would be diminished if the bourgeoisie recoiled from it. For as a matter of fact, the Russian revolution will begin to assume its real sweep, will really assume the widest revolutionary sweep possible in the epoch of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, only when the bourgeoisie recoils from it and when the masses of the peasantry come out as active revolutionaries side by side with the proletariat. In order that it may be consistently carried out to its conclusion, our democratic revolution must rely on such forces as are capable of paralysing the inevitable inconsistency of the bourgeoisie, i.e., capable precisely of 'causing it to recoil from the revolution.'" (*Two Tactics ...*)

According to the Bolsheviks, the decisive victory over Tsarism would result in the establishment of a provisional government which would be a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. It would be the function of such a government to ensure a decisive victory over Tsarism, to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy, neutralise the instability of the bourgeoisie, carry out agrarian and other democratic reforms and thus carry the bourgeois-democratic revolution through to the end. Citing the

famous thesis of Marx that: *"after a revolution every provisional organisation of the state requires a dictatorship, and an energetic dictatorship at that,"* Lenin came to the conclusion that:

"A decisive victory of the revolution over Tsarism is the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry..."

"And such a victory will precisely be a dictatorship, i.e., it must inevitably rely on military force, on the arming of the masses, on an uprising, and not on institutions of one kind or another, established in a 'lawful' or 'peaceful' way. It can only be a dictatorship, for the realisation of changes which are urgently and absolutely indispensable for the proletariat and the peasantry will call forth the desperate resistance of the landlords, of the big bourgeoisie and Tsarism. Without a dictatorship it is impossible to break down resistance and to repel the counter-revolutionary attempts. But, of course, it will be a democratic, not a socialist dictatorship. It will not be able (without a series of intermediary stages of revolutionary development) to affect the foundations of capitalism." (Two Tactics ...).

And finally, the Bolsheviks had no intention of calling a halt at the point of consummation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. They believed that there was no insuperable wall between the bourgeois-democratic and the socialist revolution. They maintained that consequent upon the accomplishment of the democratic tasks the proletariat and the other exploited masses would have to begin a struggle for socialist revolution. To the Bolsheviks the bourgeois-democratic republic was not an end in itself, but a means to an end, i.e., a socialist republic; the bourgeois-democratic republic was a necessary and indispensable step in the direction of a socialist republic - an indispensable intermediary stage in the development of the revolutionary movement in its onward and inexorable march towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But this could be realised only if the proletariat were at the head of the whole people, particularly the peasantry, in the phase of the democratic revolution and at the head of all the toilers and exploited in the period of struggle for socialism. In his book *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, writing about the scope of the bourgeois revolution and the tasks of the proletarian party, Lenin brilliantly summed up the strategy and tactics of the party of the proletariat in the period of bourgeois-democratic revolution and dealt once and for all in a most clear way with the question of the relation between the bourgeois revolution and the socialist revolution. He

wrote:

"The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying itself to the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution, by allying itself to the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and paralyse the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. Such are the tasks of the proletariat, which the new Iskraits [i.e., the Mensheviks - HB] always present so narrowly in their arguments and resolutions about the scope of the revolution."

And further:

"At the head of the whole people, and particularly of the peasantry - for complete freedom, for a consistent democratic revolution, for a republic! At the head of all the toilers and the exploited - for socialism! Such must in practice be the policy of the revolutionary proletariat, such is the class slogan which must permeate and determine the solution of every tactical problem, of every practical step of the workers' party during the revolution." (Two Tactics ...).

This was the theory of uninterrupted revolution - the theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution passing into the socialist revolution.

Trotsky's position: his theory of 'permanent revolution'.

Trotsky occupied a 'middle' position that was formally different from both that of the Bolsheviks and that of the Mensheviks but in essence and objectively was closer to the latter for all practical purposes. He agreed with the Bolsheviks in their estimation of the Russian liberal bourgeoisie (capitalists) and would have nothing to do with it. At the same time he found himself in complete agreement with the Mensheviks in their estimation of the peasantry. Therefore he would not have anything to do with the peasantry either. The peasantry could not be a dependable ally, he argued. The spontaneous movement and uprising of the peasantry might help the working class in its struggle against Tsarist despotism, but it was not the same thing as the peasantry playing the role of a revolutionary ally of the revolutionary working class in its struggle against autocracy. Tsarism, according to Trotsky, could only be replaced by a workers' government. On no account could it be replaced by a joint dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry. And, on coming to power, it would be the function of this workers' government to attack private property, including the peasant

holdings. By its attack on private property the workers' government would alienate and arouse the hostility and resistance (thanks to Trotsky) of the majority of the population, viz., the peasantry. The resistance of the peasantry would endanger the very existence of the workers' government. But, on the other hand, the workers' government would stimulate the working class of the industrially-advanced European countries to wage ruthless struggle against their 'own' bourgeoisies, seize state power and establish socialism. And in turn, the victorious working class from the advanced West European countries would come to the aid of the workers' government in Russia to help the latter to crush by force the resistance of the peasantry. Trotsky called this theory the theory of 'permanent revolution', and it was the cause and subject of bitter controversy between Lenin and Trotsky.

One thing that must be stressed about Trotsky is that whenever he took an incorrect and opportunist stand, he always covered it by the use of ultra 'left' and ultra 'revolutionary' phrases. He was, for example, in favour of arbitrarily jumping over the first stage of the Russian revolution. He was against the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry as a necessary prerequisite to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Why? Because, he argued, *"we are living in the era of imperialism, and imperialism does not oppose the bourgeois nation to the old regime but the proletarian to the bourgeois nation."* (Trotsky, *Our Revolution*, 1906).

In view of what has been said above the two conclusions that emerge are:

(1) Trotsky's hostility to and lack of faith in the peasantry; his failure to appreciate the revolutionary role that the peasantry is capable of playing at a certain stage in the development of the revolution.

(2) From his failure to appreciate the revolutionary role of the peasantry followed his subjective desire to jump over the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution and establish socialism straight away. Hence the call for a workers' government to replace Tsarism. What it amounted to in practice was that the first stage of the revolution would not be the majority of the Russian people, particularly the peasantry, against the Tsar, but only the working class (constituting a tiny minority of the Russian population) against the Tsar and the *"bourgeois nation"* including the peasantry.

Acceptance of this theory of 'permanent revolution' would have meant an acceptance of permanent counter-revolution, for it would have meant a negation of the revolutionary role that the peasantry was capable of playing,

and which it did play; it would have meant depriving the Russian working class of an extremely important and dependable ally and turning the peasantry into a tool of the liberal bourgeoisie. Trotsky was to claim later that the revolution was betrayed by Stalin. For the moment we shall simply say that there would have been no revolution and consequently no 'betrayal' if Trotsky had had his way, if his theory of 'permanent revolution' had been put into practice, for there could have been no revolution in Russia without the revolutionary role played by the Russian peasantry. Lenin rejected the theory of 'permanent revolution' in his *Two Lines of the Revolution* (1915), in which he wrote:

"Trotsky repeats his 'original' theory of 1905 and refuses to stop to think why, for ten whole years, life passed by this beautiful theory."

And further: *"Trotsky is in fact helping the liberal labour politicians in Russia who by the 'repudiation' of the role of the peasantry mean refusal to rouse the peasantry."*

It took only two years to prove the correctness of Lenin's estimation of the role of the peasantry.

In view of Trotsky's estimation of the role of the peasantry and his consequent rejection of the peasantry as a revolutionary force, and finally his rejection of the stages in the development of a revolution, it is not at all surprising that Trotskyites today, in Britain as well as abroad, attack the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam and its programme. It is not at all surprising that they characterise and dismiss the NLF programme as a bourgeois programme and heap abuse on it, or that they fail to see its anti-imperialist revolutionary character. They refuse to learn from life itself and *"refuse to stop to think why,"* for 60 whole years, *"life passed by this beautiful theory,"* the theory of 'permanent revolution'. But of this more anon.

The theory of 'permanent revolution' caused Trotsky to reach the following conclusion in 1906, which he was to repeat in 1922:

"In the absence of direct state support on the part of the European proletariat, the Russian working class will not be able to keep itself in power and transform its temporary rule into a stable socialist dictatorship. There is no doubt about it." (Trotsky, *Our Revolution*, 1906).

Trotsky reached the above conclusion in 1906. From this stand he never departed. According to him, the Russian revolution could not survive, let alone build socialism, without the aid of the victorious working class of the

West European countries. With this standpoint, what was one to do if the European working class was not successful in making a social revolution? We shall see that as the chances of a socialist revolution in West European countries faded away (and we cannot here go into the reasons for the failure of the European revolution) Trotsky started advocating a policy of desperate adventurism alternating from time to time with a policy of complete capitulation to international monopoly capitalism. This was the natural and logical consequence of his incorrect and thoroughly opportunist position in regard to the strategy and tactics of the Russian revolution. If one took the position, as Trotsky did, that the Russian revolution could not survive without the support of the European social revolution, one could only reach the following conclusions in the event of the European working class failing to seize power:

One - that by some kind of adventurism social revolution must be 'exported' to West European countries;

Two - complete surrender to international monopoly capitalism. Trotsky reached both these conclusions and advocated them from time to time. **Adventurism hand in hand with capitulationism, both of which spring from a lack of faith in the masses and an overestimation of the reactionaries, is the essence of Trotskyism.**

Because of his theory of 'permanent revolution' - with its negation of the role of the peasantry, with its lack of faith in the ability of the proletariat to lead the broad masses of labouring people in achieving the victory of socialism in one country, with its religious, unscientific and un-Marxist belief that the victory of socialism was a possibility only in the event of a simultaneous revolution *"in the most important countries of Europe"* - Trotsky was never able to comprehend the peculiar features of the October Revolution. It is necessary for us to deal with these peculiar features of the October Revolution, and in the light of these peculiar features to ascertain the respective (irreconcilable) positions of Leninism and Trotskyism.

The peculiar features of the October Revolution

What are the peculiar features of the October Revolution?

The October Revolution has two peculiar features the understanding of which is a precondition to our understanding of the significance, both national and international, of that revolution. These two peculiar features are:-

(1) that the dictatorship of the proletariat came into existence in Russia on the basis of an alliance between the proletariat and the labouring peasantry, the peasantry being led by the working class;

(2) that the dictatorship of the proletariat became established in a single country - and a backward one at that from the point of view of its capitalist development - while capitalism was preserved in other countries, some of which were highly developed capitalistically.

These two features are of utmost importance for us, for they not only represent the essence of the October Revolution and a brilliant application of Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and his theory of proletarian revolution, but they also reveal the thoroughly opportunist nature of Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution'.

Let us, then, examine these features briefly:-

(1) The alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, the latter being led by the proletariat.

The question of allies is one of utmost importance. Whom will the labouring masses of the town and country support; whose reserve will they become - the reserve of the proletariat or that of the bourgeoisie? On this depends the fate, the outcome, of the revolution. The French revolutions of 1848 and 1871 came to a bitter end mainly because the peasantry became a reserve of the bourgeoisie. The October Revolution was victorious because the peasantry became the reserve of the proletariat, because the proletariat was able to deprive the bourgeoisie of the peasant reserves. As Stalin said:

"He who has not understood this will never comprehend the character of the October Revolution, or the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the peculiar characteristics of the internal policy of our proletarian power." (Problems of Leninism).

Thus it can be seen that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a class alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, the latter led by the proletariat, for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and for achieving the final victory of socialism. So it is not a question, as is asserted by some people, of 'slightly' overestimating or 'slightly' underestimating the role of the peasantry; it is a question concerning the very character and foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat. What, then, is Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat? This is how Lenin formulates it:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a special form of class alliance be-

tween the proletariat, the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of toilers (the petty bourgeoisie, the small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc), or the majority of these; it is an alliance against capital, an alliance aiming at the complete overthrow of capital, at the complete suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and of any attempt on their part at restoration, an alliance aiming at the final establishment and consolidation of Socialism" (Lenin).

And further on:

"If we translate the Latin, scientific, historical, philosophical term 'dictatorship of the proletariat' into more simple language, it means just the following: only a definite class, namely, that of the urban workers and industrial workers in general, is able to lead the whole mass of the toilers and exploited in the struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, in the process of this overthrow, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating the new, Socialist social system, in the whole struggle for the complete abolition of classes." (Lenin).

Such is Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the October Revolution *"represents the classic application of Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat."* (Stalin).

These, then, are the characteristics of the first feature of the October Revolution.

What is the position of Trotskyism in the light of the first peculiar feature of the October Revolution, that is, how do matters stand with regard to Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution'?

We shall not bother to state in detail Trotsky's position in 1905 when he advanced the slogan 'No Tsar, but a workers' government', that is, a revolution without the peasantry! Nor shall we dwell at length on Trotsky's position in 1915, when, proceeding from the fact that *"we are living in the era of imperialism"*, and that imperialism *"sets up not the bourgeois nation in opposition to the old regime, but the proletariat in opposition to the bourgeois nation"*, he arrived at the conclusion in his article *The Struggle for Power* that the role of the peasantry was bound to decline, that the peasantry was no longer bound to play the important role that had hitherto been attributed to it, that the slogan of confiscation of land no longer had the importance it had formerly. As is generally known, Lenin at that time rebuked Trotsky in the following terms for putting forward such a thesis:

"Trotsky is in fact helping the liberal labour politicians in Russia who by 'denial' of the role of the peasantry mean refusal to rouse the peasants to revolution."

Let us, therefore pass on to the later works of Trotsky on this subject - works of the period after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Take for example Trotsky's Preface to his book *The Year 1905* written in 1922. This is what Trotsky says in this Preface on his theory of 'permanent revolution':

"It was precisely during the interval between January 9 and the general strike of October 1905 that the views on the character of the revolutionary development of Russia which came to be known as the theory of 'permanent revolution' crystallised in the author's mind. This abstruse term represented the idea that the Russian Revolution, whose immediate objectives were bourgeois in nature, would not, however, stop when these objectives had been achieved. The revolution would not be able to solve its immediate bourgeois problems except by placing the proletariat in power. And the latter, upon assuming power, would not be able to confine itself to the bourgeois limits of the revolution. On the contrary, precisely in order to ensure its victory, the proletarian vanguard would be forced in the very early stages of its rule to make deep inroads not only into feudal property but into bourgeois property as well. In this it would come into hostile collision not only with all the bourgeois groupings which supported the proletariat during the first stages of the revolutionary struggle, but also with the broad masses of the peasantry who had been instrumental in bringing it into power. The contradictions in the position of a workers' government: in a backward country with an overwhelming majority of peasants can be solved only on an international scale, in the arena of the world proletarian revolution."

Such is Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution'. Such is the position of Trotskyism on the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is how matters stand with regard to the theory of 'permanent revolution' in the light of the first peculiar feature of the October Revolution, namely, that the dictatorship of the proletariat came to be established in Russia on the basis of an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, the guiding force of this alliance being the proletariat.

Comrades, is there anything in common between Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution'? It scarcely needs proof that there is nothing in common between the

two. One has only to compare the above quotation from Trotsky's Preface with the above two quotations from Lenin's writings *"to perceive the great chasm that lies between Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution'"* (Stalin).

Permit me, comrades, to sum up this point, namely the comparison between Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat with Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution', in the immortal language of Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin says:

"Lenin speaks of the alliance between the proletariat and the labouring strata of the peasantry as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotsky sees a 'hostile collision' between the 'proletarian vanguard' and 'the broad masses of the peasants'.

"Lenin speaks of the leadership of the toiling and exploited masses by the proletariat. Trotsky sees 'contradictions in the position of a workers' government in a backward country with an overwhelming majority of peasants'.

"According to Lenin, the revolution draws its strength primarily from among the workers and peasants of Russia itself. According to Trotsky, the necessary strength can be found only 'in the arena of the world proletarian revolution'.

"But what if the world revolution is fated to arrive with some delay? Is there any ray of hope for our revolution? Trotsky sees no ray of hope, for 'the contradictions in the position of a workers' government ... can be solved only ... in the arena of the world proletarian revolution.' According to this plan, there is but one prospect left for our revolution: to vegetate in its own contradictions and rot away while waiting for the world revolution.

"What is the dictatorship of the proletariat according to Lenin?

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a power which rests on an alliance between the proletariat and the labouring masses of the peasantry for 'the complete overthrow of capital' and for 'the final establishment and consolidation of Socialism'.

"What is the dictatorship of the proletariat according to Trotsky?

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a power which comes into 'hostile collision ... with the broad masses of the peasants' and seeks the solution of its 'contradictions' only 'in the arena of the world proletarian revolution.'"

"What difference is there between this 'theory of permanent revolution' and the well-known theory of Menshevism which repudiates the concept of the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat?

"In substance there is no difference.

"There can be no doubt about it. 'Permanent revolution' is not a mere underestimation of the revolutionary potentialities of the peasant movement. 'Permanent revolution' is an underestimation of the peasant movement which leads to the repudiation of Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Trotsky's 'permanent revolution' is a variety of Menshevism." (Problems of Leninism).

This is how matters stand with regard to the first peculiar feature of the October Revolution. Let us now pass on to the second peculiar feature of that revolution:

(2) Victory of the revolution in a single country - capitalistically little developed at that - while capitalism is preserved in other more capitalistically advanced countries.

Lenin, from his studies of imperialism, arrived at the law of uneven economic and political development of the various capitalist countries. According to this law, capitalist development of the various countries does not proceed according to a definite plan whereby one capitalist country is always ahead of others, while others keep regularly behind it. On the contrary, the development of capitalist countries proceeds spasmodically - by leaps ahead in the development of some and interruptions in the development of others. This situation leads to 'quite legitimate' striving on the part of those countries, those that used to be in advance of others but have been left behind, to hold on to their old positions, and to equally 'legitimate' striving on the part of the countries that have leapt ahead to effect a change in the old and to seize new positions. These two equally 'legitimate' and irreconcilable strivings cannot but lead to armed clashes and inter-imperialist wars. It was from these contradictions that both the First World War and the Second arose. Germany, from being a backward country with capitalism little developed had leapt ahead of France and was pressing Britain in the world market. Britain and France's 'legitimate' striving to hold on to the old positions and Germany's equally 'legitimate' striving to seize new positions led to the inter-imperialist First World War.

The law of uneven development proceeds from the following:-

(1) "Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population

of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries" (Lenin, *Preface to the French edition of Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, SW Vol 5 p.9);

(2) "This 'booty' is shared between two or three powerful world marauders armed to the teeth (America, Great Britain, Japan), who involve the whole world in their war over the sharing of their booty" (*ibid*);

(3) Because of the intensification of the catastrophic contradictions within the system of imperialism, resulting in imperialist wars and the growth of revolutionary movements, the world front of imperialism becomes easily vulnerable to revolution, and a breach in this front in individual countries becomes a probability;

(4) Where will this breach take place? At the weakest link in the chain of the world front of imperialism, where imperialism is weak and the revolutionary forces strong enough to effect such a breach;

(5) Therefore, the victory of socialism in one country (even a backward country where capitalism is little developed), while capitalism is preserved in other countries (more developed in the capitalist sense), becomes a probability.

"Uneven economic and political development," says Lenin, "is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of Socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organised its own Socialist production, would stand up against the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, raising revolts in those countries against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity coming out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states." For "the free union of nations in Socialism is impossible without a more or less prolonged and stubborn struggle by the Socialist republics against the backward states." (Lenin: SW Vol 5, p.141 *The United States of Europe Slogan*).

And further:

"The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise under the commodity production system. From this it follows irrefutably that Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time." (Lenin, *Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution*).

Such are the foundations of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution.

The opportunists (be they Trotskyites, revisionists or social-democrats) of all countries assert that a proletarian revolution can only begin in highly industrialised countries. More than that - according to them the victory of socialism in one country, particularly a country where capitalism is not highly developed, is altogether excluded. Lenin fought against this opportunist theory as early as the period of the First World War and, relying on the law of the uneven development of capitalism, opposed to the opportunists his theory of proletarian revolution. What distinguishes Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution from the various opportunist theories?

The possibility and the probability of the victory of socialism in one country - even if that country is not highly developed in the capitalist sense - is what distinguishes Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution from all opportunist theories which assert that socialism cannot be victorious in a single country and a backward country at that.

The October Revolution furnished eloquent proof of the correctness of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution and equally eloquent proof of the incorrectness and of the opportunist nature of the various theories according to which the victory of socialism could not be achieved in a single country, particularly a backward one:

"The second peculiar feature of the October Revolution," says Stalin, "lies in the fact that this revolution represents a model of the practical application of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution.

"He who does not understand this peculiar feature of the October Revolution will never understand either the international nature of the revolution, or its colossal international might, or its peculiar foreign policy." (Stalin, Problems of Leninism).

How does Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution' relate to Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution?

In his book *Our Revolution* (1906) Trotsky wrote:

Without direct state support from the European proletariat, the working class of Russia will not be able to maintain itself in power and to transform its temporary rule into a lasting Socialist dictatorship. This we cannot doubt for an instant."

What is the meaning of this quotation? Its meaning is that socialism cannot be victorious in one country - Russia in this instance - "without direct

support from the European proletariat". Its meaning is that in Russia the proletariat cannot "maintain itself in power", let alone build socialism, before the seizure of power by the European proletariat.

Is there anything in common between this 'theory' and Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution upon the victory of socialism in one country, even if that country is not highly developed in the capitalist sense?

It scarcely needs saying that there is nothing in common between the two.

It might be argued that Trotsky's book *Our Revolution* was published in 1906 when it was difficult to determine precisely the character of the Russian revolution; that it contains some mistakes, and that it does not, therefore, correspond to the views of Trotsky later on. But examine the views of Trotsky contained in another of Trotsky's pamphlets, *Programme of Peace*. This pamphlet was published before the October Revolution and was reprinted in 1924 in Trotsky's book *The Year 1917*. In this pamphlet Trotsky attacks Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution upon the victory of socialism in one country and opposes to it his theory of a United States of Europe. Trotsky argues that the victory of socialism is possible only if such a victory is achieved in several of the principal European states, which ought to combine then into a United States of Europe. According to Trotsky, a revolution in Russia could not be victorious without a proletarian revolution in Germany. Neither could the revolution be victorious in Germany without a revolution in other advanced European countries. Trotsky says:

"The only more or less concrete historical argument advanced against the slogan of a United States of Europe was formulated in the Swiss Sotsial-Demokrat [at that time the central organ of the Bolsheviks] in the following sentence: 'Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism'. From this the 'Sotsial-Demokrat' drew the conclusion that the victory of Socialism is possible in one country, and that, therefore, there is no point in making the creation of a United States of Europe a condition for the dictatorship of the proletariat in each separate country. That capitalist development in different countries is uneven is an absolutely incontrovertible argument. But this unevenness is itself extremely uneven. The capitalist level of England, Austria, Germany or France is not identical. But in comparison with Africa and Asia all these countries represent capitalist 'Europe', which has grown ripe for the social revolution. That no single country should 'wait' for others in its own struggle is an elementary idea which it is useful and necessary

to repeat in order to prevent the substitution of the idea of expectant international inaction for the idea of simultaneous international action. Without waiting for the others, we begin and continue our struggle on our national soil, confident that our initiative will give an impetus to the struggle in other countries; but if that does not happen, it will be hopeless, in the light of historical experience and in the light of theoretical reasoning, to think that a revolutionary Russia, for example, could hold its own in the face of a conservative Europe, or that a Socialist Germany could remain isolated in a capitalist world."

Thus what we have before us is the same old theory of 'permanent revolution' which demands a simultaneous victory of proletarian revolution in the most important countries of Europe. Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution' excluded Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution; Trotsky's theory of 'permanent' hopelessness has nothing in common with Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution upon the victory of Socialism in one country.

Perhaps the above quotation from Trotsky's book *The Year 1917* too does not correspond with Trotsky's more mature views. Let us, therefore, examine his later works, those written after the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, in *one* country. Take, for example, Trotsky's Postscript to the new edition of his pamphlet *A Programme of Peace* written in 1922. This is what Trotsky says in this Postscript:

"The assertion, repeated several times in A Programme of Peace, that a proletarian revolution cannot be carried through to a victorious conclusion within the boundaries of one country may appear to some readers to have been refuted by the almost five years' experience of our Soviet republic. But such a conclusion would be groundless. The fact that the workers' state has maintained itself against the whole world in one country, and in a backward country at that, bears witness to the colossal might of the proletariat which in other countries, more advanced, more civilised, will be capable of performing real miracles. But, although we have held our ground in the political and military sense as a state, we have not yet undertaken or even approached the task of creating a Socialist society ... As long as the bourgeoisie remains in power in the other European countries we will be compelled, in our struggle against economic isolation, to strive for agreement with the capitalist world; at the same time it may be said with certainty that these agreements may at best help us to mitigate some of our economic ills, to take one or another step forward, but that a genuine advance of Socialist economy in Russia will become possible only after the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries

of Europe" (emphasis added - HB).

Permit me, comrades, to conclude this point by quoting what Comrade Stalin had to say on the above quotation from Trotsky's Postscript to his pamphlet, *A Programme of Peace*:

"Thus speaks Trotsky", says Stalin, "plainly sinning against reality and stubbornly trying to save his 'permanent revolution' from final shipwreck.

"It appears, then, that, twist and turn as you like, we have not only 'not undertaken' the task of creating a Socialist society but we have 'not even approached' it. It appears that some people have been hoping for 'agreements with the capitalist world', but it also appears that nothing will come of these agreements, for, twist and turn as you like, a 'genuine advance of Socialist economy' will not be possible until the proletariat has been victorious in the 'most important countries of Europe'.

"Well, then, since there is still no victory in the West, the only 'choice' that remains for the revolution in Russia is: either to rot away or to degenerate into a bourgeois state.

"It is no accident that Trotsky had been talking for two years now about the 'degeneration' of our Party.

"It is no accident that last year Trotsky predicted the 'doom' of our country.

"How can this strange 'prospect' be reconciled with Lenin's view that the New Economic Policy would enable us 'to lay the foundation of Socialist economy'?

"How can this 'permanent' hopelessness be reconciled, for instance, with the following words of Lenin's:

"Socialism is no longer a matter of the distant future, or an abstract picture, or an icon. We still retain our old bad opinion of icons. We have dragged Socialism into everyday life, and here we must be able to keep our bearings. This is the task of our day, the task of our epoch. Permit me to conclude by expressing the conviction that, difficult as this task may be, new as it may be compared with our previous task, and no matter how many difficulties it may entail, we shall all - not in one day, but in the course of several years - all of us together fulfil it at any price; and NEP Russia will be transformed into Socialist Russia." (Lenin, SW Vol 9, p.381).

"How can this 'permanent' hopelessness be reconciled, for instance, with the following words of Lenin's:

"As a matter of fact, the power of state over all large-scale means of production, the

power of state in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with the many millions of small and very small peasants, the assured leadership of the peasantry by the proletariat, etc. - is not this all that is necessary in order to build a complete Socialist society from the cooperatives, from the cooperatives alone, which we formerly treated as huckstering and which from a certain aspect we have the right to treat as such now, under NEP? Is this not all that is necessary for the purpose of building a complete Socialist society? This is not yet the building of Socialist society, but it is all that is necessary and sufficient for this building.' (SW Vol 9, p.403).

"It is plain that these two views cannot be reconciled. Trotsky's 'permanent revolution' is the negation of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution; and conversely, Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution is the negation of the theory of 'permanent revolution'.

"Lack of faith in the strength and capabilities of our revolution, lack of faith in the strength and capabilities of the Russian proletariat - that is what lies at the root of the theory of 'permanent revolution'.

"Hitherto only one aspect of the theory of 'permanent revolution' has usually been noted - lack of faith in the revolutionary potentialities of the peasant movement. Now, in fairness, this must be supplemented by another aspect - lack of faith in the strength and capabilities of the proletariat in Russia.

"What difference is there between Trotsky's theory and the ordinary Menshevik theory that the victory of Socialism in one country, and in a backward country at that, is impossible without the preliminary victory of the proletarian revolution 'in the principal countries of Western Europe'?

"As a matter of fact there is no difference.

"There can be no doubt at all. Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution' is a variety of Menshevism."

This is how matters stand with regard to the second peculiar feature of the October Revolution.

Trotskyites and the bourgeois intelligentsia, in their desperate attempt to palm off the theory of 'permanent revolution' as being compatible with Leninism, quite often assert that the trouble with Trotsky was that he ran too far ahead; that, though Trotsky's theory was wrong for the year 1905, it proved to be correct for October 1917. It is further asserted that in April 1917 Lenin gave up his standpoint for Trotsky's 'permanent revolution'. It is necessary to deal with this assertion, for if it were true then it would be correct to say that Lenin was a Trotskyite. More than that - there would be no

such thing as Marxism-Leninism but Marxism-Trotskyism. Thus it can be seen clearly, comrades, that Trotskyites are not just attempting to make Trotskyism appear compatible with Leninism - they are in fact attempting to substitute Trotskyism for Leninism. This is not the first time that Trotskyism has made such an attempt, nor will it be the last. But we can say with certainty that, like all previous attempts by Trotskyism to replace Leninism and substitute itself as the sole proletarian (!) ideology, the present one (as well as future ones) will be smashed.

One attempt to palm off Trotskyism as compatible with Leninism was made as early as 1924 by Radek. Stalin, as a result of this attempt, called Radek the *'rotten diplomat'*. Here is what Radek said:

"The war created a chasm between the peasantry, which was striving to win land and peace, and the petty-bourgeois parties; the war placed the peasantry under the leadership of the working class and of its vanguard, the Bolshevik Party. This rendered possible, not the dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry, but the dictatorship of the working class relying on the peasantry. What Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky advanced against Lenin in 1905 [i.e., 'permanent revolution'] proved, as a matter of fact, to be the second stage of the historic development."

No better refutation of the assertions contained in the above quotation is to be found anywhere than in the following lines of Comrade Stalin's:

"Here [i.e., in Radek's quotation] every statement is a distortion. It is not true that the war 'rendered possible, not the dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry, but the dictatorship of the working class relying on the peasantry'. Actually, the February Revolution of 1917 was the materialisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, interwoven in a peculiar way with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

"It is not true that the theory of 'permanent revolution', which Radek modestly refrains from mentioning, was advanced in 1905 by Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky. Actually this theory was advanced by Parvus and Trotsky. Now, ten months later, Radek corrects himself and deems it necessary to rebuke Parvus for the theory of 'permanent revolution'. But in all fairness Radek should also rebuke Parvus' partner Trotsky."

"It is not true that the theory of 'permanent revolution', which was brushed aside by the 1905 Revolution, proved to be correct in the 'second stage of the historic development', that is, during the October Revolution. Its whole development has demonstrated and proved the utter bankruptcy of the theory of

'permanent revolution' and its absolute incompatibility with the foundations of Leninism.

"Honeyed speeches and rotten diplomacy cannot hide the yawning chasm which lies between the theory of 'permanent revolution' and Leninism."

NOTES

1. "The problem of the labouring masses of the petty bourgeoisie, both urban and rural, the problem of winning these masses to the side of the proletariat, is of exceptional importance for the proletarian revolution. Whom will the labouring people of town and country support in the struggle for power, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat; whose reserve will they become, the reserve of the bourgeoisie or the reserve of the proletariat - on this depend the fate of the revolution and the stability of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolutions in France in 1848 and 1871 came to grief chiefly because the peasant reserves proved to be on the side of the bourgeoisie. The October Revolution was victorious because it was able to deprive the bourgeoisie of its peasant reserves, because it was able to win these reserves to the side of the proletariat, and because in this revolution the proletariat proved to be the only guiding force for the vast masses of the labouring people of town and country.

"He who has not understood this will never comprehend the character of the October Revolution, or the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the peculiar characteristics of the internal policy of our proletarian power." Problems of Leninism).

Chapter 4

Conclusion to Part I:

Trotskyism - Enemy of Proletarian Revolution and National Liberation Movements

In the light of what has already been stated, it becomes our bounden duty, comrades, to reject Trotskyism and to expose and oppose it as a pernicious bourgeois ideology. This is of special importance for us, living as we do in an imperialist country, for acceptance of Trotskyism by the workers can only lead them to making an alliance with their 'own' imperialist bourgeoisie. Why is that so? It is so because, according to Trotskyism, *"a genuine advance of socialist economy ... will become possible only after the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe"* and further:

"Without direct state support from the European proletariat, the working class ... will not be able to maintain itself in power and to transform its temporary rule into a lasting socialist dictatorship. This we cannot doubt for an instant."

So, according to Trotskyism, Socialist revolution cannot be successful in capitalistically less advanced countries; socialism cannot be built in these countries - not until after *"the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe"*.

But what if the proletariat of a backward country is successful in making a revolution, but its success is not followed by *"the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe"*? Answers Trotskyism: *"... but if that does not happen [i.e., if the victory of the proletariat in a backward country such as Russia was before 1917 is not followed by the victory of the European proletariat] it will be hopeless, in the light of historical experience and in the light of theoretical reasoning, to think that a revolutionary Russia [or, for the same reason, any other backward country], for example, could hold its own in the face of a conservative Europe, or that a socialist Germany could remain isolated in a capitalist world."*

In other words, the advice of Trotskyism to the victorious proletariat of a backward country in these circumstances would be: surrender unconditionally - capitulate - make your peace with your 'own' bourgeoisie and with imperialism, for your position is *"hopeless"*; since in your country, *"in the light of historical experience and in the light of theoretical reasoning"*, you cannot hold your own *"in the face of a Conservative Europe"*; since *"proletarian revolution cannot be carried through to a victorious conclusion within the boundaries of one country"*, and so on and so forth.

This stance of Trotskyism, embodied in Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution' constitutes its real counter-revolutionary essence. No amount of ultra-'left' phrasemongering can hide this counter-revolutionary essence of Trotskyism. It is this stance of Trotskyism which makes it the most staunch supporter of imperialism; if its advice were to be followed by the victorious proletariat of a backward country, it would lead to the restoration of capitalism in that country and thus strengthen imperialism. The effect of the strengthening of imperialism would in turn be to make even more difficult *"the victory of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe"*. Thus we would neither have the proletarian dictatorship in the given country, nor would we be any nearer a socialist Europe, thanks to the advice of Trotskyism. The result could only be the strengthening of imperialism and to enable it more easily to bring the European proletariat under its domination. The European proletariat will be nearer to victory precisely at the time when imperialism has been rendered weak, and not in consequence of its strengthening. The road of Trotskyism, the road of the theory of 'permanent revolution', leads to permanent reaction and permanent counter-revolution - it is the road of permanent hopelessness.

Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution', because of its denial of the revolutionary role of the peasantry, maintains that in those countries in which feudalism is still the predominant force, feudalism can only be replaced by a workers' government; in other words, Trotskyism denies the stages of the revolution - it denies the intermediate stage of a people's democratic revolution, i.e., a revolution which puts an end to feudalism but does not at one go institute socialism, a revolution which becomes socialism only after it has accomplished its democratic tasks and in course of which a necessary realignment of class forces has taken place. Trotskyism denies the theory of the new-democratic revolution, which is the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution by stages, as well as the Marxist-Leninist theory of uninterrupted revolution. Trotskyism believes, and could not but believe on

account of its denial of the revolutionary role of the peasantry, in subjectively jumping the stages¹ of the revolution. The result is two-fold: (1) it is preparing for the future tasks now and is neglecting the present-day tasks; and (2) it fails to give support to the national liberation struggles, such as the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people for national liberation, under the pretext that the programme of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is 'bourgeois'. In so doing Trotskyism acts as a disorganising force within the solidarity movement with the peoples of oppressed countries, drives a wedge between the European proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world struggling against imperialism, and renders an all-powerful support to imperialism. Such, for example, has been the case with the movement in this country for solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese people. The Trotskyites, along with the revisionists, have been doing all they could to sabotage the solidarity movement, and they had some success. I am not writing a full history of the Vietnam solidarity movement. That would have to be done elsewhere and at some other time. But a few examples to demonstrate the counter-revolutionary positions to which the acceptance of the theory of 'permanent revolution' has led the Trotskyites would be quite in place.

The Trotskyites have all along refused to support the programme of the NLF on the ground that it is a 'bourgeois' programme. This they do because, being followers of the theory of 'permanent revolution' which denies the revolutionary role of the peasantry, they do not recognise the stages of the Vietnamese revolution. They subjectively want to jump, or skip over, the stage of national liberation. In other words they want socialism established in the Southern half of Vietnam before the Vietnamese people have achieved national liberation by defeating the US imperialist aggressors and before they have completed the democratic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution. According to the Trotskyites, the rule of feudalism and imperialism in South Vietnam can only be replaced by a workers' government. All this sounds very revolutionary but is in essence reactionary nonsense. The result of pursuing such a course as is advocated by the Trotskyites would be that not only would socialism not be established in South Vietnam, but that even national liberation would not be achieved. The vast majority of the South Vietnamese people, who have been fighting a glorious battle against imperialism and for national salvation, have done so because they are all agreed and united in their determination to defeat US aggression, achieve national liberation and establish a people's democratic republic. At this

stage a socialist programme could only have the effect of causing a breach in the united national front against imperialism; at this stage a socialist programme would render the most profound assistance to US imperialism. Thus it can be seen that when the Trotskyites condemn the NLF they are rendering priceless service to US imperialism. This is what their ultra-'left' phrasemongering amounts to: **a disruption of the liberation struggles in servility to imperialism.**

The Trotskyites have all along heaped abuse on the great leader of the Indo-Chinese people, Comrade Ho Chi Minh. What did Comrade Ho Chi Minh do to deserve such treatment? The answer is that he acted in a thoroughly revolutionary way, led the Vietnamese people from victory to victory, led them in establishing socialism in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and thus proved in practice the bankruptcy and reactionary nature of the theory of 'permanent revolution' according to which socialism cannot be built in a single backward country. In other words he did the same as had been done in the USSR under the leadership of Stalin. Is it any wonder that the Trotskyites call Comrade Ho Chi Minh a "*Stalinist bureaucrat*"? Anyone who does not abide by the defeatist and reactionary theory of 'permanent revolution' is a "*Stalinist bureaucrat*" as far as these degenerates, the Trotskyites, are concerned.

In calling Ho Chi Minh a bureaucrat and by heaping abuse on the NLF, the Trotskyites are able to present to the working class here the struggle of the Vietnamese people as a reactionary struggle which is not, therefore, worth while supporting. The result is that the solidarity movement is subverted and the British proletariat continues to believe the lies put out on this question by the British imperialist government and by the imperialist press. These portray the Vietnamese people in struggle as blood-thirsty murderers who have been committing aggression against the USA for years, and the USA as waging only a defensive war! It is easy for the proletariat of Britain to believe these lies for two reasons:

- (a) because it lives in an imperialist country, and
- (b) because there are 'communists', such as the Trotskyites, who echo the lies of imperialism.

It is clear then that the Trotskyites are a major block in the way of the British proletariat performing its proletarian internationalist duties. The European proletariat, the British included, will never be able to make a revolution unless and until it becomes thoroughly imbued with the spirit of

proletarian internationalism, until it links its own struggle with the struggle of the oppressed peoples and proletarians for national liberation and proletarian revolution, and renders the most profound fraternal assistance to such struggles. This truth cannot be insisted upon too frequently. And anyone who stands in the way of the British proletariat performing this duty is putting off the day of revolution here and is a counter-revolutionary. Trotskyites are precisely such counter-revolutionaries. This truth cannot be insisted upon too frequently.

What applies to the struggle of the Vietnamese people also applies, by logical extension, to the struggles of the oppressed people elsewhere, and the Trotskyites do their dirty work there just the same. To demonstrate the depths of utter degeneration attained by the Trotskyites, I would like to quote from a recent leaflet issued by one of the Trotskyite organisations, Solidarity. As one goes through this passage one cannot but have feelings of revulsion for these Trotskyites. You are forewarned, comrades. According to this leaflet the war in Vietnam is not an imperialist war of aggression inflicted by US imperialism against the peace-loving Vietnamese people, but it is *"an inter-imperialist conflict"*. Therefore, urge the degenerate Trotskyite authors of this leaflet, the *"Bolshevik left"* should not take sides. They then go on to denounce those who present the war in Vietnam as a *"unilateral effort, a product of the American ogre"*. The leaflet then goes on to denounce the Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution by stages: *"the Vietnam experience ... shows the wretchedness of the Stalinist approach based on 'two stages'"*. It then goes on to spread the malicious slander that in 1945 *"countless workers were murdered by the butcher Ho Chi Minh ..."* According to the Trotskyite writers of this leaflet, *"the victory of either side [in the Vietnam war] is detrimental to the struggle for world socialism."* To cover up their disgusting treachery the Trotskyite agents of the bourgeoisie end this leaflet by calling for *"the establishment of world-wide self-management."* To acquaint you with real Trotskyism, Trotskyism in an undisguised counter-revolutionary form, I propose to quote this leaflet in full. I have no doubt, comrades, that when you are acquainted with the contents of this leaflet you will fully understand our position and agree with us when we say that Trotskyism is counter-revolutionary and that it constitutes a reliable support for imperialism. Here then is what this leaflet says:

"VIETNAM - Victory for whom?"

"The Vietnam war's recent escalation painfully illustrates the realities of

our epoch; big power politics against working people. The 9 week old offensive of the DRVN/NLF, launched with massive Russian and Chinese aid, against the Saigon regime has altered the picture in South East Asia. The war is an inter-imperialist conflict whose political solution is being decided in Moscow, Washington, Peking and Paris, to the detriment of the masses in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and the US. Unable to see this, the Bolshevik left in Britain is urging us to take sides in this barbarous conflict.

"The war is presented by them as a unilateral imperialist effort, a product of the American ogre. The DRVN/NLF side is painted in glowing colours: '... a Vietnamese victory in the south would be a big boost to the socialist revolution in other parts of the world.' (Red Mole, 15 May 1972). IS, anxious to recruit on the basis of opportunism, screams: 'Victory to the NLF! Defeat Nixon's blockade!' (Socialist Worker, 3 June 1972). Others, like the CP, call for 'peace' and the implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. The assumption is that working people should have no say over their lives and that political bureaucracies should negotiate on their behalf. Another assumption is that the struggle for socialism in Vietnam is out of the question 'now'. The more degenerate Bolsheviks get over this one by identifying 'national liberation' with 'socialism'. In either case a monstrous falsification.

"These approaches are exemplified by the following pearls: '... when the issue of American power is settled, we know what kind of regime and policies the NLF will then choose - and be forced to choose by the logic of their situation. But that is, for the moment, another fight, the real fight for socialism.' (IS 32, Neither Washington nor Moscow - But Vietnam?)

"The Vietnam experience (as in Spain 1936) shows the wretchedness of the Stalinist approach based on 'two stages' (both directed, of course, by 'The Party'). Is it necessary to recall the Saigon commune of 1945 when countless Vietnamese workers were murdered by the butcher Ho Chi Minh in collusion with French and British imperialism? There you had an incipient socialist uprising wiped out by the very gangsters the Bolshevik left supports so hysterically. Hanoi's crushing of the peasant resistance to collectivisation in Nghe An province in 1956 is also conveniently forgotten. The drafted teenage peasants who are perishing right now in Hue, Kontum and An Loc testify to the callousness of the Hanoi regime's new offensive; the fleeing population and the obvious lack of civilian support provide further proof that the population have nothing to gain by either side's victory.

"What do all the Bolshevik mystifications amount to? They simply hide the

essence of the conflict: both sides in the Vietnam war represent imperialist interests. Though the Hanoi regime's ideological and military dependence on Russia and China is different from that of the Thieu regime on the US, the victory of either side is detrimental to the struggle for world socialism. The victory of the NLF and Hanoi will strengthen Russian and Chinese imperialisms against US imperialism. A 'negotiated settlement' will simply extend the war for another generation. We leave it to the social patriots of state capitalism to choose the imperialism of their taste. Just like they advocate 'Victory to the IRA' in Britain, they advocate similar reactionary solutions in other parts of the world. Their rationale is that such 'victories' weaken Western imperialism, but the past 50 years of national liberation struggles give the lie to such claims. Victories posed on the basis of nationalism or race are not a link to socialism and in fact they strengthen bourgeois and authoritarian ideologies, which further demoralises working people.

"We believe that the main enemy is at home. We are for an effective campaign against the British government's collaboration with American imperialism in Vietnam. This does not mean, however, support to the NLF. On the contrary, how about a demonstration against the Russian Embassy in Millionaire's Row?

"Finally, the only solution to this barbaric conflict is a socialist one: against American imperialism, against the NLF and the Hanoi bureaucrats, for the fraternisation of American and Vietnamese troops, for the defeat of both sides in their home countries, for the turning of the imperialist rear into a civil war based on class against class - that is for the establishment of world-wide self-management."

This leaflet speaks for itself and no comment is necessary on this revolting piece of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism - it corroborates everything that has already been stated.² There are two points, however, that I would like to mention by way of clarification, in order to disentangle the web of confusion spun by this leaflet.

(1) The Trotskyites of Solidarity, the authors of the above leaflet, describe other degenerate and counter-revolutionary Trotskyite organisations such as the International Marxist Group (IMG) who are the publishers of *Red Mole* and the International Socialists (IS) who produce *Socialist Worker* as the 'Bolshevik left'. This is an attempt to palm off counter-revolutionary Trotskyite bourgeois organisations as Bolshevik type organisations, and to confuse counter-revolutionary Trotskyism with revolutionary Bolshevism -

Leninism. The truth is that the various Trotskyite organisations put together constitute not the Bolshevik left but the Menshevik right.

(2) The authors of this leaflet produce some quotations from *Red Mole* and *Socialist Worker* in an effort to show that the IMG and IS support the struggle of the Vietnamese people against US imperialist aggression, and for national liberation. This is not true. The IMG and IS do not support the struggle of the Vietnamese people for national liberation. As stated above, they have for years been denouncing the NLF and heaping abuse on the great leader of the Vietnamese people, Comrade Ho Chi Minh. People like Tariq Ali of the IMG and suchlike scum from IS, the Socialist Labour League, etc., have often condemned Comrade Ho Chi Minh as a 'Stalinist bureaucrat'. They split the big demonstration of 27 October 1968 on Vietnam against US imperialist aggression and refused to march to the US embassy. Instead they took 50,000 people on a diversionary picnic to Hyde Park Corner. They refused to accept the three slogans of the March, i.e., 'US AGGRESSORS GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW!' 'VICTORY TO THE NLF!' and 'LONG LIVE HO CHI MINH!' Tariq Ali objected to the second and third slogans on the grounds that the programme of the NLF was bourgeois and that Ho Chi Minh was a Stalinist bureaucrat. We told him that if that was how he felt then he should carry a placard on him bearing slogans to that effect. He did not dare do so, needless to say. Had he carried such a placard the thousands of people assembled at the demonstration would have lynched him. Instead, under pressure from the rank and file, and in front of TV cameras, Tariq Ali gave us an example of his hypocrisy by shouting slogans such as 'Victory to the NLF' and 'Long live Ho Chi Minh'. All this was done to hoodwink the masses and to be able to subvert the solidarity movement successfully.

It is inconceivable that these same Trotskyites should suddenly have changed their line. If they have then they should say so. If they were genuinely to change their line, then they would cease to be Trotskyites. As a matter of fact, however, they have not changed their line at all. The IS 'supports' the NLF, as the quotation in the leaflet from IS 32 shows, because it thinks that the NLF is engaged in establishing socialism without stages. This really is not a 'support' for the NLF but a desperate attempt to explain their own past conduct and save the theory of 'permanent revolution' from final shipwreck. Years of struggle have proved the absolute correctness of the NLF programme and the total bankruptcy of the Trotskyist line. Instead of now admitting the bankruptcy of Trotskyism and jettisoning it, the

bankruptcy of their own line over the years, the Trotskyites of the IS are going around distorting the line and programme of the NLF. Even the writers of this leaflet are able to see through this distortion and therefore describe them as 'degenerate Bolsheviks'! i.e., degenerate Trotskyists. Socialism will be established in South Vietnam but only after the Vietnamese people have gone through the stage of national liberation and have completed the democratic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution. This is the simple truth, gentlemen Trotskyists, that you have never understood, nor will you ever understand in the future unless you give up kneeling in prayer before the *"absurdly left theory of permanent revolution"*.

Likewise the IMG do not support the NLF either. Both the IS and the IMG 'support' the NLF not for what it actually stands for but for what they think it stands for, and the two are quite different. They have been publishing material of late which gives the impression that the Trotskyites have begun to 'support' the NLF because the latter have given up their earlier correct stand and adopted the Trotskyist line. Nothing could be farther from the truth than this absurd suggestion. What then is the real reason for the apparent 'support' that the Trotskyites of the IMG and IS have been giving lately to the NLF? The reason is that the NLF are on the verge of victory: by pursuing their correct programme they have defeated the US imperialist aggressors. Therefore the Trotskyites are in a hurry to associate themselves with the impending total victory of the Vietnamese people. They are in a hurry to present the victory of the Vietnamese people, which victory they have done everything they could to sabotage, as their own - as the result of their 'solidarity' actions.

More than that, the switch in the Trotskyist line on Vietnam coincided with Nixon's trip to China. The Trotskyites have conducted propaganda to the effect that the Chinese were meeting Nixon to do a 'deal' on the question of Vietnam over the heads of the Vietnamese people. This was part and parcel of their daily propaganda against this bastion of socialism. The truth is that the Chinese government, Party and people have demonstrated in practice that they are the most reliable allies of the Vietnamese people and that they would never make a 'deal' with US imperialism at the cost of the Vietnamese people. Nixon went to China in recognition of the weakened position of US imperialism. US imperialism can no longer refuse to recognise the reality of China's existence. Nixon may have expected all kinds of 'deals' (all reactionaries do that) but he certainly did not get one in China. The Trotskyites in order to malign China and spread malicious

slander started screaming *"the Chinese bureaucrats are selling the Vietnamese people's struggle out."* In order to get this malicious slander across, the Trotskyite counter-revolutionaries had to appear to support the NLF. This then is the explanation. The truth is that it is the Trotskyite bureaucrats who have been all along doing their best to undermine the struggle of the Vietnamese people. The Chinese comrades, on the other hand, have been giving wholehearted support, material as well as political, to the Vietnamese people.

In addition to the reasons given above, we should also reject Trotskyism because, according to Trotskyism, a victory of socialism is not possible in a single country, even if this country is the most advanced capitalistically, for *"it will be hopeless ... to think that a revolutionary Russia, for example, could hold its own in the face of a conservative Europe, or that a socialist Germany could remain isolated in a capitalist world"* (Trotsky).

In other words, if the British proletariat were to be successful in overthrowing capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, all will be lost unless the victory of the British proletariat were to be followed by the victory of the proletariat in other 'important European countries' and maybe the USA as well. What Trotskyism demands, therefore, is a simultaneous worldwide victory of socialism. This is an impossibility - a mere dream. The proletarian revolution cannot take place all over the world at once; it will be successful, says Leninism, first in one or a few countries and then in others and eventually in all the countries of the world. In fact we may say *"in the light of historical experience and in the light of theoretical reasoning"* that the world revolution will not take place simultaneously. Since the course of revolution does not run according to the preconceived schemes of Trotskyism, the latter, instead of admitting its own bankruptcy, is advocating that no revolution should be defended - that no socialism should be built in individual countries. And if revolutionaries do not accept this advice from them then they are 'traitors and Stalinist bureaucrats' who are 'betraying the revolution'. Such then is the reactionary nature of Trotskyism.

To sum up, comrades, we should expose and oppose Trotskyism as a bourgeois ideology which is opposed to the building of socialism and national liberation - an ideology which constitutes a most reliable support for imperialism. We must get across to the class-conscious proletariat and help it to educate itself in the spirit of intolerance to the bourgeois ideology of

Trotskyism. It is our task to bury this ideology. If the present series of lectures contributes to this, its main aim, we in the Association of Communist Workers will consider it an honour to have played some part.

NOTES

1: "It is very harmful to confuse the two stages, that is, the national-democratic and the socialist revolutions. Comrade Mao Zedong criticised the wrong idea of 'accomplishing both at one stroke' and pointed out that this utopian idea could only weaken the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, the most urgent task at that time. The Kuomintang reactionaries and the Trotskyites they hired during the War of Resistance deliberately confused these two stages of the Chinese revolution, proclaiming the 'theory of a single revolution' and preaching so-called 'socialism' without any Communist Party. With this preposterous theory they attempted to swallow up the Communist Party, wipe out any revolution and prevent the advance of the national-democratic revolution, and they used it as a pretext for their non-resistance and capitulation to imperialism. This reactionary theory was buried long ago by the history of the Chinese revolution." (Lin Piao, *Long Live the Victory of People's War*).

2: In its issue number 557, the little-known Trotskyite paper *Socialist Organiser* carried, with malicious glee, the following disgusting piece à propos Chris Hani, one of the greatest of all the fighters for the liberation of the black people of South Africa, in the wake of his foul murder at the hands of South African fascism:

"A fighter, but a Stalinist

"Chris Hani was a fighter. He was born in poverty in the rural Transkei. His mother was illiterate and his father was a miner who worked hundreds of miles away in the Transvaal. He dedicated his life to the overthrow of the white racist regime in South Africa, and for that dedication he was murdered.

"But Hani was not just a fighter. He was also a vicious Stalinist.

"In 1984 Hani became political commissar and deputy commander of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. That was the year of the mutinies in the ANC's Angolan camps. Youth from the 'Soweto generation', radicalised in the uprising of 1976, rebelled after their demand to be sent back to South Africa to fight was refused.

"Hani was responsible for the suppression of the mutiny and the jailing of dissident ANC guerrillas in the notorious Quatro prison camp in Angola, which was run by people trained by the KGB and the hated East German secret police, the Stasi.

"The fact that the liberal press is now full of eulogies to this 'supremely honest man' shows how profoundly true the old saying is that 'the more things change, the more they stay the same'.

"In the 1930s, the USSR's torture chambers, its Gulag, and Stalin's rule of the lie were defended and justified by liberals and Stalinists as the 'lesser evil'. So today, liberals, Stalinists and third-worldists seem to be prepared to forget that if Hani had ever come to power it would have been as part of a state machine imposing an iron tyranny on the work-

ing class.

"Even after 1989 it is still possible to be both a fighter against capitalism and an enemy of working-class socialism. Chris Hani proved it."

Part II

Socialism in One Country

"Uneven economic development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in a single capitalist country."

- Lenin

Chapter 5

Socialism in One Country

Trotsky's Position

Trotsky, stubbornly adhering to his 'theory of permanent revolution' was of the view that socialism could not be built in backward Russia without the help of a successful proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries.

"The antagonisms", said Trotsky in his Preface to his book on the 1905 revolution, "which appear under a workers' government in a backward land where the vast majority of the population is made up of peasants can only be solved in the international arena of the proletarian world revolution.

"In the absence of direct state support on the part of the European proletariat, the Russian working class will not be able to keep itself in power and transform its temporary rule into a stable socialist dictatorship. No doubt as to the truth of this is possible." (Trotsky, Our Revolution, 1906).

"The assertion repeated several times in the Programme of Peace that the proletarian revolution cannot be carried through to a victorious end within the national framework will perhaps appear to many readers to have been refuted by the experience of our Soviet Republic for almost five years. Any such conclusion would be utterly without foundation ... a steady rise in socialist economy in Russia will not be possible until after the victory of the proletariat in the leading countries of Europe" (Trotsky, Postscript to Programme of Peace, 1922).

This is the stand taken by Trotsky consistently over a long period of time and as a matter of fact he never departed from this stand even when he gave the appearance of having done so. With this theoretical standpoint, which under-estimated the ability of the broad masses of Russian people to build socialism and over-estimated the dark forces of reaction, Trotsky could not but oppose the policy of building socialism in the USSR. Thus the position of Trotsky was nothing but a new variant of Menshevism. The Russian Mensheviks said: 'Russia is a backward country, and therefore the sole

possibility is a bourgeois revolution which will give an impetus to the development of capitalism in Russia'. Trotsky says 'No, a proletarian revolution is possible, but unless this is speedily followed by a proletarian revolution in Europe, it is doomed to collapse'. Thus it can be seen that there is no basic disagreement between the Menshevik and the Trotskyite views. Both of them ardently believed that it was impossible for Russia to build socialism on her own owing to her backwardness.

Failure of the European revolution and the alternatives open to the Soviet working class.

Now, it is perfectly true that the Bolsheviks thought and expected that the revolution in Russia would be followed by revolution in many European countries. Their expectation was based on the objective revolutionary situation then prevailing in Europe. But the hopes and expectations of the Bolsheviks failed to be realised, thanks, inter alia, to the treachery and opportunism of official social-democracy. By 1922 the European bourgeoisie had achieved conditions of relative stability and it was clear that the chances of successful proletarian revolution in Europe had faded for a good many years to come. So, in this situation - viz., the Russian proletariat being in state power but no proletarian revolution in Europe - what was the Russian proletariat to do? What were the alternatives open to it?

There were two avenues open to the Russian proletariat:-

(1) It could either take the advice of Trotsky and declare that *"in the absence of direct state support on the part of the European proletariat"* the Russian proletariat could not stay in power, let alone build socialism, and should make its peace with the international and national bourgeoisie and hand over state power to the very same class that had been deprived of it in October 1917, and thus demonstrate that the working class was incapable of ruling and building socialism; or

(2) Alternatively it could resolve, despite immense difficulties, to build socialism in the USSR and thus demonstrate to the proletarians and broad masses not only of the USSR but of the whole world *"the conviction that the working class can get along without the bourgeoisie"*.

This is how Comrade Stalin brilliantly outlined the significance of building socialism in the USSR:

"What do the proletarians of the West need in order to win their way to vic-

tory? Above all, they need faith in their own powers; a conviction that the working class can get along without the bourgeoisie; the conviction that the working class is competent, not only to destroy the old, but likewise to build up the new, to build up socialism. The main endeavour of the social-democrats, the reformists, is to instil scepticism into the workers' minds, to make the workers doubt their own powers, doubt their capacity for winning by force a victory over the bourgeoisie. The significance of all our work, of all our constructive work, is that it serves as a demonstration to the working class in the capitalist countries that they too will be able to get along without the bourgeoisie, and will be able unaided to build a new society once the workers in capitalist countries have acquired faith in their own powers, you may be certain that this is the beginning of the end of capitalism, and a sure sign that the victory of the proletarian revolution is at hand." (Speech at the 14th Party Congress).

This was the revolutionary alternative policy put forward by Stalin and the Bolshevik Party. Consequently the 14th Congress of the CPSU(B) rejected the capitulatory plans of Trotsky and his henchmen and recorded in its now famous resolution:-

"In the sphere of economic development, the Congress holds that in our land, the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is 'every requisite for the building of a complete socialist society' (Lenin). The Congress considers that the main task of our party is to fight for the victory of socialist construction in the USSR."

Summing up the results of the 14th Party Congress, and outlining its historical significance, Comrade Stalin wrote:

"The historical significance of the 14th Congress of the CPSU(B) lies in the fact that it was able to expose the very roots of the mistakes of the New Opposition [i.e., Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky], that it spurned their scepticism and snivelling, that it clearly and distinctly indicated the path of the further struggle for socialism, opened before the party the prospect of victory and thus armed the proletariat with an invincible faith in the victory of socialist construction" (Problems of Leninism).

The Russian working class and the broad masses of Russian people rallied in support of this revolutionary alternative and decisively rejected Trotsky's petty-bourgeois despondence and despair disguised in 'revolutionary' phrasemongering. They did this because the policy that was being projected by the Bolshevik Party and Stalin was revolutionary and it made sense; whereas the one projected by Trotsky was a counter-revolutionary

jumble that made no sense at all.

Was Stalin against world revolution?

The most ignorant of the Trotskyites often assert that Stalin was a narrow nationalist, whereas Trotsky was an internationalist because Stalin wanted socialism in the USSR whereas Trotsky wanted socialism everywhere, a world revolution. If it were true that Stalin wanted a revolution in the USSR only, and nowhere else, then this Trotskyite accusation would have substance in it. The fact of the matter is that this accusation is a monstrous lie and only one of the many examples which demonstrate the depths to which Trotskyism has sunk in order to belittle one of the great leaders of the Bolshevik Party, Comrade Stalin. Anyone who has any respect for historical accuracy and cares to look at the documents concerning the controversy under discussion would find that there were no differences of opinion at all within the Party regarding the desirability and necessity of following a proletarian internationalist policy - the policy of rendering fraternal help to the proletarians of other countries engaged in decisive struggles. The Bolshevik party under the leadership of Stalin fully realised the importance of following, and did follow, a proletarian internationalist policy because it fully recognised that the true consolidation of socialism in the USSR could only take place after the victory of the proletariat in other countries. All revolutions and revolutionary struggles mutually support each other. Let us quote for the benefit of ignorant Trotskyites the well-known pronouncement on this subject by Comrade Stalin (the same Stalin whose name only has to be mentioned for Trotskyites and other reactionaries to foam at the mouth - though foaming at the mouth and showing signs of delirium are no answer to harsh facts):

"After consolidating its power and leading the peasantry after it, the proletariat of the victorious country can and must build socialist society. But does that mean that in this way the proletariat will secure a complete and final victory for socialism, i.e., does it mean that with the forces of a single country it can finally consolidate socialism and fully guarantee that country against intervention, which means against restoration? No, it does not. For this victory of the revolution in at least several countries is needed. Therefore, the development and support of revolution in other countries is an essential task of the victorious revolution. Therefore the revolution which has been victorious in one country must regard itself not as a self-sufficient entity, but as an aid, as a

means for hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries." (Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, emphasis added).¹

So it is clear that there were no differences in principle in the CPSU(B) as to the need to follow an internationalist policy. There were, however, differences as to the content of this internationalist policy. Basing himself on his notorious theory of 'permanent revolution', according to which socialism could not be built in Russia without aid from a successful proletarian revolution in Europe, Trotsky did from time to time advocate adventurist policies in order to export socialist revolution into Europe. These policies of adventurism prompted by a lack of faith in the ability of the Russian working class and peasantry to build socialism unaided from abroad, were naturally and rightly rejected by the Party.

Therefore, there was no controversy as to whether the proletariat of the USSR should give fraternal assistance to the revolutionary struggles of the proletarians abroad. The controversy was: could the USSR build socialism without the assistance of a victorious proletariat of Europe. Stalin and the overwhelming majority of the Bolshevik party answered this world-historic question in the affirmative.² History has fully vindicated Comrade Stalin and the Bolshevik party, but of this we shall have more to say later on.

Did Stalin raise the question of 'socialism in one country' for the first time?

Another myth spread by the Trotskyites is that Stalin was in 1924 the first person to raise the question of 'socialism in one country' and that before this no one had ever seriously considered the possibility of building 'socialism in a single country'. That this is a lie can be seen from the fact that as early as 1915 Lenin had this to say:

"Uneven economic development³ is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible, first in a few or even in a single capitalist country. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organised its own socialist production, would confront the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them, and in the event of necessity come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states" (Lenin, *The United States of Europe Slogan*).

And again in 1916 Lenin formulated the same conclusion in his article *Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution*:

"The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise under the commodity production system. From this it follows irrefutably that socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time. This must not only create friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the socialist state. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie." (Lenin, *Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution*).

Lenin arrived at this conclusion from his study of imperialism, which he described as the 'monopoly stage of capitalism'. Lenin then went on to give a definition of imperialism which includes the following five basic features:

"(1) The concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; (2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this 'finance capital,' of a financial oligarchy; (3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; (4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist combines which share the world among themselves, and (5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed."

Imperialism, said Lenin, intensifies all contradictions, both internal and external, to an acute degree. The growth of monopoly made the yoke of capitalist trusts and syndicates more and more burdensome and unbearable. This intensified the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the working class in imperialist countries, which brings the masses to proletarian revolution as their only salvation. The financial enslavement and exploitation and colonial oppression of the peoples inhabiting the vast majority of the countries of the world by a handful of 'advanced' countries intensifies the contradiction between imperialism and the huge majority consisting of colonial and dependent countries which are compelled to wage a struggle for liberation from the yoke of imperialism. The uneven development of capitalism leads to a frenzied struggle for the re-division of the world between those countries which have already seized vast territories and those who are new entrants into the field demanding their 'fair share' of the plunder. German imperialism, for example, owing to the uneven development of capitalism, was more or less left out of the colonial plunder, whereas the

Anglo-French capitalists dominated the whole world. German capitalism, however, having caught up with the Anglo-French capitalists, now demanded its 'fair share'; it demanded a redivision based on the present strength of the parties. It wanted to have set aside the division of the world based on the capitalist development and hence on the strength of the parties at the time of the existing division. The Anglo-French capitalists, of course, turned down this demand as 'grossly unfair'. So German imperialism went to war against Anglo-French imperialism. Thus the uneven development of capitalism leads to the intensification of inter-imperialist contradiction. Hence as long as imperialism exists, war is unavoidable, and a coalition between the proletarian revolution and the national liberation movement *"in a united world front of revolution against the world front of imperialism is inevitable"* (Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*).

Lenin sums up all these conclusions into one general conclusion that *"imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution"*.

Lenin therefore came to the following conclusions:

(1) Because the growth of imperialism had created a world economy and the national economies of individual countries were like a link in this chain of world economy, the question of proletarian revolution could no longer be considered in the old fashion, i.e., from the point of view of the capitalist development of a given country, nor from the standpoint of the working class constituting a 'majority' of the population, etc. The imperialist system as a whole was ripe for revolution and the chain of the imperialist world front would break at its weakest link, thus providing an outlet for proletarian revolution. The weakest link might be an advanced capitalist country or a country where capitalist advancement had not proceeded very far.

(2) The uneven growth of capitalism within the conditions of imperialism and the intensification within imperialism of catastrophic contradictions, resulting in imperialist wars and the growth of revolutionary movements in all countries, lead not only to the possibility, but also to the necessity, of the victory of the proletariat in individual countries. Socialism can be victorious in individual countries because the victorious proletariat can take advantage of the intensification of all contradictions - inter-imperialist contradictions, the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class in imperialist countries as well as between imperialism and oppressed nations - to ward off intervention by imperialism and build so-

cialism.

Just before his death Lenin returned to the question of building socialism in the USSR:

"As a matter of fact, the power of the Soviet state over all large-scale means of production, the power of the state in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with the many millions of small and very small peasants, the assured leadership of the peasantry by the proletariat, etc., ... , is not this all that is necessary in order from the co-operatives - from the co-operatives alone, which we formerly treated as huckstering, and which, from a certain aspect, we have the right to treat as such now, under the New Economic Policy - is not this all that is necessary in order to build complete socialist society? This is not yet the building of socialist society but it is all that is necessary and sufficient for this building." (Lenin, On Co-operation,).

We hope that it is by now clear that the question concerning the possibility of successfully building socialism in a single country was not first raised by Stalin. It was raised by Lenin as early as 1915 and once again as late as just before his death. So the Trotskyite attacks on Stalin on the question of building socialism in a single country are in fact attacks on Lenin and Leninism.⁴ This must be understood by every revolutionary worker.

Proceeding from the theory of 'permanent revolution' Trotskyism cannot but attack Leninism. Leninism says that the proletariat in a single country can build socialism, whereas Trotskyism says that it cannot. Leninism holds that the peasantry is a reliable and firm ally of the proletariat, while Trotskyism says it is not. Leninism says that under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the working class it is possible to mobilise the poor and middle peasantry in the task of building socialism, whereas according to Trotskyism this is an impossibility. What we have here are not just differences of opinion of a casual nature, or differences in matters of detail. What we have here are two fundamentally different and mutually irreconcilable trends: (i) revolutionary Leninism, and (ii) counter-revolutionary Trotskyism.

Trotskyism is incapable of understanding the Leninist theory of proletarian revolution and of building socialism, not only because its political outlook is hemmed in by the acceptance of the wretched theory of 'permanent revolution', but also because it has never accepted (accepted in PRACTICE as opposed to acceptance in words) Lenin's thesis on imperialism. These twin evils - the acceptance of the theory of 'permanent revolution' and the

non-acceptance of Lenin's thesis on imperialism - constitute the theoretical basis of Trotskyism and explain in large measure why Trotskyism degenerated to the point of becoming an ally of fascism, as will be explained later on.

Was socialism built in the USSR? Trotsky says it was.

The answer we give is that socialism was built in the Soviet Union and in support of this affirmative answer of ours we quote an authority which can in no way be described as biased either in favour of Stalin and the Bolshevik Party or indeed in favour of building socialism in the USSR. This authority is none other than that master phrase-monger, Trotsky himself:

"Socialism has demonstrated its right to victory," says Trotsky, "not in the pages of Das Kapital, but in an industrial arena comprising one-sixth of the earth's surface, not in the language of dialectics, but in the language of steel, cement and electricity. Even if the Soviet Union, as a result of difficulties, external blows, and the mistakes of its leadership, were to collapse - which we firmly hope will not happen [the real nature of Trotsky's hopes, however, were disclosed by the Moscow Trials] there would remain as an earnest of the future this indestructible fact that thanks solely to a proletarian revolution a backward country has achieved in less than ten years successes unexampled in history." (Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*).

And again: *"The vast scope of industrialisation in the Soviet Union, as against the background of stagnation and decline in almost the whole capitalist world appears unanswerably in the following gross indices ...*

"Gigantic achievements in industry, enormously promising beginnings in agriculture, an extraordinary growth of old industrial cities and a building of new ones, a rapid increase in the number of workers, a rise in cultural level and cultural demands - such are the indubitable results of the October Revolution ..." (Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*).

One could not have asked for a better refutation of Trotskyism than the one advanced by Trotsky himself in the above-quoted remarks. We are highly grateful and indebted to Trotsky for these candid admissions. Trotsky was right when he admitted that *"socialism has demonstrated its right to victory, not in the pages of Das Kapital, but in an industrial arena comprising one-sixth of the earth's surface"*; that there had been *"gigantic achievement"* in industry; that *"enormously promising"* had been the results in the sphere of agriculture; that there had been a rise in the *"cultural level and demands"* of

the Soviet people. He was absolutely correct. Such indeed were the *"indubitable results"* of the fight for the victory of socialist construction in the USSR - the fight launched by the Party in consequence of the decision of the 14th Congress of the Party - a decision which had met with the most vicious opposition from Trotsky and the New Opposition, i.e., Zinoviev and Co.

The role of correct policy and leadership

Under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and the correct leadership of the Bolshevik Party led by the great Leninist and the most resolute defender of Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, Comrade Stalin, the Soviet people, surmounting all difficulties, smashing the enemies of socialism - both internal and external - marched from victory to victory. They literally achieved miracles and did so **not only because of the conditions of social ownership of the means of production** created by the October Revolution (to which conditions alone Trotsky attributes all the successes and achievements of the fight for the building of socialism in the USSR), **but also because of the revolutionary policies of the Bolshevik Party and the quality of its leadership.** The role of the Party and the quality of leadership are very important factors without which nothing can be achieved.

"Conditions of socialised property" cannot of themselves build socialism

"Conditions of socialised property" cannot of themselves build socialism. Can anyone who has not yet parted company with his senses or - what is the same thing - accepted the theory of 'permanent revolution' seriously suggest that if during the period of building socialism the leadership of the USSR had been vested in people like Trotsky the Soviet people would have achieved exactly the same results in socialist construction as they actually did? Would not such a suggestion amount to the absurd assertion that people who say that *"in the absence of direct state support on the part of the European proletariat, the Russian proletariat will not be able to keep itself in power and transform its temporary rule into a stable socialist dictatorship"* are just as fitted (or better fitted, as the Trotskyite ignoramuses usually assert) to lead the struggle for the building of socialism as those who believe - and believe on the basis of objective reality - that it is not only possible to build socialism but also that it is a necessity and that it is the only revolutionary

way forward for the proletariat? Yes, in our view such a suggestion would indeed be the height of absurdity and stupidity.

As a matter of historical truth *"socialised property"* did not triumph, and could not have triumphed, automatically over capitalist elements. It could, and did, triumph by reason of the correct and planned leadership of the Party having a definite policy. But before the policy of the Party could succeed and be put into effect, erroneous and counter-revolutionary policies had to be defeated, and were defeated. But despite what we have said here, the Trotskyites continue to repeat the formula learnt by rote that *"conditions of socialised property created by the revolution"*, and not the quality of the leadership, were responsible for the building of socialism. Yet they blame the leadership for every mistake, real and imaginary, minor and major. Well, you cannot have it both ways, worthy Trotskyists!! You cannot keep saying that socialism cannot be built in a single country and yet assert that *"conditions of socialised property created by the revolution"* can on their own, automatically, build socialism! You cannot assert that the leadership has no role to play in the building of socialism, and yet blame the *"Stalin group"* for all the misfortunes, real and imaginary! There is a glaring contradiction in what you say! Have you really become incapable of perceiving this discrepancy? Has your sense of perception and your political outlook really become distorted to such a degree by your blind acceptance of the wretched theory of 'permanent revolution'?

Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution' has been proved by history to be quite useless and erroneous. Trotsky could, in the event, have taken up the only correct stand for anyone claiming to be a Marxist, i.e., renounce the theory that had proved to be wrong in practice and frankly admit that it was wrong. Trotsky did not do that. The intellectualist arrogance of the petty-bourgeois individual (and in the case of Trotsky this arrogance was to be found in its highest stage of development) made it impossible for Trotsky to stomach what in the eyes of the petty-bourgeois intellectual is nothing but a downright humiliation. So Trotsky took the position that his theory was right and that history was wrong. This was a typical idealist position amounting to saying: if reality does not conform to my conception of it then there is something wrong with reality for reality ought to fit into my conception of it. This idealist position, worthy of Bishop Berkley himself, took Trotsky deeper and deeper down the road of degeneration. What could have been a casual mistake became a monstrosity when justified, persisted in and elevated to the level of a system - a theory. Wrong theory led to

wrong practice, and, failing rectification in the light of practice, each subsequent mistake became a bigger one. Quantity transformed itself into quality. Mistakes transformed themselves into crimes. This process alone explains why Trotsky degenerated to the point of becoming an ally and an agent of fascism, determined at all costs to overthrow the Soviet state. Those people who are following Trotskyism are slipping down the same road of degeneration as Trotsky himself did. We appeal to those ordinary workers who have been won over by the fashionable and seductive phrasemongering of the Trotskyites to consider seriously what we have said, discard Trotskyism, accept Marxism-Leninism and make a worthy contribution to the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the building of socialism.

Achievements in socialist industrialisation

At the beginning of 1926 Soviet industry, though restored more or less to pre-war level as a result of the measures of restoration taken by the Soviet government under the New Economic Policy, suffered from three defects: (i) most factories were old and equipped with worn out and antiquated machinery; (ii) there were no machine-building plants; and (iii) there was no heavy industry worth speaking about. All this was to be rectified by the adoption of the policy of socialist industrialisation. In addition a new munitions industry had to be created for the defence of the first state of the working class. It was also necessary to build factories for the production of agricultural machinery, and to provide agriculture with this machinery in order to enable millions of tiny individual farms to pass to large-scale collective farming, and thus ensure the victory of socialism in the countryside. In short, many industries which never existed in Russia had to be created.

It must be said to the great credit and glory of the Soviet masses, the Bolshevik Party and its tried and tested leader, Comrade Stalin, that overcoming all difficulties, technical and financial, and defeating the schemes of imperialist intervention as well as smashing the plans and plots of internal reactionaries - both within the Party and outside of it - and displaying exemplary labour heroism - they went on successfully to build socialism in the Soviet Union. All this was possible owing to the enthusiasm of the masses, their involvement in the task of building socialism, and, most important, their changing attitude to labour. From the involuntary and penal servitude that it had been under capitalism, labour was becoming, as Stalin put it, "a

matter of honour, a matter of glory, a matter of valour and heroism".

Already by the end of 1930 industrial construction on a gigantic scale was in progress all over the country.

"The Dnieper hydroelectric scheme was in full swing. Construction work on the Kramatorsk and Gorlovskia Iron and Steel Works and the reconstruction of the Lugansk Locomotive works had begun in the Donetsk Basin. New collieries and blast furnaces came into being. The Urals Machine Building Works and the Berezniki and Solikansk Chemical Works were under construction in the Urals. Work was begun on the construction of the Iron and Steel Mills of Magnitogorsk. The erection of big automobile plants in Moscow and Gorky was well under way, as was the construction of giant tractor plants, harvester combine plants, and a mammoth agricultural machinery plant in Rostov-on-Don. The Kuznetsk Collieries, the Soviet Union's second coal base, were being extended. An immense Tractor Works sprang up in the Steppe near Stalingrad in the space of eleven months. In the erection of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Station and the Stalingrad Tractor Works, the workers beat world records in productivity of labour.

"History had never known industrial construction on such a gigantic scale, such enthusiasm for new development, such labour heroism on the part of the working-class millions.

"It was a veritable upsurge of labour enthusiasm, produced and stimulated by socialist emulation" (History of the CPSU(B)).

Let us now turn from industry to agriculture.

By 1938, compared with the year 1913, Soviet industry had grown 9-fold. Here is a table showing the growth of Soviet industry, expressed in percentages of the pre-first world war level. This table also reveals the rate of growth of industry by comparison with the growth of industry in the principal capitalist countries during the same period. It is reproduced from Stalin's *Report to the 18th Congress of the CPSU*, March 1939, as reproduced in *Problems of Leninism*, (p 762).

GROWTH OF INDUSTRY IN THE USSR AND THE PRINCIPAL CAPITALIST COUNTRIES (IN 1913=100)

	1919	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
U.S.S.R.	100.0	380.5	457.0	562.6	732.7	816.4	908.8
U.S.A.	100.0	108.7	112.9	128.6	149.8	156.9	120.0
Britain	100.0	87.0	97.1	104.0	114.2	121.9	113.3
Germany	100.0	75.4	90.4	105.9	118.1	129.3	131.6
France	100.0	107.0	99.0	94.0	98.0	101.0	93.2

Stalin's claims in this regard are fully confirmed by bourgeois experts. In his book *Stalin's Industrial Revolution*, Hiroaki Kuromiya, a Professor at Indiana University, makes, *inter alia*, the following observations:

"The breakthrough wrought by the revolution of 1928-31 laid the foundations of the remarkable industrial expansion in the 1930s that would sustain the country in the Second World War. By the end of 1932, when the Five-Year Plan was declared to have been completed in four years, the gross industrial output, according to the official report, had more than doubled since 1928. This official report is usually regarded in the West as vastly exaggerated, but as the capital projects of the First Five-Year Plan were brought into operation one after another in the mid-30s, industrial production expanded enormously. During 1934-36, ... the official index showed a rise of 88% for total gross industrial production, with the output of industries 'A' [capital goods industries] rising by 107 per cent and that of industries 'B' [consumer goods industries] by 66 per cent. In the decade from 1927-28 to 1937, according to Soviet data, gross industrial production leapt from 18,300 million roubles to 95,500 million; pig iron output rose from 3.3 million tons to 14.5; coal from 35.4 million metric tons to 128; electric power from 5.1 billion kw hours to 36.2; machine tools from 2,098 units to 36,120. Even discounting the exaggeration, it may be safely said that the achievements were dazzling." (Kuromiya p. 287).

According to *40 Years of Soviet Power*, a statistical digest published in 1958 in Moscow, during the 11 years from 1930-1940 the USSR registered an average annual growth of 165% in industrial production.

As to the growth of fixed capital, which is a correct reflection of the remarkable industrial feats performed by the Soviet people, taking 100 as the index for the year 1913, we find this figure had reached 136 in 1928 - the year of the launch of the First Five-Year Plan.

Twelve years later, in 1940, on the eve of the Second World War, the index had climbed to 1,085 - an unprecedented 8-fold increase. The figures for the increase in agricultural fixed capital for the same period are 100 (in 1931), 141 (1928), and 333 (in 1940), (see pages 26 and 30).

What capitalist country, backward or advanced, can boast such gigantic successes in the field of industrialisation!

Notwithstanding the sacrifices involved, the Soviet people cheerfully accepted the challenge with purposeful determination to build a bright social-

ist future for themselves and their children, taking great pride in the enterprise, displaying genuine labour heroism in the process. Hiroaki Kuromiya correctly observes:

"Paradoxical as it may appear, the forced accumulation was a source not only of privation and unrest, but also of Soviet heroism ... Soviet youth in the 1930s found heroism in working in factories and on construction sites like Magnitogorsk and the Kuznetsk..." (p. 305-6).

"... [T]he rapid industrialization drive of the Five-Year Plan symbolized the grandiose and dramatic goal of building a new society. Promoted against the background of the Depression and mass unemployment in the West, the Soviet industrialization drive did evoke heroic, romantic, and enthusiastic 'superhuman' efforts. The word enthusiasm, like many others, has been devalued by inflation, Ilya Ehrenburg has written, 'yet there is no other word to fit the days of the First Five-Year Plan; it was enthusiasm pure and simple that inspired the young people to daily and unspectacular feats.' According to another contemporary, those days were 'a really romantic, intoxicating time ... People were creating with their own hands what had appeared a mere dream before and were convinced in practice that these dreamlike plans were an entirely realistic thing." (p.316).

Expressing his conviction of the ability of Soviet people to build socialism, even if the Soviet Union was not joined by victorious proletarian revolutions in Europe or America, Lenin had declared: *"Communist is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country."* Approaching the problem from this perspective, Lenin had advanced in 1920 a plan for the electrification of Russia, which envisaged the construction of 30 power stations, with a capacity of 1.75 million kw, during the course of 15 years. Actually, by the year 1935, the USSR was producing 4.07 million kw of electricity, thus realising Lenin's daring dream by an overfulfilment of 233% - an incredible tribute to the self-sacrificing heroism of the Soviet people and the determination and wisdom of the Leninist leadership of the CPSU headed by Stalin (See *40 Years of Soviet Power*).

Such gigantic achievements could only be made possible through unprecedented internal accumulation and, to a certain extent, at the expense of immediate consumption. 1928 saw the accumulation funds reach 3.6 billion roubles, representing 14% of national income. These rose to 17.7 billion roubles (44% of national income!) in 1932.

All this took place not because of the insensitivity of the Soviet regime to

the terrible hardship suffered by the working class; it took place to ensure the survival of the USSR and of socialism in the USSR. No doubt, the Soviet Union could have easily improved the standard of living of the Soviet people to a far higher degree than was actually the case by putting great emphasis on the development of light industry, by producing more consumer goods, building more houses, and so on. Would that have ensured its survival in the then impending war? No one should be allowed to forget that the Nazi beasts ransacked, set fire to, and destroyed 1,710 towns and more than 70,000 villages and hamlets, rendering 25 million Soviet citizens homeless and bereft of shelter (see *40 Years of Soviet Power*). Only the furious industrialisation of the years between 1928 and 1940, with its emphasis on heavy, metallurgical and machine building industry, and the development of a modern armaments industry, could have (and did) save the USSR in the face of this Nazi onslaught. Only such industrialisation, along with collectivisation, could have propelled the Soviet people into the modern world of machinery, by tearing millions of illiterate peasants away from their medieval integuments.

But let no one conclude from this that the living conditions of the working class and peasantry remained as miserable as under the Czarist regime. Far from it. The industrialisation and collectivisation laid the basis for the prosperity of the Soviet working class and peasantry. By 1934, while there was deep depression and mass unemployment in the capitalist world, the USSR had abolished unemployment.

Already by 1934, the face of the town and the countryside alike had changed beyond recognition as a result of the successes of industrialisation and collectivisation. In his report to the 17th Party Congress, held in January 1934, these are the graphical terms in which Stalin describes the changes wrought in the wake of industrialisation and collectivisation:

"It goes without saying that this historic victory over the exploiters could not but lead to a radical improvement in the material standard of the working people and in their conditions of life generally.

"The elimination of the parasitic classes has led to the disappearance of the exploitation of man by man. The labour of the worker and the peasant is freed from exploitation. The incomes which the exploiters used to squeeze out of the labour of the people now remain in the hands of the working people and are used partly for the expansion of production and the enlistment of new detachments of working people in production, and partly for the purpose of directly

increasing the incomes of the workers and peasants.

"Unemployment, that scourge of the working class, has disappeared. In the bourgeois countries millions of unemployed suffer want and privation owing to lack of work; but in our country there are no longer any workers who have no work and no earnings.

"With the disappearance of kulak bondage, poverty in the countryside has disappeared. Every peasant, whether a collective farmer or an individual farmer, now has the opportunity of enjoying a human existence, if only he wants to work conscientiously and not to be a loafer, a tramp, or a despoiler of collective-farm property.

"The abolition of exploitation, the abolition of unemployment in the towns, and the abolition of poverty in the countryside are such historic achievements in the material condition of the working people as are beyond even the dreams of the workers and peasants in bourgeois countries, even in the most 'democratic' ones.

"The very appearance of our large towns and industrial centres has changed. An inevitable feature of the big towns in bourgeois countries are the shums, the so-called working-class districts on the outskirts of the towns - a heap of dark, damp, and dilapidated dwellings, mostly of the basement type, where usually the poor live in filth and curse their fate. The revolution in the USSR has swept the shums out of our towns. They have been replaced by blocks of bright and well-built workers' houses; in many cases the working-class districts of our towns present a better appearance than the central districts.

"The appearance of our rural districts has changed even more. The old type of village, with the church in the most prominent place, with the best houses - those of the police officer, the priest, and the kulaks - in the foreground, and the dilapidated huts of the peasants in the background, is beginning to disappear. Its place is being taken by the new type of village, with its public farm buildings, with its clubs, radio, cinemas, schools, libraries, and creches; with its tractors, harvester combines, threshing machines, and automobiles. The former important personages of the village, the kulak-exploiter, the blood-sucking usurer, the profiteering merchant, the 'little father' police officer, have disappeared. Now, the prominent personages of the village are the leading workers in the collective farms and state farms, in the schools and clubs; the senior tractor and combine drivers, the team leaders in field work and livestock raising, and the best men and women shock workers on the col-

lective-farm fields." (*Problems of Leninism*, pp. 612-619).

"... [B]y the end of 1932, the industrial labor force doubled from 1928 to more than 6 million." (Kuromiya, p. 290).

Over the same 4-year period, says Kuromiya, over all sectors, 12.5 million people had found a new job in the town; 8.5 million of them were former peasants: (p. 306).

The thrust of Kuromiya's book can be summed up in the following sentence: Stalin succeeded in mobilising the industrial and other workers for rapid industrialisation by presenting the issue as one of a war of the class of the oppressed against the saboteurs who had arisen in their own ranks. Commenting on this, Ludo Martens, Chairman of the Belgian Party of Labour (PTB), in his recently published book *Un Nouveau Regard sur Staline*, makes the following apt observation:

"This idea is correct. Nevertheless, by means of literary and historical works we are constantly being pushed to identify with those who were repressed in these class wars which went under the name of industrialisation and collectivisation. They teach us that repression is 'always inhuman' and that it is not permissible in a civilised country to harm any particular social group, whether actually exploiters or classed as such.

"How can one object to this allegedly humanist argument?

"But how was industrialisation achieved in the civilised world? How did our bankers and captains of industry from London and Paris create their industrial base? Would their industrialisation have been possible without the looting of the gold and silver of the Indian kings - looting that was accompanied by the extermination of 60 million American Indians? Would it have been possible without that monstrous bloodbath carried out in Africa, i.e., the slave trade? UNESCO experts estimate African losses at 210 million people, including those killed in raids, those dying en route, and those sold into slavery. Would our industrialisation have been possible without the colonisation that turned whole peoples into prisoners in their own country?

"Those who industrialised that little corner of the earth called Europe on the basis of millions of 'native' deaths are now telling us that the Bolshevik repression against the proprietor classes was an abomination! Those who industrialised their country on the basis of driving peasants off their land at gunpoint, who murdered women and children through subjecting them to 14-hour working days, who forced people to work under threat of unemployment

and starvation - these people dare fulminate in their literature against 'forced' industrialisation in the Soviet Union!

"If Soviet industrialisation did have to be effected by means of the repression of the 5% who happened to be rich and/or reactionary, it is also true that capitalist industrialisation was born of the terror exerted by that same well-heeled 5% against the whole of the working masses of their own countries and the oppressed countries." (op. cit., Brussels, 1993).

While the USSR was thus transforming herself and advancing with seven-league strides through the creative activity and boundless enthusiasm of the tens of millions of its people, who rallied round the CPSU and responded as one to its slogans, that notorious *"information bureau of the capitalist press on matters concerning the CPSU(B)"* (Stalin, CW Vol 12 p.52), namely Trotskyism, was busy shouting about the alleged degeneration and bureaucratisation of the Party. As a matter of fact, the breathtakingly daring enterprise that was the rapid industrialisation and collectivisation of the USSR could not have been achieved without the Party digging its roots deep among the masses and without the active and enthusiastic involvement of the latter in their tens of millions. Even an ordinary bourgeois intellectual such as Kuromiya has little difficulty in admitting that which Trotskyite petty-bourgeois intellectuals find so difficult to come to terms with. According to Kuromiya, the membership of the Party increased from 1.3 million in 1928 to 1.6 million in 1930. During the same period the percentage of industrial workers went up from 57% to 65% - 80% of new recruits being shock-brigade workers. For the most part these were relatively young people who had technical education, Komsomol activists who had distinguished themselves as model workers, who were helping rationalise production and were obtaining high productivity figures. (See pages 319 and 115).

Between 1930 and 1933, Soviet national income went up from 35 billion to 50 billion roubles. During the same period the Soviet population increased from 160 million to 168 million, the industrial workforce by nearly 8 million (from 14.5 million to 21.8 million). The total payroll of workers and other employees went from 13.5 million roubles to 34.2 million roubles. Average annual wages went up from 991 roubles to 1,591. The social insurance fund for workers and other employees increased from 1.81 billion roubles to 4.61 billion roubles.

The same period saw the introduction of a seven-hour day in all surface industries; the introduction of compulsory elementary education throughout

the USSR - thus causing an increase in literacy among the population from 67% in 1930 to 90% at the end of 1933. The number of pupils attending schools of all grades went up from 14 million in 1929 to 26.4 million in 1933. The number of children receiving pre-school education went from 838,000 to 5,917,000. The number of higher education institutes increased from 91 in 1914 to 600 in 1933. (All figures above are taken from Stalin's Report to the 17th Congress of the CPSU, *Problems of Leninism*, pp.620-621).

We challenge any bourgeois country to match these all-round tempestuous developments in the USSR of those days.

Let us turn now from industry to agriculture.

NOTES

1. Elsewhere, analysing the external and internal contradictions, the external and internal obstacles to the victory of socialism in one country, Stalin correctly maintained that while the internal contradictions could be overcome and socialism built in a single country (the USSR at that time), this in itself did not mean the final victory of socialism. This did not guarantee the USSR against imperialist intervention and restoration of capitalism. For such a final victory revolution in several countries is required. Here is what Stalin says:

"While the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country means the possibility of resolving internal contradictions, which can be completely overcome by one country (meaning by that, of course, our country), the possibility of the final victory of socialism implies the possibility of resolving the external contradictions between the country of socialism and the capitalist countries, contradictions which can be overcome only as a result of a proletarian revolution in several countries.

"Anyone who confuses these two categories of contradictions is either a hopeless muddle-head or an incorrigible opportunist." (*Social-Democratic Deviation in our Party*, Report delivered at the 15th All-Union Conference of the CPSU(B), 1 November 1926, Stalin CW Vol 8 p. 278).

Precisely such hopeless muddleheads and incorrigible opportunists are the Trotskyites.

2. In view of the failure of the European proletariat to seize power, which was due, inter alia, to the treachery of official social democracy, the CPSU's stance regarding the successful building of socialism in the USSR was the only revolutionary way out. It was the only way of developing and bringing nearer the world revolution. While the Soviet people under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and under the correct leadership of the CPSU(B) headed by Comrade Stalin busily got on with the job of building socialism, and thus helping to develop world revolution, the Trotskyite muddleheads and incorrigible opportunists started their long and hopeless wait for world revolution. In this regard, it must be said, that the position of Trotskyism is identical with that of Kautskyism, the brand of opportunism peddled by the very same Kautsky whose treachery to the proletariat played such a considerable role in the defeat of the Euro-

pean proletariat and whose ideology put itself at the service of the European bourgeoisie in opposing Bolshevism, the Great October Socialist Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR. It would be worth while to acquaint the reader with a sample of Kautskyism on the subject under discussion. Here is what Kautsky said by way of an attack on the Bolsheviks in 1918:

"The Bolshevik revolution was based on the supposition that it would be the starting point of a general European revolution ... According to this theory, the European revolution ... which would bring about socialism in Europe would also be the means of removing the obstacles to the carrying through of socialism in Russia which were created by the economic backwardness of that country. This was all very logically thought out, and quite well founded, provided that the supposition was granted, that the Russian revolution must inevitably unchain the European revolution. But what if this does not happen? ... Our Bolshevik comrades have staked all on the card of the general European revolution. As this card has not turned up they were forced into a course which brought them up against insoluble problems." (Kautsky, *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*).

A cursory comparison of the above quotation with Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution' is sufficient to bring home the truth that Trotskyism is a variety of Kautskyism.

3. Trotskyism does not accept Lenin's thesis that uneven economic development is an absolute law of capitalism. According to Trotsky, imperialism abolishes all unevenness in the economic development of the various countries. Imperialist exploitation, maintained Trotsky, led to the obliteration of any unevenness in the economic conditions of the exploiting and exploited countries. In 1928, for example, Trotsky wrote about "the diminishing gap between India and Great Britain". From this position of rejection of the law of uneven development of capitalism, Trotsky proceeds, in direct opposition to Leninism, to the erroneous - nay, counter-revolutionary - conclusion that a national revolution is not possible because, says Trotskyism, imperialism has abolished the national economy and created a single world economy. Just as there can be no socialist revolution in a part of a country (i.e., part of an integrated national economy), so, says Trotskyism, there cannot be a national revolution because the national economy is part of a single integrated world economy. So, according to Trotskyism, the world revolution - a revolution in all the countries of the world - must take place simultaneously or not at all. Country after country must accomplish the socialist revolution in rapid succession, just as would different parts of a country in a national revolution. If Trotsky's view of reality had been correct, there would have been no building of socialism in the USSR. But the successful building of socialism in the USSR provided living proof of the great chasm that lay between reality and Trotskyism, of the thoroughly and incorrigibly opportunist nature of Trotskyism, of its inner counter-revolutionary content.

4. On the question of socialism, as indeed on other questions, the attacks on Stalin and 'Stalinism' are almost always attacks on Lenin and Leninism. In order to show the correctness of this statement it would be useful to look at a book called *Let History Judge* written by a Soviet bourgeois intellectual by the name of Roy Medvedev. Medvedev attacks Stalin but 'praises' Lenin. Medvedev's attack on Stalin is not based on any facts or documentation, but on mere gossip and the fertile imagination of a bourgeois brain whose output in terms of fabrication is unlimited. Even the reactionary anti-communist columnist Edward Crankshaw, one of the reviewers of this book in the *Observer* of 26 March 1972 had to admit that Medvedev was "denied access to all official archives". This, however, does not prevent Crankshaw from agreeing with, and admiring, Medvedev's attack on Stalin, the reason for this being that "this book is high drama of a gifted individual wrestling for the truth, guided only by his inner

light." This is how 'truth' is established by the bourgeois mind, i.e., by completely ignoring the facts and relying on one's "inner light".

Crankshaw goes on to say: "But besides being the history of an epoch and an act of homage to innumerable victims and to the sufferings of the Soviet people as a whole, his narrative is above all directed towards establishing the necessary ground not only for the author's absolute rejection of Stalin's claims to greatness but also, more deeply, for the opening of an intelligent discussion of the nature of Lenin's revolution and its perversion.

"This is where Laocoon comes in. As Professor Joravsky (whose editing deserves all praise) points out in his introduction, a great deal of the extraordinary impact of the book as a whole derives from the constant tension created by the inherent contradictions in the central thesis. How to diagnose the Stalinist 'disease' without condemning the Soviet system and its progenitor, Lenin? We walk with the author on a knife-edge."

How right is Professor Joravsky in detecting this inherent contradiction. He is quite right in implying that the "Stalinist 'disease'" cannot be diagnosed "without condemning the Soviet system and its progenitor, Lenin". All such attempts will fail and all those who condemn 'Stalinism' are bound to end up by condemning Leninism. It is not for nothing that Crankshaw ends his review by expressing the hope that Medvedev "may yet one day correct the weaknesses [Medvedev's inability to diagnose the "Stalinist 'disease'" by condemning Lenin] in a very remarkable achievement.

Mervyn Jones, in like fashion, in his review of the same book (*New Statesman*, 14 April 1972) complains that "even his analytical chapters answer the question 'How?' rather than the question 'Why?'". He adopts without cavil the doctrine of 'Leninist norms', assumes that Lenin was always right, and tells us that Stalin 'almost completely liquidated the socialist democracy that was one of the main achievements of the October revolution' - without asking how far that democracy had been eroded in Lenin's lifetime, still less whether it ever really existed. He even draws a contrast between the Stalinist secret police and the humane, scrupulous Cheka, which after all shot 6,000 people without trial in 1918 and was authorised by Lenin to embark on 'massive Red terror'. We are told that Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution was 'wrong' and Preobrazhensky's theory of primitive socialist accumulation was 'incorrect', a summary dismissal indeed of highly complex matters. The worst lapse comes when Medvedev asserts solemnly that Beria was an anti-Bolshevik agent in 1919 and that this was 'established' by his trial in 1953 - a trial that was certainly secret and probably non-existent. Hard it is, alas, for even the most honest product of the Soviet regime to free himself mentally from the straitjacket.

In other words, Mervyn Jones says that one cannot condemn Stalin without condemning the Soviet system and Leninism. And he is right. Of course, it goes without saying, Mr Jones would like to see condemned, not only 'Stalinism' but also Leninism and the Soviet system. The revolutionaries, however, should draw the opposite lesson and must not condemn Stalin, for such a condemnation leads directly to the condemnation of Leninism and the Soviet system. Stalin did no more and no less than apply Leninism to the conditions of the USSR in the building of socialism. It can thus be seen that when the Trotskyites, revisionists and others condemn Stalin they are in fact condemning Leninism, despite any subjective wishes to the contrary that some of this gentry might have.

We may also add that even before the October revolution, the Bolshevik Party, not just Lenin as an individual, were committed to the building of socialism in Russia in the event of the Bolshevik Party being in power. At the 6th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in August 1917, a

motion was put forward that the Russian workers should "bend every effort to take state power ... and, in alliance with the revolutionary proletariat of the advanced countries, direct it towards peace and socialist reconstruction of society." Preobrazhensky, who later became a member of the Trotskyist opposition, proposed that the motion be amended to read: "direct it towards peace and, in the event of a proletarian revolution in the west, towards socialism".

At the Congress, Stalin, representing Lenin who had to stay in hiding at the time, opposed Preobrazhensky's amendment and said:

"I am against such an amendment. The possibility is not excluded that Russia will be the country that will lay the road to socialism. No country hitherto has enjoyed such freedom in time of war as Russia does, or has attempted to introduce workers' control of production. In our country the workers are supported by the poorer strata of the peasantry. Lastly, in Germany the state apparatus is incomparably more efficient than the imperfect apparatus of our bourgeoisie ... We must discard the antiquated idea that only Europe can show us the way."

Preobrazhensky's amendment was defeated.

Thus it is clear that even before the October revolution, the Bolshevik Party was committed to the building of socialism in Russia. Only the incorrigible opportunists want to hide this fact from the workers.

Chapter 6

Collectivisation - The Building of Socialism in the Countryside

The role of leadership

"*Socialised property*", we hope we have shown above, does not build socialist industry automatically. "*Socialised property*" is just as incapable of reorganising agriculture on a socialist basis. And here again, as in the case of the policy of socialist industrialisation, erroneous policies on the question of collectivisation had to be fought against and defeated. The correct Bolshevik, Leninist, policy had to fight for its victory against the anti-Bolshevik policies. What, then, were these erroneous policies?

The Bukharin-Rykov group's policy on collectivisation

The first of these erroneous policies was pursued by Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky. This policy stood in favour of the abandonment of the socialist attack on kulaks in the countryside, slowing down the rate of industrial growth, and a reliance on the individual rather than collective farming. This policy would have created insurmountable problems on the grain front and the capitalist elements in the countryside - the kulaks - would have been able to dictate to the Soviet government. Bukharin had in fact issued to the kulaks the slogan: *Get rich*. The Party Central Committee immediately condemned this slogan (despite contrary assertions by Trotsky), and Bukharin was forced to write an article withdrawing this slogan.

The policy of Trotsky and Zinoviev on collectivisation.

The second of these erroneous policies was the one advocated by Trotsky and Zinoviev. This policy was fraught with adventurism because it stood for an attack on the kulaks prematurely in 1925, before the proletariat had effected an alliance with the middle peasantry and before the rich farmer

had been replaced by the Soviet state farms and collective farms in the sphere of grain production.

Capitalist elements in the countryside - the kulaks - could only be eliminated by a ruthless class struggle. For this class struggle, the proletariat needed a firm alliance with the middle peasantry. This alliance could only be strengthened by turning the middle peasant to collectivisation. This in turn could only be accomplished when industry was sufficiently developed to give real, active support to the peasantry by the provision of tractors, other agricultural machinery, fertilizers, and when the state was able to advance credits. Last, though not least, the middle peasantry had to be persuaded on the basis of their own experience, and by example - not by coercion or force - to turn from individual farming to collective farming. And here, as will be seen later, a role of inestimable importance was played by state farms and the machine and tractor stations up and down the country. The state farm Shevshenko established the first machine and tractor station, and helped the surrounding peasantry with the loan of machinery. The success of measures like this, the development of industry to a degree where it was able actively to give support to the peasantry and the ability of the state to advance credits, would all be responsible for turning the middle peasantry to collective farming and thus strengthening the alliance between the working class and the middle peasantry. This strengthened alliance in turn would cause a sharp turn in Soviet policy in regard to the kulaks - from a policy of merely restricting the kulaks, the Party would adopt the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class. This, and this alone, explains why it was not possible to attack the kulaks in 1925 but that it became possible to do so by 1930. Elimination of the kulak class could not be achieved by mere 'decrees' as was proposed by Trotsky and Zinoviev in 1925. It could only be achieved by a ruthless class struggle in the countryside - a class struggle for which the proletariat needed the firm alliance of the poor and middle peasantry - and for which struggle the proletariat was by no means prepared in 1925. But in 1930 all the necessary conditions existed for this ruthless class struggle against the kulaks.

For these reasons it can be seen that the policy advocated by Trotsky and Zinoviev was even more dangerous than that advocated by the Bukharin-Rykov group. If followed in 1925 it would have isolated the Soviet government and the working class from the middle peasantry who would have been won over by the rich peasantry. This policy would have brought the Soviet government into "*hostile collision*", to use Trotsky's favourite ex-

pression, with the bulk of the peasantry and thus brought nearer to fruition Trotsky's prophecies of death, doom and despair.

Both the above-mentioned types of policy were erroneous in the extreme. They had one thing in common: if followed they would have led to domination by the capitalist elements over the socialist elements and, in the end, to the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus their essence was the same, though not the form in which they were expressed. In terms of form the policy of Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy was right- opportunist, whereas that of Trotsky and Zinoviev was left- adventurer. Form is only relevant because left-adventurism, cloaked as it is in ultra-revolutionary phrases, is more difficult to detect and fight against. But there is not the slightest doubt that both these types of opportunism within the working-class movement constitute a real and mighty support for the bourgeoisie.

Stalin's criticisms of these erroneous policies

Criticising both the Trotskyites and the Bukharinites for their erroneous policies on the question of the fight against the kulaks, and concentrating his attacks on the Trotskyites, Comrade Stalin said:

"Both the deviations [i.e., the one that underestimates the kulaks and the one that seeks to destroy them immediately] are dangerous; both of them are bad; we must not waste time discussing whether one of them is worse than the other. But it is a practical necessity to discuss which of them we are best prepared to fight. If you were to ask whether the Party is better prepared to undertake a ruthless struggle against the kulaks, or (ignoring the kulaks for the time being) to enter into an alliance with the middle peasantry, I believe that ninety-nine communists out of a hundred would say that the Party is better prepared to act on the watchword: 'let's go for the kulaks!' If we were to let those comrades have their way, the kulaks would promptly be stripped to the buff. As regards the rival policy, the policy of those who, instead of trying to destroy the kulaks out of hand, want to pursue the far more complicated plan of isolating the kulaks by entering into an alliance with the middle peasantry - this is one which the comrades are by no means ready to accept. That is why I believe that the Party in its struggle against these two deviations, must concentrate its fire upon the second deviation [seeking to destroy the kulaks immediately]" (Stalin, Opening Speech at the 14th Party Congress).

In this regard, too, it can be seen that the misfortunes of Trotsky flow from the theory of 'permanent revolution', the essence of which is a mistrust

of the peasantry, a lack of confidence in the fact that under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat - under the leadership of the working class - the basic masses of the peasantry can be drawn in to the work of socialist construction, and a lack of understanding of the role of different sections of the peasantry at different stages of the revolution and after the socialist revolution.

All this - the need for a correct policy and leadership in addition to "*socialised property*" - is clear to anyone, but not it seems to the Trotskyites and the bourgeois intelligentsia. That is why it has been necessary for us to preface the topic of collectivisation with a reiteration of the elementary truths that have been uttered thousands of times before; it has been necessary not only to refute the dead Trotsky but also to counter and put a stop to the distortions and the corruption that the present-day Trotskyites are practising on the workers - especially our youth, which has a tendency to be seduced by petty-bourgeois phrase-mongering, because there have appeared 'Marxists' ("*Poor Marx!*" as Lenin once said) who deny the role of a correct policy, a correct leadership and a correct theory. Let us return to collectivisation:

1927: Agriculture lags behind industry

By 1927 there was rapid growth of large-scale socialist industry. But the picture was quite different in the case of agriculture. Though agricultural production as a whole had reached the pre-war level, grain production was only 91% of the pre-war level.

To make matters worse, the marketed share of grain production - the amount of grain sold to supply the towns - hardly reached 37% of the pre-war figure. The process of splitting up the large farms into small farms, and of the small farms into still smaller farms had gone too far.

If this state of affairs in the sphere of agriculture were to be allowed to continue, the urban population and the army would be faced with chronic famine. The only way out of this situation was a change to large-scale farming which would allow the use of tractors and other modern agricultural machinery and thus increase food production as well as its marketable share. The Soviet state had an alternative: either it could adopt large-scale capitalist farming, which would have ruined the masses of the peasantry, thoroughly destroyed the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and enormously strengthened the kulaks, thus ending forever the possibility

of building socialism in the countryside; or it could adopt the socialist alternative of amalgamating the small peasant holdings into large-scale socialist farms, which would not only allow the use of tractors and machinery to increase agricultural production, but also strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and give a telling blow to the kulaks and their dreams for the restoration of capitalism.

The Soviet state and the Bolshevik Party could only, in view of what has been said, choose, and did in fact choose, the second alternative - the development of agriculture by means of large collective farms. In making this choice, the Bolshevik Party was guided by the following precepts of Lenin concerning the necessity of passing from small peasant farming to large-scale cooperative collective farming:-

"There is no escape from poverty for the small farm"; (Selected Works, Vol 8, p.195).

"If peasant farming is to develop further, we must firmly assure also its transition to the next stage, and this next stage must inevitably be one in which the small, isolated peasant farms, the least profitable and most backward, will by a process of gradual amalgamation form large-scale collective farms" (Selected Works, Vol 9, p 151).

"If we continue as of old on our small farms, we shall still be faced with inevitable ruin." (Selected Works, Vol 6, p 370).

"Only if we succeed in proving to the peasants in practice the advantages of common, collective, cooperative or artel farming, will the working class, which holds the state power, be really able to convince the peasants of the correctness of its policy and to secure the real and durable following of the millions of peasants." (Selected Works, Vol 8, p 198).

The 15th Party Congress - collectivisation.

The 15th Party Congress opened on 2 December 1927. In his report on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Stalin, while referring to the rapid expansion of socialist industry, set the Party the following task:

"To extend and consolidate our socialist key positions in all economic branches in town and country and to pursue a course of eliminating the capitalist elements from the national economy."

Noting the backwardness of agriculture due to small individual farming which precluded the use of machinery, and which was endangering the So-

viet state, Comrade Stalin asked:

"What is the way out?"

He went on to answer:

"The way out is to turn the small and scattered peasant farms into large united farms based on the common cultivation of the soil, to introduce collective cultivation of the soil on the basis of a new and higher technique. The way out is to unite the small and dwarf peasant farms gradually but surely, not by pressure but by example and persuasion, into large farms based on common, co-operative, collective cultivation of the soil with the use of agricultural machines and tractors and scientific methods of intensive agriculture. There is no other way out."

The 15th Congress passed a resolution calling for the fullest development of the collectivisation of agriculture. The Congress also gave directions *"To develop the offensive against the kulaks and to adopt a number of measures which would restrict the development of capitalism in the countryside and guide peasant farming towards socialism."* (Resolution of the CPSU(B)).

Finally, realising that economic planning had taken firm root, and with the aim of systematically eliminating all capitalist elements and building socialism, the Congress instructed the appropriate agencies to draw up the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the Soviet economy.

Opposition of the Bukharin-Rykov group to collectivisation.

When, following the 15th Party Congress, collectivisation got under way and the Party took up the offensive against the kulaks, there appeared a group of right opportunists led by Bukharin and Rykov. The Bukharin-Rykov group was opposed to the Party's policy of collectivisation; it demanded the repeal of emergency measures the Party had adopted against the kulaks, and represented the decay of kulak farming as the decay of agriculture. The Bukharin-Rykov group declared that nothing good would come out of collectivisation, that the enrichment of the kulaks represented no danger to socialism, that left alone the kulaks would 'grow' into socialism of themselves. In order to provide a theoretical justification for these arguments, they dished up the theory of the 'subsidence of class struggle' according to which, with every advance of socialism, the class struggle will grow milder; that the kulaks would peaceably 'grow' into socialism and con-

sequently there was no need to conduct a determined struggle against them; that the class struggle would subside even before the class enemy had been destroyed. Through this absurd and treacherous theory, the Bukharin-Rykov group made a determined bid to throw overboard and replace the famous and correct thesis of Leninism that with every advance of socialism the class struggle grows more acute - that the class enemy increases his attempts a hundredfold, resorting to all and any means at his disposal to overthrow socialism and to regain his 'lost paradise', i.e., capitalism.

The similarity in essence between the Trotskyite and Bukharinite theories

Learning from the pronouncements in the Press, the kulaks realised that they were not alone in their opposition to the building of socialism in the USSR and that they had their supporters in the Bolshevik Party as well. On the one hand there was the group led by Trotsky and Zinoviev who maintained that socialism could not be built in a single backward country like Russia. They had come out in full force to oppose Party policy at the 14th Party Congress and thereafter. On the other hand there was the Bukharin-Rykov group. This group came out in opposition to the Party on the question of collectivisation and maintained that there was no need for an offensive against the kulaks and that they would 'grow' into socialism. Thus it can be seen that, despite the differences in form, there was no difference in essence between the Trotskyite and Zinovievite capitulators who maintained that socialism could not be built in backward Russia and the Bukharin-Rykov group of right opportunists. The only difference was that the Trotskyite and Zinovievite capitulators were able for some time to hide their capitulatory character under cover of 'left' 'revolutionary' vociferations about 'permanent revolution', whereas the Bukharin-Rykov group of right opportunists could not hide their capitulationist nature when defending, as they had to, openly and without a mask, the capitalist forces in the USSR, in particular the kulaks.

Thus it is clear that the basis is laid down for the meeting of the two opportunist and reactionary trends and their transformation into a single united front against the Party. The theory of 'permanent revolution' and the theory of 'the subsidence of class struggle' were inexorably leading the two opportunist trends to a common meeting point. The inevitable happened: the two opportunist trends met, united by their opposition to the revolutionary policy of the Bolshevik Party, and formed a compact and solid opposi-

tion to the Party. From then on the Trotskyite and Zinovievite capitulators and the Bukharinite group of right opportunists would act in concert. But more of this will be covered when dealing with the Moscow Trials.

The resistance of the kulaks and the measures taken by the Party to counter this resistance.

The kulaks were very quick in realising what a tremendous reserve of support and strength for their position they had in the viewpoint of the opposition. They knew that they were not alone; that they had defenders such as Bukharin, Rykov, Trotsky, Zinoviev and others. This knowledge could not but stiffen the resistance of the kulaks to the policy of the Party and the Soviet government. The kulaks refused en masse to sell grain surpluses to the Soviet state. They resorted to murder and terrorism against Party workers, government functionaries and against the collective farmers, and they burned down collective- farm and state granaries.

The Party came to the conclusion that the kulaks had to be defeated in open battle in full view of the peasantry; that unless the resistance of the kulaks were broken the working class and the Red Army would suffer a chronic famine, the movement for collectivisation would come to a grinding halt and the kulaks would be able to dictate terms to the Soviet state and finally to overthrow it.

The Party, therefore, launched a determined offensive against the kulaks, and in accordance with the decisions of the 15th Party Congress, the Party put into effect the slogan: *Rely firmly on the poor peasantry, strengthen the alliance with the middle peasantry, and wage a resolute struggle against the kulaks.* The kulaks refused to sell grain surpluses. The Party and the government responded by applying Article 107 of the Criminal Code which empowered the courts to confiscate grain surpluses from the kulaks in the event of their refusing to sell such surpluses to the state at fixed prices. The poor peasantry were granted a number of privileges and 25% of the confiscated grain was put at their disposal. The various other emergency measures adopted by the Party had the effect of causing the poor and middle peasantry to join the resolute struggle against the kulaks, isolating the kulaks, and advancing the collective-farm movement while eliminating the problem of grain shortage. The result was that by the end of 1928 the Soviet state had sufficient stocks of grain at its disposal.

Defeat of the Bukharinites in the Moscow Party organisation

As the offensive of socialism against the kulaks intensified, so did the Bukharin-Rykov group intensify its anti-Party activity. This group was able to gain the support of such persons occupying high places in the Moscow Party organisation as Uglanov, Kotov, Ukhanov, Ryutin, Yagoda, Polonsky and others. At the Party meetings of the Moscow Party organisation and in the Press it was advocated that heavy taxation of kulaks was wrong, that concessions must be made to kulaks, and that the development of heavy industry was premature. The construction of the Dnieper hydroelectric scheme was opposed by Uglanov who demanded that the money be spent instead on the construction of light industry, and that no engineering works be built in Moscow. Uglanov and others were exposed by the Moscow Party organisation which supported more than ever the Central Committee of the Party. The necessity of a determined struggle against the opportunist deviations in the Party, with the fire concentrated on the right deviation this time, was outlined by Comrade Stalin at a plenary meeting of the Moscow Committee of the CPSU(B) held in 1928:

"The triumph of the Right deviation in our Party would unleash the forces of capitalism, undermine the revolutionary positions of the proletariat and increase the chances of restoring capitalism in our country" (Problems of Leninism).

Despite the opposition of the kulaks and that of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, the collective-farm movement continued to develop. Overcoming all difficulties - external and internal - one by one, the Party and the Soviet government continued the work of successfully building socialism in the USSR by building heavy industry, developing state farms and collective farms, and laying the basis for adoption and execution of the first Five Year Plan.

The 16th Party Conference

The Party held its 16th Conference in April 1929 and adopted the first Five-Year Plan for the construction of socialism.

"The fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan", said Stalin, "was to create such an industry in our country as would be able to re-equip and reorganise, not only the whole of the industry, but also transport and agriculture - on the

basis of socialism." (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*)

The Conference also adopted an appeal to all working people, calling for the further development of socialist emulation.

Rapid growth of collective farms.

Undeterred by the immensity of the Plan, the masses of Soviet people responded to this call by a further wave of labour enthusiasm and quickly got down to the task of realising the first Five-Year Plan. This time the peasants did not lag behind. The peasants turned more and more in favour of collective farming as a result of seeing the state farms and the machine and tractor stations. The peasants would visit the state farms and the machine and tractor stations, watch the operation of the tractors and other agricultural machinery, admire their performance and there and then resolve to join the collective farm. It was in this manner that the collective farm movement developed, i.e., the peasants were persuaded by superior state farms and agricultural machinery to join collective farms - not by arm-twisting or use of force as is asserted by the paid and unpaid agents of the bourgeoisie - the Trotskyites, the 'learned' bourgeois professors and bourgeois intellectuals.

But this does not mean that the proletarian state used no force against the kulaks and their agents, the saboteurs and wreckers who resorted to murder and terrorism to oppose the building of socialism and who wished to restore capitalism. The dictatorship of the proletariat did exercise its dictatorship over the kulaks, over the minority of exploiters, in the wider interests of the majority of the Soviet people - the workers and peasants - in order to make sure that the vanquished capitalists would not come to power again. The proletarian state exercised its dictatorship because that exactly is the specific purpose for which it does exist. Would we not have complete justification for reproaching it if it did not perform this, one of its main functions? To make the Marxist position on the subject of the dictatorship of the proletariat clearer, and to refute the lies and slanders of the Trotskyites and other reactionaries against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR and Comrade Stalin, we shall quote Marx and Engels to show what they said on the subject of dictatorship apropos the Paris Commune:

Marx: *"... when the workers substitute their revolutionary dictatorship for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie ... in order to break down the resistance of*

the bourgeoisie ... the workers invest the state with a revolutionary and transitional form ..."

Engels: "*... if the victorious party*" (in a revolution) *"does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeois? Should we not on the contrary reproach it for not having used it freely enough? ..."* (On Authority).

Engels: "*As, therefore, the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the class struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state: so long as the proletariat still uses the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist ...*" (Letter to A Bebel, March 1875).

This is how matters stand with regard to the position of Marxism on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Trotskyites only show how far they are removed from Marxism when they pour their invective on the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR for having forcibly suppressed the bourgeoisie; for having broken down its resistance; for having inspired terror in the reactionaries; for having forcibly held down its adversaries, and so on and so forth. In so doing the Trotskyites only prove that they are as far removed from Marxism as Earth is from Heaven, as liberals are from proletarian revolutionaries.

The rate of growth of the collective-farm movement was rapid and unprecedented; it even surpassed socialist industry. Referring to the rate of growth of the collective farms, Comrade Stalin said in his article *A Year of Great Change* (1929): "*It must be admitted that such an impetuous speed of development is unequalled even in our socialised large-scale industry, which in general is noted for its outstanding speed of development.*"

The policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class and the reasons for the adoption of this policy

On the basis of the rapid development of industry, the collective-farm movement and the strengthened alliance between the working class and the basic mass of the peasantry (poor and middle peasantry), the Soviet power was, by 1930, able to pass over from the policy of merely restricting the ku-

laks (i.e., the policy adopted under the New Economic Policy for reviving agriculture and restoring the connection between industry and agriculture) to the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class. The policy of restricting the kulaks was essential so long as the state farms and collective farms were weak and unable to replace the kulaks in the sphere of food production. But by the end of 1929 the unprecedented growth of collective and state farms made it possible for the Soviet power to turn to the policy of eliminating the kulaks. Under this policy the kulaks were expropriated, just as the capitalists had been expropriated in the sphere of industry in 1918, the only difference being that in the present case the kulaks' means of production did not pass to the state but into the hands of peasants united in collective farms.

Trotsky's position on de-kulakisation in 1930

We already know that in 1925 Trotsky and Zinoviev had demanded an attack on the kulaks as a class, and we also know the reasons for which the Party had decisively rejected this demand at that time. But in January 1930, having prepared all the prerequisite conditions for such an offensive, the Party launched an offensive against the kulaks as a class. The Party passed over from the policy of merely restricting the kulaks to the policy of eliminating them as a class. When this happened, Trotsky, who had up to then been screaming his head off about the Party letting the rich peasants get away with it, now demanded that the Party should *"bring the collective farms into line with their real sources of support", "abandon the policy of 'de-kulakisation' [i.e., the expropriation of rich peasants]", and "hold the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks in check for a long number of years."*

"The guiding principle in relation to the kulaks must be an iron 'contract system' [a system by which the rich farmers were to supply the state with a certain quantity of their products at fixed prices]" (Trotsky, Open Letter to the Members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 23 March 1930).

It is now up to each one to form his own judgment as to the policies advocated by Trotsky and Co. on the question of collectivisation and the elimination of the kulaks.

Success of the policy of collectivisation and eliminating the kulaks

Summing up the results of the mass movement of the peasants for solid collectivisation and giving the reasons for turning to the policy of eliminat-

ing the kulaks, Comrade Stalin wrote in 1929:

"The last hope of the capitalists of all countries, who are dreaming of restoring capitalism in the USSR - 'the sacred principle of private property' - is collapsing and vanishing. The peasants, whom they regarded as material manuring the soil for capitalism, are abandoning en masse the lauded banner of 'private property' and are taking to the path of collectivisation, the path of socialism. The last hope for the restoration of capitalism is crumbling." (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*).

The execution of the policy of eliminating the kulaks resulted in a most thorough-going and profound revolution which, at one blow, solved three fundamental problems of socialist construction:

(a) *"It eliminated the most numerous class of exploiters in our country, the kulak class, the mainstay of capitalist restoration;*

(b) *"It transformed the most numerous labouring class in our country, the peasant class, from the path of individual farming, which breeds capitalism, to the path of cooperative, collective, socialist farming;*

(c) *"It furnished the Soviet regime with a socialist base in agriculture - the most extensive and vitally necessary, yet least developed, branch of national economy.*

"This destroyed the last mainsprings of the restoration of capitalism within the country and at the same time created new decisive conditions for the building up of a socialist economic system." (*History of the CPSU(B)*).

The Party instructions on the method of collectivisation, violations of these instructions and rectification by the Party.

The policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class was contained in the historic resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) on 5 January 1930 on *The Rate of Collectivisation and State Measures to Assist the Development of Collective Farms*.

This resolution embodied a very important instruction that the chief form of the collective-farm movement at the given stage must be the agricultural *artel*, in which only the principal means of production were collectivised.

The Central Committee issued most serious warnings to Party organisations *"against any attempts whatsoever to force the collective-farm movement by 'decrees' from above, which might involve the danger of the substitution of*

mock-collectivisation for real socialist emulation in the organisation of collective farms" (Resolutions of the CPSU(B)).

In certain regions, particularly in the Moscow region and in Transcaucasia and Central Asia, these warnings of the Central Committee were ignored. Carried away by the initial successes of collectivisation, persons in authority in these regions violated the instructions of the Party regarding the pace and time limits of collectivisation. These mistakes and distortions committed by local Party organisations caused serious discontent among the peasantry. The kulaks, taking advantage of these distortions and mistakes, began to spread further discontent among the peasantry.

The Central Committee immediately proceeded to remedy the situation. On 2 March 1930 the Central Committee decided to publish Comrade Stalin's article *Dizzy with Success* in which Comrade Stalin warned Party workers not to be carried away by the success of collectivisation to the extent of coercing peasants to join collective farms. It directed Party workers to take account of the diversity of conditions in the various regions of the USSR and to be guided by the principle that the formation of collective farms must be voluntary, and that the chief form of collective-farm movement was the agricultural artel, in which only the principal means of production are collectivised, and not the household land, dwellings, small livestock, poultry, etc.

The Central Committee also changed the leadership of certain regional Party organisations (Moscow region, Transcaucasia) which had committed political mistakes and failed to rectify them.

On 3 April 1930 Comrade Stalin's article *Reply to Collective Farm Comrades* was published. In this article Comrade Stalin outlined the major mistakes committed in regard to collectivisation and the root cause of these mistakes. These mistakes, Comrade Stalin pointed out, lay in an incorrect approach to the middle peasants, violation of the Leninist principle that the formation of collective farms must be voluntary, violation of the Leninist principle that allowance must be made for the diversity of conditions prevailing in various regions and districts of the Soviet Union, and the attempts to skip the artel form of collectivisation and pass straight to the commune.

Thus it can be seen, notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary of the Trotskyites and the bourgeois intelligentsia, who are very 'clever' and yet stupid, it was Stalin and the Central Committee who were against any form of coercion in the matter of collectivisation. We have given documentary

proof of our assertions and not relied on general gossip as the Trotskyites, the bourgeois intellectuals and various reactionaries are only too frequently wont to do. These people belong to the school of thought whose main motto is: assertion is proof. Another of their mottoes is: ignorance is sufficient reason. For their own assertions they never offer any proof other than their own assertions. For the statements of Marxist-Leninists, however, the highest standards of proof are demanded; and if such standards of proof are duly forthcoming, they refuse to accept this proof because it does not conform to their own view of reality. Really, no proof will ever satisfy them. We can never hope to convince them - never, that is, until they have ceased their petty-bourgeois conceit and intellectual arrogance. But it is not these people that we are trying to convince. We are trying to reach the working class and what is best and most honest in it; we have a duty to disentangle the confusion caused by the above-mentioned gentry in the minds of the people. It is with this in mind that we have taken the trouble to state the facts that have so long been buried or distorted.

Thus, by taking the correct line firmly, the Central Committee, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, was able to rectify all the distortions and mistakes committed by Party organisations in certain regions in regard to collectivisation. This rectification in turn further consolidated the collective-farm movement and made possible new advances.

The 16th Party Congress

By the time the 16th Party Congress was convened, owing to the successful execution of the policy of eliminating the kulaks and the success of the collective-farm movement, the partial offensive against capitalist elements had assumed the character of a general offensive against capitalist elements. The 16th Party Congress met on 26 June 1930 and Comrade Stalin had very good reason proudly to describe it as *"the Congress of the sweeping offensive of socialism along the whole front, of the elimination of the kulaks as a class, and of the realisation of solid collectivisation."*

At this Congress Comrade Stalin was also able to announce, amidst thunderous applause: *"... We are on the eve of the transformation of our country from an agrarian to an industrial country."*

The 17th Party Congress

By the time of the holding of the 17th Party Congress in January 1934,

the Soviet people under the glorious leadership of the CPSU(B) headed by Stalin, that resolute opponent of all reactionaries, had made the following unprecedented achievements:

(a) Industrial production in the USSR now accounted for 70% of total production, and the country had been transformed from an agrarian country to an industrial one.

(b) Capitalist elements in the sphere of industry had been completely eliminated and the socialist economic system had become the sole economic system in this sphere.

(c) The kulaks had been eliminated as a class and the socialist economic system had become predominant in the sphere of agriculture.

(d) The collective-farm system had put an end to the poverty and misery of millions of people in the countryside who now enjoyed material conditions hitherto unknown to them.

(e) As a result of the development of socialist industry, unemployment had been abolished, and though the 8-hour day had been retained in certain industries, in the majority of the enterprises a 7-hour day had been instituted; in the case of industries representing special danger to health, the length of the working day was reduced to 6 hours.

(f) The victory of socialism in all branches of the national economy had put an end to the exploitation of man by man.

No wonder that the 17th Party Congress is known as the *Congress of Victors*.

At this Congress, reporting on the work of the Central Committee, Comrade Stalin outlined the fundamental changes that had taken place in the USSR during the period under review:

"During this period, the USSR has become radically transformed and has cast off the integument of backwardness and medievalism. From a country of small individual agriculture it has become a country of collective, large-scale mechanised agriculture. From an ignorant, illiterate and uncultured country it has become - or rather it is becoming - a literate and cultured country covered by a vast network of higher, intermediate and elementary schools teaching in the language of the nationalities of the USSR" (Problems of Leninism).

Socialism was built in the USSR

Now, on the basis of the above material, we may emphatically in the affirmative answer the question 'Was socialism built in the USSR?'

The victory of socialism in the USSR was made possible not only by the *'socialised property relations created by the October Revolution'* but also by the correct revolutionary leadership given to the peoples of the Soviet Union by the Bolshevik Party and its most representative spokesman, Comrade Stalin.

Before closing this discussion on the building of socialism in the USSR, it is appropriate to make two additional points:

(1) Trotsky and his followers in the USSR maintained, on the one hand, that socialism could not be built in backward Russia *'in the absence of direct state support on the part of the European proletariat'*, yet on the other hand their constant allegation was that the *'Stalin group'* (i.e., the Bolshevik Party!) was not building socialism fast enough. Here are a group of people who have consistently and all along maintained that socialism could not be built in the USSR telling the Bolshevik Party (which throughout maintained that the victory of socialism was possible in the USSR and passed the well-known resolution to that effect at its 14th Congress) that it is not building socialism fast enough or that it is restoring capitalism. You may, comrades, form your own opinion of this Trotskyite position, but, it is suggested that the only view that is consistent with the facts is that Trotsky's position amounts to nothing more and nothing less than an attempt on his part to hide, to mask, the capitulatory character of Trotskyism, of the theory of 'permanent revolution', by ultra-left phrasemongering.

(2) Since the 20th Party Congress of the CPSU, state power in the Soviet Union has been usurped by a gang of revisionist renegades who do not represent the interests of the working class but only of their own privileged stratum and who are intent on restoring capitalism in the USSR. They have been pursuing reactionary policies both internally and in the sphere of international relations. So the post 20th Party Congress period should on no account be confused with the period prior to that Congress. But in order to confuse the working class and to corrupt the masses, the Trotskyites have been doing just that. For example, they describe the leadership of the CPSU and indeed all the revisionist parties the world over as 'Stalinist'. Now it is well known that the Soviet revisionists have denounced Comrade

Stalin. Yet every revisionist act of theirs is described as 'Stalinist'. The position is laughable when the Trotskyites describe the CPGB as 'Stalinist'. And in this propaganda battle, which is meant to confuse the masses, the Trotskyites beat the previous world record set by Hitler's minister Goebbels when they (the different Trotskyite sects - IS, IMG and SLL) accuse each other of 'Stalinist' behaviour.

What must the revolutionaries do to put an end to this confusion?

We must put an end to this confusion created by the Trotskyites, comrades, by spreading among the working class the knowledge of the real, counter-revolutionary, nature of Trotskyism and that of revolutionary 'Stalinism'. The expression 'Stalinism' is not of our choice; it was neither coined by Stalin nor by his followers. Rather it has been thrust upon us by the enemies of Leninism, principally the Trotskyites, but also the revisionists. Be that as it may, we are stuck with it and we must turn what was meant by our enemies to be a term of abuse to good account. As for Stalin, he made no other claim for himself than to be a faithful follower of Lenin and Leninism.

We must make it our duty to enable every class-conscious worker to know that 'Stalinism' is Bolshevism and Leninism; that Stalinism stands for the victory of the proletariat, the victory of socialism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat; that it stands for all-round fraternal support to the struggles of the proletarians of other countries and to national liberation struggles; that it stands for a resolute and uncompromising struggle against imperialism, revisionism and all reaction. We must acquaint the workers with the revolutionary essence of the word 'Stalinism' and must help and encourage them thoroughly to repudiate those people who use the words 'Stalinist' and 'Stalinism' as terms of abuse. This is our bounden duty.

We must make it common knowledge that the ruling revisionist circles in the Soviet Union are not 'Stalinists', nor for that matter are the CPGB, the IS, the IMG or the SLL. All these belong to the category of anti-Stalin, anti-Bolshevik, counter-revolutionary political degenerates.

Stalin was a great revolutionary, a great defender of Bolshevism, a great defender of Leninism and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, who marched at the head of the Soviet people and the people of the world in the fight for the victory of socialism in the USSR and in the fight against fascism and world imperialism. Under his wise leadership the peoples of the USSR

and the peoples of the world took gigantic steps forward and achieved many important victories. That is why revolutionaries all over the world cherish Stalin's memory and why the very mention of his name inspires feelings of love, respect and gratitude among revolutionaries. And that is exactly why Stalin's name evokes such hatred on the part of Trotskyites, revisionists and other reactionaries.

As to the reasons for the rise of revisionism in the CPSU after the death of Stalin, and the attendant capitalist economic reforms, these belong elsewhere and must be dealt with separately. They cannot be dealt with right now. So in conclusion let it simply be said that despite prophecies of doom on the part of Trotsky, socialism was built in the USSR. There is no doubt about it and even Trotsky had no option but to make a grudging admission of the fact, although at the same time he attributed all success in socialist construction to "*socialised property*". That the success was not only due to "*socialised property*" but also to the quality of the leadership has, it is to be hoped, been fully demonstrated by now.

The very fact that socialism was successfully built in the USSR constitutes the best refutation of Trotskyism. The building of socialism in the USSR showed the utter uselessness of Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution'; it showed that Trotsky's concept of reality did not accord with reality itself. Trotsky could have changed his ideas in order to make them accord with reality. Instead he chose to misrepresent and distort reality in order to make it coincide with his thoroughly bankrupt ideas. He therefore adopted the position of opposing the building of socialism in the USSR when the USSR was, by building socialism, developing and advancing the world revolution in the only way practical at the time. By adopting this position of opposition to the building of socialism, Trotsky became an agent, ideologically and organisationally, of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and imperialism. Finding that the Soviet working class was not prepared to support his bankrupt theories, Trotsky and his followers began to resort more and more to terrorism. Eventually, finding their own forces inadequate, they chose to make an alliance with the fascist states in order to overthrow Soviet state power and to restore capitalism in the USSR. Their counter-revolutionary deeds were fully revealed at the famous Moscow Trials, which will be dealt with next.

Part III

THE MOSCOW TRIALS

"There has never been a single deep and mighty movement in history without filthy scum."

- Lenin

"Trotskyism has ceased to be a political trend in the working class ... it has changed from the political trend which it was seven or eight years ago, into a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers acting on the instruction of the intelligence of foreign states."

- Stalin (1937)

Chapter 7

Introduction

It may be asked, why should we want to know anything about the Moscow Trials? Are they not past history? Why waste time on them? The answer, comrades, is that in their fight for the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the reactionary and decadent bourgeoisie, the revolutionaries and the working class must learn their own history, they must arm themselves with knowledge of the science of revolution; they must learn to combat bourgeois ideology and bourgeois campaigns of lies and slander against not only the theory of scientific socialism, Marxism- Leninism, but also its practice. The truth relating to the Moscow Trials is daily and deliberately distorted by the bourgeoisie everywhere, and by their agents in the working-class movement, the Trotskyites, the revisionists and the social democrats. In gross violation of historical truth, misrepresenting and distorting this truth, these people assert that the Moscow Trials were a purge conducted by the 'Stalinist bureaucracy' against the 'true Bolsheviks', the accused at the Trials. The bourgeoisie and their flunkys in the proletarian movement, by incessantly repeating these downright lies, are thus able to instil scepticism into the minds of the workers regarding the practice of socialism. It would indeed be futile to fight for the victory of socialism if such a victory meant only the elimination of true revolutionaries. The truth, however, is just the opposite. The Moscow Trials were indeed a purge - a revolutionary purge - by which the revolutionary working-class movement in the Soviet Union, under the revolutionary leadership of the CPSU(B) headed by Stalin, took action against deserters from the camp of communism who, unable to face the problems of building socialism in a backward country, adopted the line of surrender to international and national capitalism, made alliances with fascist imperialist powers for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. In brief, this was a purge directed by the Bolshevik revolutionaries against the Trotskyite faint-hearts and bureaucratic degenerates who had committed treasonable acts against the working class, the Party of the proletariat, the Soviet government, the Soviet state, against the entire Soviet people. The evidence to be presented will amply substantiate this statement. It is, there-

fore, our duty, comrades, to reassert the true facts, bring these truths to the knowledge of the working class, and thus wrest it from the influence of the bourgeoisie and of its agents, the Trotskyites, the revisionists and the social democrats. This is a very important part of our work in our efforts towards building a truly proletarian movement which will smash the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is part and parcel of our work for winning the proletariat and the toiling millions to the side of socialism and communism. It is for this reason then that it is necessary to deal with these Trials.

It will be advisable to outline in brief the essence of what I intend to state this evening, so that this essence is not lost in the great mass of evidence that I shall, of necessity, have to present. In the Moscow Trials a number of Trotskyites and Rights were tried. They admitted to committing treasonable crimes against the Soviet state as well as committing, attempting and planning, individual terror against the foremost leaders of the Soviet Union. They pleaded guilty to the charge of organising and carrying out sabotage in industry, to the charge of carrying out diversionist and wrecking activities. Above all, they pleaded guilty to the charge of organising, in collaboration with certain imperialist powers and reactionary elements in Russia, for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. This is something that is not easily understood by people in general and by the intelligentsia in particular. How is it possible, they argue, for people who were prominent members of the CPSU(B) to want, and to take actual steps for, the restoration of capitalism? It is not suggested, comrades, that one evening Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek, Bukharin and the other accused at these Trials went to bed as Marxist-Leninists and the next morning, on waking up, they suddenly found themselves gripped by the irresistible urge to restore capitalism in the USSR. Things do not happen in this way. What I am putting to you, comrades, is that it was the very logic of the Trotskyist and Rightist position on the question of the possibility of building socialism in a single country, and a backward one at that, the very logic of the development of the struggle, that actually led the accused at these Trials - the Trotskyites and the Rights - into a position where they did become, and could not but become, tools and puppets of fascism.

Whatever the complexion of the Trotskyist and Rightist opposition in the Soviet Union, whatever the shades of opinion represented within it, there was one thing that united all its members, namely, they all believed that it was impossible to build socialism in the USSR. Trotsky, much earlier

than other members of the opposition, put forward this view in his notorious theory of 'permanent revolution'. This theory of Trotsky's was based on an erroneous understanding of the role of the peasantry and the uneven development of capitalism. From the hopelessness and pessimism, the chief characteristics of this theory, from the reactionary ideas contained in this theory, Trotsky never departed. He repeated this 'absurdly left' theory again and again, as has already been shown. After the 14th Party Conference emphatically declared itself in favour of building socialism in the USSR, sceptics like Kamenev and Zinoviev went over to the Trotskyist position. Later on, unable to face the problems of the revolution and scared by the resistance of the kulaks to collectivisation, the Bukharinites also deserted the standpoint of the Bolshevik Party and adopted the Trotskyist position of the impossibility of building socialism.¹

To begin with the opposition was no more than an opposition. It was an opposition because it found itself in opposition to the policy of the Party, because it did not agree with the policy of the Party, which policy stood for the building of socialism. The opposition, with its incorrect policy, was at this time only a tendency within the working-class movement - an anti-Leninist tendency, but a tendency nevertheless. Failing to correct its own erroneous policy, the opposition sought to change the correct policy of the Party. Unable to get the support of the working class for its policy which, subjective desires and wishes of its adherents notwithstanding, stood for the restoration of capitalism, the opposition was left with only two courses of action open to it. One, it could discard its erroneous theory, admit its bankruptcy and wholeheartedly, like the rest of the membership of the Party, devote itself to the building of socialism. Two, it could turn for help to all those who wanted the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, i.e., the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries, the kulaks, the Ukrainian and other nationalists, and, above all, to the bourgeoisie of the various imperialist countries. The opposition chose the latter alternative.

Finding it impossible to secure the support of the Soviet proletariat for its own policy, without which support a change in the policy and leadership of the Party and of the Soviet government was impossible, the opposition went over to the position of individual terror against the leaders of the Party and government, to wrecking and sabotage, with a view to overthrowing the Soviet government. Finding their own forces insufficient, the oppositionists joined hands with the internal reactionaries - the Mensheviks, kulaks, nationalists and bourgeois experts. And finally, when the internal forces

proved inadequate, the opposition was left with only one alternative, namely, to conclude an alliance with imperialist powers, which is what it proceeded to do. It entered into alliances with the German and Japanese fascists for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet government and for restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union. And with this passing over to the methods of individual terror, wrecking, sabotage and alliances with fascism, Trotskyism ceased to be just an opposition; it ceased to be just an erroneous and anti-Leninist tendency within the working-class movement. It became a band of wreckers and diversionists. It became an advanced detachment of the bourgeoisie. The evidence now to be presented will establish beyond doubt the correctness of this statement.

In the current series I have dealt at length with the theoretical evolution of Trotskyism. I have shown that this evolution starts with Trotsky's opposition to the building of the Bolshevik Party. His opposition to Lenin on the question of building a proletarian party is only a prelude to his opposition to Lenin in the matter of theory. Trotsky opposes Lenin's analysis of the nature of the Russian revolution. Trotsky comes up with his theory of 'permanent revolution', which is a negation of Lenin's theory of proletarian revolution and his theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this theory of his, Trotsky assigns to the peasantry only a counter-revolutionary role. Of course, says Trotsky, a spontaneous uprising of the peasantry might help the workers' government to come to power, but the workers' government could not sustain itself in power, faced as it would be with the opposition of the peasantry, unless the Russian revolution were followed by revolution in the advanced capitalist countries of Europe. Trotsky, therefore, reached the conclusion that socialism could not be built in Russia unless the European revolution came to the assistance of the Russian revolution. This much I have shown already. This evening it is my task to deal with Trotskyism in action (as disclosed in the Moscow Trials) and prove to you that individual terror, sabotage, diversionist and wrecking activities, and treasonable alliances with fascism are in no wise incompatible with the stance of Trotskyism. On the contrary, they are a logical culmination of the development of Trotskyism - a logical culmination of its counter-revolutionary struggle against revolutionary Leninism and against the Leninist policy of the Bolshevik Party which stood for the building of socialism in the USSR. With its policy of opposition to the building of socialism, Trotskyism ended up, and could not but end up, in the camp of fascism. This, then, is the essence of what follows, comrades, and I ask you not to

lose sight of this essence.

Further development of Trotskyism, its theoretical preparation for acts of terror, murder, wrecking and treasonable alliances with fascism.

Trotsky's standpoint as to the impossibility of building socialism in the USSR was decisively rejected by the Bolshevik Party. Even then Trotsky refused to throw on to the scrap heap, where it properly belonged, his theory of 'permanent revolution'. Instead he became more and more bitter against the Party. And when defeatists like Kamenev and Zinoviev, after the 14th Party Conference of the CPSU(B), declared themselves against the possibility of building socialism, Trotsky, sharing their defeatism and scepticism, rushed to form an opportunist alliance with them - the same Zinoviev and Kamenev whom Trotsky had described in his *Lessons of October* as right-wingers and whose removal from the Party he had been seeking only recently; the same Zinoviev and Kamenev who in turn had been trying their utmost to secure the removal of Trotsky from the Party leadership, if not from the Party itself. In fact it was none other than Stalin (the same Stalin who, according to Trotskyite legend, was afraid of the 'brilliance' of Trotsky and was therefore implacably hostile to him, seeking his removal from the Party at any cost) who opposed Zinoviev and Kamenev's attempts to expel Trotsky from the Party leadership. Here is what Stalin said in this regard:

"We know that the policy of lopping off, the method of blood-letting [it was blood-letting that Kamenev and Zinoviev were demanding] is dangerous and infectious. Today, you lop off one limb, tomorrow another, the day after tomorrow a third - and what is left of the Party?"

All this, however, does not prevent the Trotskyites and other bourgeois elements from repeating the above-mentioned legend regarding the alleged implacable hostility of Stalin towards the 'brilliant' Trotsky.

Trotsky did not give up the standpoint according to which it was impossible to build socialism in one country. Therefore, from 1924 onwards, Trotsky could only see that the Bolshevik Party led by Stalin was submitting to the capitalists and rich peasants, that it was not building socialism. I have described on an earlier occasion Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution' as an idealist theory - a theory that fails to take into account reality, a theory which is hopelessly in disaccord with reality. Trotsky's failure to reject this theory in order to meet the requirements of reality, of real life, and his in-

sistence that reality had to change in order to meet the requirements of this theory, led him into a hopelessly reactionary position, from which he could not extricate himself without discarding the reactionary theory that had in the first place landed him there, and from which position Trotsky could not but describe every achievement in the construction of socialism in the USSR as a surrender to capitalism and the dark forces of counter-revolution. The more successful the building of socialism in the Soviet Union became, the more emphatic and frequent became Trotsky's prophecies of impending doom, destruction, unemployment, economic chaos, civil war and the triumph of counter-revolution in the USSR. Idealism is reactionary. An idealist theory is a reactionary theory. Idealism in matters of theory leads to idealist and reactionary practice. Trotsky's idealist and reactionary theory of 'permanent revolution' led him straight to reactionary, counter-revolutionary, practice. In declaring the impossibility of building socialism, and in decrying and denigrating the achievements of building socialism in the USSR, Trotsky became, whether he wanted to or not and whether he realised it or not, an ally and a tool of all those reactionary forces which were opposed to the building of socialism in the USSR. He in fact became the chief ideological spokesman of reactionary and decadent forces all over the world, an ideological spokesman of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the kulaks, the Mensheviks and bourgeois elements of all kinds. If one arrives at the conclusion arrived at by Trotsky then one cannot but attack, as Trotsky did, the achievements of socialist construction.

After Trotsky had been thrown out of the Party in consequence of his splittist and factional activities and his repeated failure to abide by the declarations ² that he and other leaders of the so-called Left opposition had handed to the Central Committee of the Party, in which they had all promised to cease their factional activity, he became the bitterest critic of the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party in general, and of Stalin in particular. He joined the imperialist bourgeoisie, nay, became its chief ideological spokesman, in its campaign of vilification against the Soviet Union. It is due precisely to this reactionary service rendered by Trotsky to the bourgeoisie that the latter and the bourgeois radicals, in some cases even reactionaries ³, have a soft corner for Trotsky and defend his 'Bolshevism' against 'Stalinist bureaucracy'. It would be useful here to dwell a little more on this ideological service rendered by Trotsky to imperialism and reaction. It is doubly important to deal with it, for, apart from constituting an important weapon in the armoury of imperialist propaganda and campaign of lies

against the USSR, it constitutes at the same time a theoretical preparation on a global scale for Trotskyism in action as disclosed in the Moscow Trials, that is, a theoretical preparation for acts of terror and murder, diversion and wrecking, and for treasonable alliances with fascism, for which acts Trotsky and his partners in crime, both inside the Soviet Union and outside of it, were preparing and getting ready. The essence of all the 'left' diatribes of Trotsky in his *Revolution Betrayed*, and a multitude of other writings, is nothing but a figleaf to cover his far from left activity aimed at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and restoring capitalism. Such is the essence of what JR Campbell called Trotsky's 'veritable firework display of pompous 'left' phrases' (*Soviet Policy and its Critics*).

In the five-year plan, aimed at eliminating the remaining capitalist elements in the USSR, Trotsky sees, as usual, nothing but death, doom and disaster. He regards the five-year plan as a great 'adventure' and prophesies 'doom':

"The adventurist policies of Stalin", he said, "are leading the country to its doom."

This doom that Trotsky prophesied with such relish does not materialise. The Soviet people, despite the immense difficulties, and overcoming these difficulties, under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism and the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Stalin, continue to march along the victorious road of building socialism, and achieve victory after victory. The victories of the Soviet people cause Trotsky to unleash the most bitter denunciations of the Bolshevik Party and to prophesy economic chaos. He charges the Bolshevik Party with pursuing a policy that must inevitably land the Soviet Union in economic chaos and which must lead to civil war. He accuses the Soviet government of his own disease - Bonapartism - and demands a reversal of this 'dangerous policy' of the Soviet government. To effect reversal of this 'dangerous policy', Trotsky first demanded a reform of the Soviet government and then went on to advocate the armed overthrow of this government. This would appear, comrades, to solve the mystery as to why Trotsky ended up with those who wanted to restore capitalism in the USSR. The whole theoretical evolution of Trotskyism constituted but a preparatory school for its further degeneration and transference to the camp of capitalist restoration and that of fascism.

Guided by the theory of 'permanent revolution', Trotsky never missed a single opportunity of describing every advance in the building of socialism

as a step backward in the direction of capitalism, and accompanying his descriptions with prophecies of certain doom, etc. From his exile, in 1928, Trotsky wrote thus to the 6th Congress of the Comintern:

"Instead of telling them [the Russian workers] fibs about having realised 90% socialism, we must say to them that our economic level, our social and cultural conditions approximate today much closer to capitalism, and a backward and uncultured capitalism at that, than to socialism. We must tell them that we will enter on the path of real socialist construction only when the proletariat of the most advanced countries will have captured power ... " (Trotsky, *On the Draft Programme of the Comintern*).

Here you have it, comrades, in plain language - the assertion of Trotsky that the Soviet Union will not even 'enter' the path of socialism until after the victory of the proletariat *"of the most advanced countries."* And the year in which this assertion is made is 1928, not 1905; this assertion is made in the very year in which the Soviet people recorded unimaginable advances in the construction of socialism.

By 1930 it had become clear to even the most rabid reactionaries that their hopes of peaceful restoration of capitalism, which they had hoped and expected would be the result of the New Economic Policy (NEP), had faded away. On the contrary, the NEP was not only not leading to the restoration of capitalism, but it was leading to the successful building of socialism. Realising this the reactionaries inside and outside the Soviet Union launched a big campaign against the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. The imperialist bourgeoisie launched this campaign of lies and slander in order to prepare public opinion in favour of an armed intervention against the Soviet Union. Trotsky and his followers gleefully joined the imperialist bourgeoisie in their campaign against the building of socialism in the Soviet Union. Let the Trotskyists shout louder than ever their 'left' phrases, but the truth is that they were on the side of the imperialist forces of counter-revolution and of intervention against the Soviet Union. This truth can never be hidden.

In Britain the British ruling class and *"the executive committee for managing its affairs"*, i.e., the British government, launched the campaign against the Soviet Union under the slogans of fighting against 'forced labour' and the 'persecution of religion' in the USSR. Remember, this was at a time when the capitalist world was witnessing a crash; when millions upon millions of workers in capitalist countries, having been made redundant, were

experiencing hunger, poverty, misery and degradation; and when the Soviet Union, because of its superior economic system - because of socialism - was the only country in the world where unemployment was almost negligible and where economic miracles were being performed. As for the 'persecution of religion', there was never any persecution of religious minorities, nor of religion as such. The Soviet government maintained and kept the churches open, it paid the priests, and anyone who wanted to attend the church was free to do so. Of course, religion was put in its proper place. The clergy could no longer exercise the reactionary influence that they were used to exercising during the Tsarist period. If this is 'persecution of religion', so much the better. In any case, since when have the bourgeoisie been interested in the fight against the 'persecution of religion'? Only since the threat of the revolutionary proletariat began to haunt it. During its revolutionary youth, the bourgeoisie itself fought against religion, against the church, because the latter was a reactionary feudal force which stood in the way of social advance and in the way to power of the rising bourgeoisie. But the bourgeoisie is no longer a revolutionary force; it is a reactionary force, for it is in its period of decline and now, to use Plekhanov's phrase, for the bourgeoisie to go forward means to go down. So it clutches at anything reactionary, like a drowning person clutches at a straw. That is why the bourgeoisie tries to instil in the minds of the proletarians respect for religion. That is why it champions the defence of God and religion. But the class-conscious proletarians know only too well that, lurking behind this defence of 'God' and religion, lies the bourgeoisie's defence of monopoly capitalism - that is, the religion of money-making and exploitation of the working class and the toiling millions.

While the British ruling class was thus busy mobilising public opinion and making preparations for an intervention against the Soviet Union, the internal reactionaries were not exactly sitting idly by. The Mensheviks strengthened their organisation. The All-Union Bureau of Mensheviks organised acts of sabotage and made preparations for an imminent intervention. The Bureau proceeded to establish connections with the illegal Menshevik organisation abroad. It also established connections with various foreign governments in order to be able to profit from any intervention and seize power.

It was in these circumstances, then, comrades, that Trotsky joined the imperialist bourgeoisie in the latter's campaign against the Soviet system, against socialism.

In March 1930 Trotsky wrote an open letter to the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which we find the following lines:

"These lines are dictated by a feeling of greatest anxiety for the Soviet Union and the fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The policy of the present-day leadership, the tiny group of Stalin, is leading the country at full speed to dangerous crises and collapses." (Trotsky, *Open Letter to the Members of the CPSU*, March 1930).

Just at the time when the Soviet people, under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard the CPSU(B), are busy building socialism at full speed, Trotsky the pessimist, guided by his absurdly 'left' theory of 'permanent revolution' declares that the *"tiny group of Stalin"* (Trotsky's way of referring to the Bolshevik Party) *"is leading the country ... to crises and collapses."*

As for Trotsky's *"feeling of greatest anxiety for the Soviet Union and the dictatorship of the proletariat"*, a better guide to this feeling can be found, not in the hypocritical and camouflaged writings of Trotsky but in the actions of Trotsky and his colleagues as disclosed at the Moscow Trials, actions which expose the real nature of Trotsky's *"feelings of anxiety ... for ... the fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat,"* which reveal him as someone entertaining feelings of the greatest hostility towards the Soviet Union and the dictatorship of the proletariat and as doing his utmost to cause the overthrow of the Soviet government and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and actions which reveal him as an ally and tool of fascism. In any case, what can his *"feeling of greatest anxiety for the Soviet Union and the dictatorship of the proletariat"* amount to if at the same time Trotsky bitterly denounces the policy of building socialism? It amounts to nothing but pompous and empty phrasemongering designed to cover up his real feelings and his policy of restoration of capitalism in the USSR. This is the real meaning of these feelings of Trotsky's, comrades, for if socialism cannot be built, then the only alternative is the restoration of capitalism. This is the quintessence of Trotsky's feelings, and it goes a long way towards explaining Trotskyism in action, viz., Trotskyism as the organiser of murder, sabotage, diversion and wrecking - Trotskyism as an ally and puppet of fascism.

The 'valiant' Trotsky, frightened by the problems of socialist construction and taking comfort in capitulation, declares that socialism cannot be built, that any attempt to build socialism must lead to *"dangerous crises and collapses"*, that *"the tiny group of Stalin"* must be stopped at all costs from

leading the country along this road of *"dangerous crises and collapses"*. It is this defeatism of the theory of 'permanent revolution' which led Trotsky and the others accused at the Moscow Trials to sabotage and to an alliance with fascism. This will become amply clear from the admissions of some of the accused at these trials, which will be presented shortly.

Again in the same year, in November 1930, Trotsky writes:

"To aim at the construction of a nationally located socialist society means, in spite of all temporary successes, to pull the productive forces backwards even as compared to capitalism ..."

Fantastic and unbelievable though it may sound, comrades, this is what Trotsky says: the more advanced the construction of socialism in a single country, the more primitive become the productive forces. In other words, in a single socialist country any advance in the construction of socialism is always in inverse proportion to the productive forces - the less advanced the socialist construction, the more advanced the means of production, and vice versa. The conclusion to be drawn from this is clear, i.e., if the Soviet Union wanted to improve its technique, its productive forces, then, in Trotsky's view, this could only be done on the basis of capitalism, by slowing down and halting the advance of socialist construction. Even bourgeois economists, let alone socialists, could not accept this absurd proposition of Trotsky's. In any event, practice has proved the absurdity of this proposition more than hundreds of books could have done. Practice has shown that the mighty advance in Soviet technique and productive forces took place precisely on the basis of the policy of building socialism.

Such then is the essence of Trotsky's diatribes against the *"tiny group of Stalin"*; Trotsky is bitter because the *"tiny group of Stalin"* refuses to pay heed to the advice of Trotsky, refuses to halt the advance of socialism and refuses to restore capitalism.

In 1931 Trotsky came up with still more predictions in his *Problems of Development in the USSR*.

The years 1931-32 were years of difficult and complicated struggle for the Soviet Union, both from the standpoint of the international situation and of the internal struggle. Fascism in Germany was in the offing. Imperialists were hatching all kinds of plots for intervention against the Soviet Union. Internally the kulaks, realising that socialism was being built, that the chances of capitalist restoration were receding fast, increased their resistance to collectivisation. They resorted to murder of Soviet functionaries

and to sabotage in order to undermine and destroy the collective farms. It would be worth while, comrades, to give you a description of the kind of sabotage resorted to by the kulaks in their resistance to collectivisation. The following description comes from the pen of a Ukrainian counter-revolutionary, Isaac Mazeppa:

"At first there were mass disturbances in the kolkhozi (collective farms) or else the Communist officials or their agents were killed; but later a system of passive resistance was favoured, which aimed at the systematic frustration of the Bolshevik plans for the sowing and the gathering of the harvest. The peasants and workers, seeing the ruthless export by their Bolshevik masters of all food produce, began to take steps to save themselves from starvation in the winter time and to grasp at any means of fighting against the hated foreign rule. This is the main reason for the wholesale hoarding of grain and the thefts from the fields - offences which if detected are punishable by death. The peasants are passive resisters everywhere; but in Ukrainia the resistance has assumed the form of a national struggle. The opposition of the Ukrainian population caused the failure of the grain storing plan of 1931 and still more so that of 1932. The catastrophe of 1931-2 was the hardest blow that the Soviet Ukraine had to face since the famine⁴ of 1921-2. The autumn and spring sowing campaigns both failed. Whole tracts were left unsown. In addition, when the crops were being gathered last year, it happened that, in many areas, especially in the South, 20, 40 or even 50 per cent was left in the fields and was either not collected at all or was ruined in the threshing." (Isaac Mazeppa in Slavonic Review, January 1934).

Firstly, of course, Mazeppa is lying when he says that the masses of peasantry resorted to sabotage. It was not the masses of the peasantry but the kulaks and counter-revolutionaries like Mazeppa who resorted to sabotage and murder of "Communist officials or their agents". Secondly, as for leaving up to 50% of the crop in the fields, how this squares with one's desire to save oneself from "starvation in the winter time," the Ukrainian counter-revolutionary Mazeppa alone knows. He does not enlighten us any further on this point. With these two reservations, however, it must be admitted that the above quotation from Mazeppa gives an accurate picture of the kulak sabotage and resistance at the height of collectivisation.

Trotsky's reaction to all these difficulties, internal and external, was to predict, as usual, the impossibility of building socialism in the USSR and an imminent civil war. Collectivisation, he said, would lead to unemployment

on a wide scale:

"If we should further assume that collectivisation, together with the elements of new technique [earlier we were told by him that the construction of socialist society means "to pull the productive forces backwards even as compared to capitalism"], will considerably increase the productivity of agricultural labour, without which collectivisation would not be economically justified, and consequently would not maintain itself, this would immediately create in the village, which is even now overpopulated, ten, twenty, or more millions of surplus workers, whom industry would not be able to absorb even with the most optimistic plans". (Trotsky, Problems of the Development of the USSR, 1931).

So Trotsky's conclusion in 1931 is: collectivisation must be stopped. This conclusion is reached, comrades, by the same Trotsky who in 1924, when collectivisation would indeed have endangered the very existence of the Soviet regime ⁵, was demanding immediate full-scale collectivisation and was accusing Stalin of being in league with the kulaks for not agreeing to this. Such then is the essence of Trotskyist economics and politics: collectivisation without adequate preparations in 1924, and a halt to collectivisation in 1931. Trotsky gave similar advice on the industrial front, as will be seen shortly.

Socialism, repeats Trotsky for the umpteenth time, cannot be built:

"The impossibility of constructing a self-sufficient socialist economy revives the basic contradictions of socialist construction at every new stage on an ever greater scale and with an ever greater depth." (ibid)

In other words, the greater the advances in socialist construction, the greater the impossibility of building socialism. A profound absurdity indeed, to which only Trotsky could have given currency. The greater the industrialisation, the greater the collectivisation, the greater, says Trotsky, will be the development of contradictions in Soviet society - contradictions which will lead to civil war, *"the collapse of the plan principle"* and the inevitable restoration of capitalism. In proof of this assertion Trotsky quotes the then recently held trials of Mensheviks, trials which only a few years later Trotsky was to describe as *"Stalinist frame-ups"*. But in 1931 these trials had not yet been transformed into *"frame-ups"*. Here is what Trotsky says about these trials in support of this assertion:

"Two trials - against the specialist-wreckers and against the Mensheviks - have given an extremely striking picture of the relationship of forces of the classes and the parties in the USSR. It was irrefutably established by the court

[note the language, comrades. No hint as yet of these trials being 'Stalinist frame-ups'] *that during the years 1923-28 the bourgeois specialists, in close alliance with the foreign centres of the bourgeoisie, successfully carried through an artificial slackening down of industrialisation, counting upon the re-establishment of capitalist relationships.*" (Trotsky, *Problems of Development of the USSR*, p. 26).

Now, nobody would deny that the building of socialism gives rise to the intensification of class struggle. As Stalin said:

"We must destroy and cast aside the rotten theory that with every advance we make the class struggle here of necessity would die down more and more, and that in proportion as we achieve success the class enemy would become more and more tractable.

"This is not only a rotten theory but a dangerous one, for it lulls our people, leads them into a trap, and makes it possible for the class enemy to rally for the struggle against the Soviet government.

"On the contrary, the further forward we advance, the greater the successes we achieve, the greater will be the fury of the remnants of the broken exploiting classes, the sooner will they resort to sharper forms of struggle, the more will they seek to harm the Soviet state and the more will they clutch at the most desperate means of struggle, as the last resort of doomed people." (Stalin, *Defects in Party Work and Measures for Liquidating Trotskyites and Other Double Dealers*, report to the Central Committee of the CPSU, 3/5 March, 1937).

The resistance and sabotage practised by the kulaks, etc., has already been noted. This was bound to happen. As the exploiters more and more realised that their chances of regaining their 'lost paradise' were receding, they were bound to engage in attempts aimed at the restoration of capitalism. But their attempts were one thing. Success in these attempts was quite another. The mighty Soviet people, under the leadership of the Soviet working class and its vanguard party, the CPSU(B), were quite capable of smashing these attempts at restoration of capitalism to smithereens. History bears testimony to the fact ⁶ that this is precisely what the Soviet people at the time did. The trials of the Mensheviks were, therefore, an example not only of attempts by the bourgeoisie to restore capitalism, but also of the mighty fist of the Soviet people which annihilated these attempts.

But the defeatist Trotsky thought otherwise. He was convinced that the Soviet people could not successfully smash attempts to restore capitalism,

that civil war and restoration of capitalism were bound to follow the development of contradictions in the USSR as night follows day. He predicted that *"hostile forces"* would *"break through the surface,"* that the *"managements of the trusts would quickly approach the position of private owners or agents of foreign capital, to which many of them would be compelled to turn in their struggle for existence. In the village, where the forms of collective farms which are not very capable of offering resistance, would hardly have had time to absorb the small commodity producers, the collapse of the plan principle would precipitously unleash the elements of primitive accumulation."* (Trotsky, *ibid*).

Here it is, comrades, for everyone to see: the capitulationism of Trotsky, the super-industrialiser, the advocate of an offensive against the kulaks in 1924!

In regard to the international situation, with German fascism looming large on the horizon, Trotsky betrays his usual optimism. Discussing the possible victory of fascism in Germany, which had at that time not yet taken place, Trotsky says:

"The crushing of the German proletariat at the hands of the fascists would already comprise at least half of the collapse of the Soviet Republic" (Germany, *Key to the International Situation*, 1931).

On the basis of an extremely pessimistic appraisal of the internal and international situation, overestimating the forces of imperialism and reaction, underestimating the ability of the Soviet proletariat and masses of people, ignoring the inter-imperialist contradictions, and scared by the problems of revolution and socialist construction, the Trotskyites ended up by becoming *"a mouthpiece of the forces hostile to the proletariat"*. Here is how Radek during his trial explained this development:

"A large number of Trotskyites who had returned to the Party", explained Radek, "were working in key positions in various parts of the country at a time when the fight for the Five-Year Plan had become acute, when it had assumed the very acute form of clashes with kulaks in some parts of the country and with those elements among the middle peasantry who followed the lead of the kulaks, and these former colleagues in the struggle began to flood me with information of the most pessimistic character, information which most fatally affected my opinion of the situation in the country."

"This was in 1930 and 1931. I appraised the situation as follows: the gains of the Five-Year Plan were enormous, an important step had been made in the direction of industrialisation. To a certain extent, the collective farms were al-

ready a definite fact. But at the same time, on the basis of the information I then possessed and the appraisal of the situation then made by the Trotskyite economists I was intimate with - I will mention Smilga and Preobrazhensky - I believed that the economic offensive was being conducted on too wide a front, that the material forces available (number of tractors, etc) would not permit of universal collectivisation, and if this general offensive were not slowed down this would, as we defined it by a catch phrase, 'end like the march on Warsaw', that at this fast rate industrialisation would produce no results, but would only cause huge expenditure.

"Already at that time, in 1931, I thought it was necessary to hold back the offensive, and to mass resources on definite sectors of the economic front.

"In short, I dissented on the main question: on the question of continuing to fight for the Five-Year Plan. To analyse these disagreements from the social angle - of course, I then believed the tactics which I regarded as correct to be the best Communist tactics - but if one were to ask for the social analysis of this thing I would have to say: history's joke was that I overestimated the power of resistance, the ability, not only of the mass of the kulaks, but also of the middle peasants, to pursue an independent policy. I was scared by the difficulties and thus became a mouthpiece of forces hostile to the proletariat." (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre, Moscow 1937, pp. 83-84).

All his previous predictions of doom having failed to come true, Trotsky makes yet another prediction of imminent doom should the Soviet government not effect a 'retreat' in its policy of socialist construction. Here is what Trotsky wrote in 1932 in his *Soviet Economy in Danger*:

"The whole trouble is that the prize leaps in industrialisation have brought the diverse elements of the Plan into a dire contradiction with each other ... that the economy functions without material reserves and without calculation ... The trouble is that the accrued disproportions threaten even bigger and bigger surprises. The trouble is that the uncontrolled bureaucracy has tied up its prestige with the subsequent accumulation of errors."

We would merely add that *"the trouble is"* that our arch- egoist Trotsky has *"tied up"* his *"prestige"* with his wretched theory of 'permanent revolution' and *"with the subsequent accumulation of errors"*.

Trotsky continues with yet more hair-raising forecasts. He predicts large-scale unemployment, the shutting down of enterprises, and ruinous consequences in the rural economy - in the sphere of agriculture.

"The trouble is that a crisis is impending with a retinue of consequences such as enforced shutting down of enterprises and unemployment." (Trotsky, *Soviet Economy in Danger*, 1932). And further:

"The headlong chase after breaking records in collectivisation ... has led in actuality to ruinous consequences. It has destroyed the stimuli of the small producer long before it was able to supplant them by other and much higher economic stimuli. The administrative pressure which exhausts itself quickly in industry, turns out to be absolutely powerless in the sphere of rural economy." (*Ibid*).

Trotsky, the erstwhile super-industrialiser and advocate of an offensive against the kulaks in 1924) therefore proposes retreat *"both in industry and in rural economy"*. Here is what he says:

"A temporary retreat is exigent both in industry and in rural economy. The hitherto line of retreat cannot be determined beforehand. It will be revealed only in the experience of capital reconstruction."

"First of all a retreat is inevitable in the sphere of collectivisation. Here more than anywhere else the administration is the captive of its own mistakes." (*Ibid*). And further:

"The policy of mechanically 'liquidating the kulak' is now factually discarded. A cross should be placed over it officially. And simultaneously it is necessary to establish the policy of severely restricting the exploiting tendencies of the kulak ... " (*ibid*).

Ignoring Trotsky's distortions such as that *"the policy of mechanically 'liquidating the kulak' is now factually discarded"* (and this is a distortion in a double sense because (i) the policy of eliminating the kulak was not a mechanical but a scientifically worked out policy and (ii) just at the time when Trotsky says that the policy of liquidating the kulak has been discarded in fact the offensive was proceeding with the momentum of an avalanche), I must once again remind you, comrades, that the above retreat is demanded by Trotsky in 1932 - the same Trotsky who advocated in 1924 an offensive against the kulaks at which time the offensive would certainly have been, to use Trotsky's phrase, at an *"adventurist tempo"*. This is the logical absurdity that flows quite naturally from the *"absurdly Left"* theory of 'permanent revolution'. Because of this logical absurdity inherent in Trotskyism, Trotskyites always and everywhere are busy performing the future tasks of the movement while at the same time profoundly ignoring the current tasks. They are always fighting either the wrong enemies, or non-existent enemies.

They are always beating the air. Reality always eludes the poor fellows. Yet anyone who does not join with them in beating the air and tilting at wind-mills is not a revolutionary but a *"Stalinist bureaucrat"*.

As to the above *"temporary retreat"* demanded by Trotsky, the real nature of this *"temporary retreat"* was revealed by Bukharin at his trial. Bukharin left no doubt that this *"temporary retreat"* was nothing but a demand for the restoration of capitalism. What Bukharin had to say on the programme of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites is well worth noting. It is important not only because it provides us with information regarding the real nature of this programme and of the *"temporary retreat"* demanded by this Bloc, but also because it is essential to a real understanding of the evolution of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. Bukharin's testimony, like that of Radek quoted earlier, solves the mystery of how it was possible that a number of prominent ex-Bolsheviks should find themselves in the dock accused of crimes such as working for capitalist restoration and collaborating with fascism in order to achieve this aim. Let Bukharin speak from the dock:

"Just because it seems to me that this trial is of public importance, and because this question has been dealt with extremely little, I thought it would be useful to dwell on the programme which has never been written down anywhere, on the practical programme of the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites', and to decipher one formula, namely, what is meant by the restoration of capitalism, in the way it was visualised and conceived in the circles of the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' ...

"The Right counter-revolutionaries seemed at first to be a 'deviation'; they seemed, at a first glance, to be people who began with discontent in connection with collectivisation, in connection with industrialisation, with the fact, as they claimed, that industrialisation was destroying production. This, at first glance, seemed to be the chief thing. Then the Ryutin platform appears. When all the State machines, when all the means, when all the best forces were flung into the industrialisation of the country, into collectivisation, we found ourselves literally in twenty-four hours, on the other shore, we found ourselves with the kulaks, with the counter-revolutionaries, we found ourselves with the capitalist remnants which still existed at the time in the sphere of trade. Hence it follows that the basic meaning, the judgment, from the subjective standpoint, is clear. Here we went through a very interesting process, an over-estimation of individual enterprise, a crawling over to its idealisation, the idealisation of the property-owner. Such was the evolution. Our programme was - the prosperous

peasant farm of the individual, but in fact the kulak became an end in itself. We were ironical about the collective farms. We, the counter-revolutionary plotters, came at that time more and more to display the psychology that collective farms were music of the future. What was necessary was to develop rich property-owners. This was the tremendous change that took place in our standpoint and psychology. In 1917 it would never have occurred to any of the members of the Party, myself included, to pity the Whiteguards who had been killed; yet in the period of the liquidation of the kulaks, in 1929-30, we pitied the expropriated kulaks, from so-called humanitarian motives. To whom would it have occurred in 1919 to blame the dislocation of our economic life on the Bolsheviks, and not on sabotage? To nobody. It would have sounded as frank and open treason. Yet I myself in 1928 invented the formula about the military-feudal exploitation of the peasantry, that is, I put the blame for the costs of the class struggle not on the class that was hostile to the proletariat, but on the leaders of the proletariat itself. This was already a swing of 180 degrees. This meant that ideological and political platforms grew into counter-revolutionary platforms. Kulak farming and kulak interests actually became a point of programme. The logic of the struggle led to the logic of ideas and to a change of our psychology, to the counter-revolutionising of our aims" (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites).

It would be difficult if not impossible, comrades, to get a better explanation than the one given here by Bukharin of the development of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, of how they became counter-revolutionary wreckers and saboteurs. This testimony of Bukharin's constitutes one of the most scientific explanations ever given of the "counter-revolutionising" of the aims of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. It explains not only the evolution of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites as a bloc, but also that of each of its individual members, the accused. From their position that socialism was impossible to build in the Soviet Union arose the opposition of the Trotskyites and Rights to the Bolshevik Party's policy of building socialism. From the opposition to the building of socialism arose the opposition's sympathy for the kulaks and its finding itself "literally within twenty-four hours, on the other shore ... with the kulaks, with the counter-revolutionaries, ... with the capitalist remnants ..."

From the foregoing it clearly emerges that whereas the Soviet government and Party were leading the people in their victorious struggle for building socialism, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Rights, starting with their programme of the impossibility of building socialism, were fast ap-

proaching, by the logic of the struggle, their counter-revolutionary programme for the restoration of capitalism.

The policy of the CPSU(B) and the Soviet government was to lead the Soviet masses in their millions in the arduous task of building socialism. Many difficulties naturally arose. But the Soviet masses, holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and under the glorious leadership of the Bolshevik Party, overcame all difficulties, eliminated one obstacle after another, overpowered the resistance of the kulaks and rich merchants, and, never surrendering in the face of difficulties and the fierce resistance of class enemies, advanced from victory to victory and did build socialism in the USSR.

The building of socialism in the USSR was an event of world-historic importance, an event of no less importance than the October Revolution itself.

By successfully building socialism in the USSR the Soviet people demonstrated to the whole world how even a backward country, such as Russia was in 1917, could, in the course of a couple of decades, raise its technique and improve the quality of life of its people, turning them from the unhealthy, underfed, illiterate and ignorant mass they were before the Revolution into healthy, well-fed, literate, well-informed and proud Soviet citizens. By building socialism the Soviet people dealt a death-blow both to Trotsky's reactionary theory that socialism could not be built in a single backward country and to the hopes and desires of imperialists who had for a long time been asserting that difficulties in socialist construction would cause the Soviet government and Party to abandon this policy in favour of the one advocated by the Trotskyites and Rights and, incidentally, by the imperialists. The whole world owes a debt of gratitude to the Soviet people, the Soviet government, the CPSU(B) and to its leader J.V. Stalin for smashing to smithereens, by actually building socialism, the reactionary theory of the impossibility of building socialism in a single backward country.

The policy of the Trotskyites and Rights was that of defeatism and surrender in the face of difficulties. Around the defeatist Trotskyist programme gathered a number of notorious defeatists, for instance, Kamenev and Zinoviev who after the 14th Party Conference deserted the camp of Leninism and migrated to that of Trotskyism. All these people then proceeded to establish relations with the group of Rights headed by Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky. The rapprochement between Trotskyites and Rights only became a possibility because Trotsky accepted the programme of the

Rights in its entirety and, to use Bukharin's expression, because Trotsky had shed his left uniform.

The Trotskyites and Rights united on the basis of the Ryutin programme⁷. The essence of the Ryutin programme was that it stood (i) for the dissolution of collective as well as state farms, (ii) for the leasing of Soviet factories to foreign capitalists, and (iii) terrorism against the leaders of the Bolshevik Party and of the Soviet government, particularly against Stalin, to capture the leadership and achieve the above two aims.

The essence of the Ryutin programme was that it stood for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR.

The Ryutin programme was not the result of the efforts of Ryutin alone. It was produced collectively by all the Rights, and they had all discussed it at length. At the time of its circulation the leaders of the Rights - Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky - managed to keep themselves in the background. Kamenev and Zinoviev, however, were found in possession of this programme and were expelled from the Party.

In view of this information, some of which came to light during the Moscow trials or in the course of the investigations leading up to them, it is now clear that in 1932-33 the situation in regard to the composition of the various anti-Party conspiratorial organisations engaged in treasonable activity for the forcible overthrow of the Soviet government and for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR was as follows:

A. A mixed Trotskyite and Zinovievite group, exposed at the first Moscow trial in August 1936, an association of political assassins consisting of:

- (1) ZINOVIEV and
- (2) KAMENEV.

They were the leaders of the former Leningrad opposition.

Other Zinovievites were:

(3) I.P. BAKAYEV, who was in charge of the day-to-day organisation of terrorist attacks against the leaders of the Party and government.

(4) LI. REINGOLD, who was the most active member of the Zinovievite underground counter-revolutionary organisation and who was at all times in direct contact with Zinoviev and Kamenev and took part in all the secret conferences of the Zinovievites.

- (5) G.E. EVDOKIMOV

(6) **R.V. PICKEL**, who was one of Zinoviev's most trusted men and was for many years in charge of his secretariat. He was an active member of the Moscow terrorist centre.

The Trotskyites were:

(7) **I.N. SMIRNOV**, who was a firm supporter of Trotsky during the Party debate of 1923-7, Trotsky's deputy in the USSR, and the actual organiser and leader of the underground Trotskyite counter-revolutionary activities in the USSR. He maintained personal connections with Trotsky and Trotskyite organisations abroad.

(8) **A.E. DREITZER**, who was responsible for the day-to-day organisational work of this group. Trotsky described Dreitzer as *"an officer of the Red Army. During and after my expulsion he had, together with ten or twelve of the officers, organised a guard around my home"*. Together with Trotsky he had organised the counter-revolutionary demonstration of 7 November 1927. When Trotsky was in exile in Alma-Ata, Dreitzer organised the communications between Trotsky and the Moscow Trotskyite centre.

(9) **S.V. MRACHKOVSKY**, who was the man most in Trotsky's confidence and personally closest to him. He had at one time occupied an important position in the army.

(10) **E.S. HOLTZMAN**, who was an active member of the Trotskyite counter-revolutionary organisation, personally connected with Smirnov on whose instructions he maintained contact with the Trotskyite centre abroad. In 1932 he personally received from Trotsky instructions regarding preparations for terroristic acts against the leaders of the CPSU.

(11) **V.A. TER-VAGANYAN**, who admitted in court that he was one of the organisers of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite centre and that this centre was organised on the basis of Trotsky's instructions on terrorism.

(12) **V.P. OLBERG**, *"that peculiar citizen of the Republic of Honduras"*, was a paid agent of Trotsky and simultaneously of the German secret police, the Gestapo. He was a member of the German Trotskyite organisation since 1927-28 and was sent to the USSR by Trotsky with a commission to carry out terrorist acts.

(13) **M. LURYE**, who left Berlin for Moscow on 4 March 1933 having received Trotsky's instructions to speed up terroristic acts against the leaders of the CPSU and the Soviet government.

(14) **N. LURYE**, who arrived in the USSR in April 1932 from Berlin on a

special mission of the Trotskyite organisation for the purpose of committing terroristic acts.

(15) K.B. BERMAN-YURIN

(16) FRITZ DAVID (KRUGLYANSKY), who was also sent to the USSR by Trotsky with instructions to make an attempt on the life of Comrade Stalin. He received these instructions in Copenhagen personally from Trotsky.

B. A parallel centre of Trotskyites. This centre was exposed at the second Moscow trial in January 1937. It consisted of:

(1) Y.L. PYATAKOV, the Vice-Commissar of Heavy Industry, who as a result of occupying this very important post was able to place other members and supporters of the centre in key positions. He was one of the leaders of the so-called parallel centre.

(2) K.B. RADEK, who adhered to the Trotskyite theory of the impossibility of building socialism in the USSR and who jeered at the theory of building socialism in the USSR as the theory of building socialism in one street. He was one of the leaders of the centre.

(3) G.Y. SOKOLNIKOV, the Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and one-time People's Commissar of Finance, who in 1925 slandered the Soviet state by his assertion that the internal trading establishments of the USSR were state capitalist enterprises.

(4) L.P. SEREBRYAKOV, who was another of the leaders of the so-called parallel Trotskyite centre and who had opposed Lenin in the discussion on the trade unions. He held a liquidationist position with regard to the Party.

(5) N.I. MURALOV, who was a Trotskyite 'soldier', one of Trotsky's most loyal and steadfast aides. He too confessed that he was a wrecker and a diversionist.

(6) Y.A.LIVSHITZ, who was an ex-Assistant People's Commissar of Railways and simultaneously Pyatakov's assistant in criminal affairs on the railways.

(7) Y.N. DROBNIS, who was an old professional Trotskyite who exterminated workers in accordance with the formula 'the more victims the better'.

(8) M.S. BOGUSLAVSKY, a Trotskyite.

(9) I.A. KNYAZEV, who was a Japanese spy who wrecked dozens of trains.

(10) S.A. RATAICHAK, who occupied the key post of Chief of the Central Administration of Chemical Industry. In this responsible post *"this super-wrecker, develops his chemical talents, ... causes explosions, destroys the fruits of the labour of the people, kills people"* (Vyshinsky).

(11) B.O. NORKIN

(12) A.A. SHESTOV

(13) M.S. STROILOV

(14) Y.D. TUROK

(15) I.S. HRASCHE, whom Vyshinsky described as *"a man not only of three dimensions, but at least of three citizenships, who himself described his principal occupation by the eloquent, but not very pleasant word, spy."*

(16) G.E. PUSHIN

(17) V.V. ARNOLD, who was described as *"this international tramp"*, and was a man of many names, a hardened scoundrel and a trusted Trotskyite agent.

As can be seen this group held very important positions in the Soviet government and industry, much more so than those held by the first-mentioned group.

C. The Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. This Bloc was exposed at the third Moscow trial in March 1938. Predominant in the Bloc were the foremost Right-wing leaders:

(1) N.I. BUKHARIN who for years occupied many important positions in the Party, though he was known for his vacillation in politics and for his opposition to Lenin and the line of the Party.

(2) A.I. RYKOV, who was an ex-Prime Minister of the USSR.

(3) G.G. YAGODA, who was head of the political police, the OGPU, until 1936.

Trotskyites in the Bloc:

(4) KRESTINSKY, who was an ex-ambassador to Berlin, an ex- People's Commissar of Finance and an ex-Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

(5) K.G. RAKOVSKY, who was an ex-ambassador to London and Paris.

(6) **A.P. ROZENGOLTZ**, who was the People's Commissar of Foreign Trade of the USSR.

(7) **S.A. BESSONOV**

Nationalist allies of the Rights and Trotskyites were:

(8) **G.F. GRINKO**, who was People's Commissar of Finance of the USSR and a Ukrainian nationalist.

(9) **A. IKRAMOV**, who was one of the leaders of the bourgeois nationalist organisation in Uzbekistan, and in the 1930s the Secretary of the Central Asiatic Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

(10) **F. KHODJAYEV**, who was also one of the leaders of the bourgeois nationalist organisation in Uzbekistan.

(11) **V.F. SHARANGOVICH**, who was one of the leaders of the Byelorussian national fascist organisation which had set itself the aim of undermining Soviet power and of severing Byelorussia from the USSR and placing it under the rule of Polish capitalists and landlords.

The nationalists had joined the CPSU(B) because they believed that the Party, through the NEP, was leading in the direction of capitalism. But as the Five-Year Plan unfolded, and thus the chances of restoration of capitalism became dimmer and dimmer, the nationalists became resolutely hostile to Soviet power. They became the allies of the Rights such as Bukharin and Rykov, for both tendencies (the nationalists and the Rights) were opposed to the building of socialism in the USSR. The Rights promised the nationalists the establishment of independent bourgeois national republics after capturing power in the Soviet Union.

(12) **M.A. CHERNOV**, the People's Commissar of Agriculture of the USSR, who was an ex-Menshevik who maintained connections with the Menshevik organisations in foreign countries. He joined the CPSU at the time of the NEP.

(13) **L.G. LEVIN**, who, like Pletnev and Kazakov (see below), was one of a group of doctors under the influence of Yagoda.

(14) **D.D. PLETNEV**

(15) **LN. KAZAKOV**

(16) **I.A. ZELENSKY**, who was a former head of the All-Union Administration of Co-operatives (i.e., Chairman of the Centrosoyuz).

Others of less political importance, who were merely tools of the leader-

ship group, were:

(17) **V.I. IVANOV**

(18) **P.T. ZUBAREV**, who was one of the organisers and leaders of the counter-revolutionary underground organisation of Rights in the Urals.

(19) **P.P. BULANOV**, who was former Secretary of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

(20) **P.P. KRYUCHKOV**, who was the former secretary of M Gorky.

(21) **V.A. MAXIMOV-DIKOVSKY**, who was a former secretary of Kuibyshev, the Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR who was murdered by the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites.

D. Military group including:

(1) **M.N. TUKHACHEVSKY**

(2) **I.E. YAKOV**

(3) **I.P. UBOREVITCH**

(4) **A.G. KORK**

(5) **R.P. EIDEMANN**

(6) **B.M. FELDMAN**

(7) **V.M. PRIMAKOV**

(8) **V.K. PUTNA**

This group, while operating independently only to a certain extent, maintained contacts mainly with the Rights.

In 1933, on the instructions of Trotsky, these groups established a contact centre through which they exchanged information regularly and coordinated their policy. The first three groups maintained regular contact with Trotsky (who was in exile), and carried out his instructions. The groups had no difficulty in maintaining regular contact with Trotsky abroad. Some of the members of the groups in their official capacities had to go abroad from time to time. While on official visits abroad, they took the opportunity of being in touch with Trotsky either directly or indirectly. As can be seen from the composition of the second group, quite a few of its members were Trotskyites who had been the Soviet Unions's ambassadors in such important centres as Paris and Berlin. Also some of the accused in their official capacities had to meet in Moscow the diplomatic representatives of foreign countries. All these factors made it extremely easy for the first three groups

to be in constant touch with the exiled Trotsky.

Restoration of capitalism - the economic programme of the conspirators

All the groups were united in their hostility and opposition to the building of socialism in the USSR. They were united in their defeatism. The groups were composed of people who were defeatist, who surrendered in the face of difficulties. The economic programme of these groups involved the dissolution of collective and state farms and a return to individual capitalist farming in the sphere of agriculture; it involved the slowing down of rapid industrialisation. In brief, the economic programme of the groups involved the restoration of capitalist relations of production, the implementation of the policy of 'retreat', i.e., of capitalist restoration, as outlined by Trotsky in his *Soviet Economy in Danger*. This policy was in essence indistinguishable from the Ryutin programme. Radek explained the significance of the economic programme of these groups at his trial. In the sphere of industry Radek explained that this programme meant *"not only the granting of concessions on industrial enterprises of importance to capitalist states, but also the transfer, the sale to private capitalist owners, of important economic enterprises to be specified by them. Trotsky contemplated the issue of debenture loans, i.e., the admission of foreign capital for the exploitation of those factories which would formally remain in the hands of the Soviet state."*

"In the sphere of agrarian policy, he (i.e., Trotsky) quite clearly stated that the collective farms would have to be disbanded, and advanced the idea of giving tractors and other complex agricultural machinery to individual peasants in order to revive a new kulak stratum. Lastly it was quite openly stated that private capital would have to be revived in the cities. It was clear that it meant the restoration of capitalism." (Trial of Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre, 1937, pp. 113-114).

At the same trial Pyatakov also explained the true meaning of the 'retreat' advocated by Trotsky - a *"retreat very far in the direction of capitalism"*. Pyatakov explained that the essence of the economic programme advocated by Trotsky was indistinguishable from the economic programme of the Rights - the Ryutin Programme - and that unity between the Trotskyites and the Rights was *"not only a tactical measure"*, but also a unity which had *"some significance in principle."* Here is what Pyatakov said in this context:

"To put it simply, Trotsky explained that it would be a very serious retreat."

This is exactly what he said: you [meaning Pyatakov] are still under the sway of the old ideas of 1925- 1926 [when Trotsky was a super-industrialiser] and you are unable to see that in essence our coming to power will mean that we will have to retreat very far in the direction of capitalism. In this connection Trotsky said that in essence our programme was the same as that of the Rights insofar as the Rights had adopted a diversive wrecking programme and considered that it was necessary to retreat towards capitalism. Trotsky expressed very great satisfaction when I told him about Sokolnikov's conversation with Tomsky and my conversation with Tomsky, and also about the contacts Radek and I had with Bukharin. He said that this was not only a tactical measure, that it to say, unity in the struggle against one and the same enemy, but that this unity had some significance in principle" (Trial of Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre, 1937, pp.65-66).

Bukharin said something similar at his trial. He explained that the practical formulation of their programme meant the restoration of capitalism in the economic sphere and the restoration of bourgeois democracy in the political sphere. In other words, the programme of the Rights and Trotskyites meant nothing more and nothing less than the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an end to socialist construction. Said Bukharin:

"If my programme stand were to be formulated practically, it would be, in the economic sphere, state capitalism, the prosperous muzhik individual, the curtailment of the collective farms, foreign concessions, surrender of the monopoly of foreign trade, and, as a result - the restoration of capitalism in the country ...

"Inside the country our actual programme - this I think must be said with all emphasis - was lapse into bourgeois-democratic freedom, coalition, because from the bloc with the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, and the like, it follows that there would be freedom of parties, freedom of coalition, and follows quite logically from the combination of forces for struggle, because if allies are chosen for overthrowing the government, on the day after the possible victory they would be partners in power. A lapse not only into the ways of bourgeois-democratic freedom, but in the political sense into ways, where there are undoubtedly elements of Caesarism." (Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, pp. 381-382).

Replying to an intervention by Vyshinsky, the prosecutor, Bukharin explained that 'Caesarism' meant fascism:

"Since in the circles of the Bloc of Right and Trotskyites there was an ideo-

logical orientation towards the kulaks and at the same time an orientation towards a 'palace revolution' and a coup d'état, towards a military conspiracy and a praetorian guard of counter-revolutionaries, this is nothing other than the elements of fascism" (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, p.382).

The group of bourgeois nationalists mentioned earlier who were working for the same aim of restoring capitalism in the USSR as were the Rights and Trotskyites found common cause with the latter. The nationalists had joined the Party at the time of the NEP because *"we considered that the evolution of the NEP in the direction we desired [i.e., restoration of capitalism] was not excluded. On the other hand, we did not see in Europe the forces in alliance with which we could advance more resolutely."* (Grinko, *Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites*, 1938, p.69).

But when it became clearer that not only was the NEP not evolving *"in the direction desired"* by the bourgeois nationalists but that it was leading on the contrary to the successful building of socialism, the nationalists ceased merely to carry out the *"political reconnoitring,"* in which they had hitherto indulged. Says Grinko: *"We gradually put out feelers for foreign political forces that could help us".* And at this time *"the Ukrainian nationalist organisation had entirely taken up the position of the Right on general political questions, that is to say, the position of fighting industrialisation and collectivisation".*

Having already established contacts with *"certain states hostile to Soviet power"*, Grinko's nationalist group went on in 1935-6 to establish relations with the Rights and Trotskyites. What united the Rights and Trotskyites on the one hand and the nationalists on the other was that all of them had taken up an identical position *"on the general political questions, that is to say, the position of fighting industrialisation and collectivisation"*; all of them had taken up the position of fighting against the Party's policy of building socialism, the position of undermining the Soviet government and working for the restoration of capitalism. It is futile to ask the question whether all of them *subjectively* desired the restoration of capitalism. The nationalists certainly *subjectively* desired such restoration, but as regards the Rights and Trotskyites the objective truth is that, having made the impossibility of building socialism in the USSR their point of departure, they were quite naturally and by the *"logic of struggle"* led to occupy a counter-revolutionary position which was objectively indistinguishable from that held by Grinko's

nationalist group. *"The logic of struggle,"* said Bukharin, *"led to the logic of ideas and to a change of our psychology, to the counter-revolutionising of our aims."* Bukharin was absolutely right. The Trotskyite and Rightist stand was bound to attract all elements both national and international who were *"hostile to Soviet power"* and to weld them all into a counter-revolutionary united front against Soviet power and against socialism, that was spurred on by its hatred for socialism. The Trotskyites and Rights represented the 'socialist' sections of this anti-communist counter-revolutionary united front against socialism, against the state of the working class. Having started with a position which was objectively counter-revolutionary, the Trotskyites and Rights ended up with a position that was subjectively counter-revolutionary also.

An additional factor which was common to Trotskyites, Rights and nationalists was that they all relied on the intervention and military aid of the imperialist powers. They all worked to undermine Soviet defence capability while at the same time doing everything to provoke imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union. Said Grinko:

"This meant undermining the power of defence of the Soviet Union, undermining activities in the army and in the defence industry, opening the front in the event of war and provoking this war; it meant extending connections with aggressive anti-Soviet elements abroad; it meant consenting to the dismemberment of the USSR and compensating the aggressors at the expense of the border territories of the USSR" (*Trial of the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites*, p. 76).

Grinko's group, as indeed the other nationalist groups in the USSR, were promised by the Trotskyites and Rights that after the latter came to power (i.e., after capitalist restoration in the USSR), the various nationalist groups would be allowed to establish independent national bourgeois republics. That was the price the Trotskyites and Rights had agreed to pay for the nationalists' support. Grinko's group operated in the Ukraine and worked for an independent bourgeois republic of Ukraine. Similar nationalist groups operated in Uzbekistan and Bokhara. Khodjayev, one of the accused at the third trial and a member of the 'National Alliance' (a bourgeois-nationalist organisation) gave the following account of the nationalist movement in Bokhara and of the activities of the 'National Alliance'. He stated that the 'National Alliance' *"set itself the aim of transforming the Bokhara People's Republic into a bourgeois-democratic republic, as a buffer state between Britain and Soviet Russia"* (*ibid.* p. 212).

Another member of the same organisation as Khodjayev was Ikramov. Ikramov explained at his trial that Bukharin had expressed to him the view that the Central Asian Republics *"would inevitably have to pass through the stage of normal capitalist development,"* and that without going through that stage they could not construct socialism. Since this was also the view of the bourgeois nationalists, the latter had no hesitation in supporting and co-operating with the Rights, especially since the promise of the formation of an independent bourgeois-democratic republic of Bokhara, after the overthrow of Soviet power, had been held out to them.

The victory of fascism in Germany in 1933 had the result of further confirming the defeatism and pessimism of the Trotskyites and Rights, who now believed that in the event of war with Germany the Soviet Union would not survive and that its defeat was inevitable. They therefore considered it necessary to come to terms with fascist Germany, to make concessions to the fascists abroad and to the capitalist elements inside the Soviet Union. Since the Soviet Party and government would not consent to making these concessions, it was necessary, according to the Trotskyites and Rights, to change the government and Party leadership so as to avoid disaster and defeat of the Soviet Union in a war with Nazi Germany. The following are a few examples of the estimation of the relative strength of fascism and imperialism on the one hand and that of the Soviet Union on the other which was given by the Trotskyites and the Rights:

"It is clear in any case, with the further decline of world proletarian movement and the further extension of the fascist domination, it is not possible to maintain the Soviet power for any length of time by means of the internal forces alone" (Trotsky, *The Soviet Union and the Fourth International*, 1933).

And: *"If the war should remain only a war, the defeat of the Soviet Union would be inevitable. In a technical, economic and military sense, imperialism is incomparably more strong. If it is not paralysed by revolution in the west, imperialism will sweep away the regime which issued from the October Revolution."* (Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, p.216).

Before going on to give Bukharin's estimation of fascism as revealed by Ivanov, one of the accused at the third Moscow trial, it should be remarked that this pessimistic and defeatist estimation of Trotsky's was proved to be utterly baseless and false. Not only was the Soviet Union not defeated by Nazi Germany, but in fact the Soviet Union made an immeasurable contribution to the defeat of Nazi Germany. But for the Soviet contribution

Nazi Germany could not have been defeated.

To return, however, to Bukharin's estimation of fascism, here is what Ivanov had to say about it:

"You know, he (Bukharin) said, that capitalism has now entered a new phase of development, and at this new stage capitalism is displaying fairly high elements of organisation and planning. Capitalism, he said, is revealing new and fresh strength, expressing itself in the progress of technique, which actually amounts to a technical revolution and the rejuvenation of capitalism, as it were. And that, correspondingly, we must revise our view of the contradictions, of the classes, of the class struggle, and so on. Fundamental amendments must be introduced to Marx. Marx's treatment of the question of proletarian revolutions was no longer suitable. The doctrine of Lenin and Stalin that the epoch of imperialism is an epoch of proletarian revolutions was, he said, a most harmful utopia. This, in fact, was the position from which we proceeded, and which led us to fascism ... Bukharin said that I had not thought over this question deeply enough. Fascism, he said, corresponded to the latest trends in the development of capitalism. We arrived directly at fascism." (Trial of Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, pp. 118-119).

In view of this defeatist and pessimistic estimation of the internal and international situation and their opposition to the building of socialism, is it surprising that the Trotskyites and Rights should have wanted to resort to measures of capitalist restoration in the USSR and to concessions to fascist Germany so as to avoid 'disaster' and to 'save' the Soviet Union? But the Trotskyites and Rights could not put into effect their policy of "averting disaster", i.e., of capitalist restoration and concessions to Germany, without a change in the Party and government leadership. How could they secure such a change of leadership? One way would have been to appeal to the working class and to its vanguard, the CPSU(B), to convince it that the Party, under the leadership of Stalin, was leading the country to 'disaster', that the opposition had a plan of averting disaster and that, therefore, change in leadership was necessary. But the Trotskyites and Rights did not stand a dog's chance of mobilising the working class behind their programme. Why not? Because their programme was counter-revolutionary and stood for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. The Trotskyites and Rights could not openly go to the working class with such a programme and expect to get support. Herein lies the sole explanation as to why the Trotskyite and Rightist programme was never disclosed to the working class

but remained the property of a small clique of capitalist readers, the Trotskyites and Rights. Comrade Stalin was absolutely right when he said:

"The present-day Trotskyites are afraid to show their real face to the working class, are afraid to reveal to it their real aims and objects, carefully hide their political face from the working class, fearing that if the working class learns about their real intentions it will curse them as people alien to it and drive them away." (Speech at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU held in March 1937).

This is true not only of the Trotskyites of 1937 but even of those of today.

Not being in a position to publish their programme to the working class, let alone rally the support of the working class round such a programme, the Trotskyites and Rights were left with only the following alternatives if they were to secure a change in the leadership of the CPSU(B) and the Soviet government:

(a) Use of individual terror against the most prominent and representative leaders of the Party and government - removing leaders by assassination;

(b) Removal of the Party and government leadership by military *coup d'état* perhaps planned to coincide with foreign aggression against the Soviet Union, or, if foreign aggression were late in coming then it could take place in peacetime;

(c) Use of wrecking and sabotage to undermine Soviet industry, particularly the defence industry;

(d) Reliance on foreign imperialist powers, and on foreign aggression against the USSR in order to overthrow the Soviet government.

These were the charming methods that the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and Rights, divorced from the working class and toiling millions upon millions of people, were left with - methods to which we must now turn.

Methods used by Trotskyism

At the 15th Party Conference Comrade Stalin said that Trotskyites were distinguished for their *"unscrupulousness as to means, and lack of principles in politics"*. It is this unscrupulousness as to means and lack of principles in politics of the Trotskyites and Rights that the Moscow trials so vividly re-

vealed.

The trials revealed the real political face of Trotskyism - Trotskyism in action. They brought into relief the true features of Trotskyites as groups of diversionists and murderers operating on the instructions of the foreign secret services and of the general staffs of the aggressors. The trials showed Trotskyism in the role of the vanguard of the anti-Soviet fascist forces. They showed that the conversion of Trotskyism into a fascist agency was merely the culmination of its historical development, and that this conversion merely crowned the struggle Trotskyism had been waging against the working class and the Party, against Lenin and Leninism, for decades. *"Like a reversed cinema reel,"* the trials showed *"all the main stages of the historical path traversed by the Trotskyites and Trotskyism, which spent more than thirty years of its existence on preparing for its final conversion into a storm detachment of fascism, into one of the departments of the fascist police."* (Vysshinsky, *Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre*, p. 463-464).

The next chapter deals then with the evidence relating to the unscrupulousness as to the means employed by the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Rights in their struggle for the overthrow of the Soviet government and for the restoration of capitalism.

NOTES

1. Apart from the general attitude of defeatism and surrender in the face of the difficulties raised by the resistance of the kulaks to collectivisation, the Bukharinites also put forward the non-Marxist theory that kulaks will grow into socialism, and they failed utterly to understand the mechanism of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Had Bukharin's non-Marxian theory been followed, not only would the kulaks not have grown into socialism, they would on the contrary have become a predominant force which in due course would have destroyed the dictatorship of the proletariat. So in essence Bukharin's position was no different from that of Trotsky.
2. The oppositionists handed a declaration to the Party on 16 October 1926 in which they promised to cease factional and splittist activity. Following violations of the promises contained in this declaration, the leaders of the opposition handed in yet another declaration to the Central Committee of the Party in August 1927. Only a few months later, on the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution, the opposition, in violation of its various declarations, attempted to stage counter-demonstrations to the official demonstrations of the Party. After this the Party's patience was lost. It was clear that the opposition was working for a split, so the leaders of the opposition were expelled from the Party.
3. It may be of interest to know that in countries where the proletarian movement was driven underground and fascist conditions prevailed Trotsky's writings were freely available. Such

for example was the case in Spain and Persia under the fascist Franco regime in Spain and the brutal and tyrannical feudal fascist regime of the Shah of Persia. These regimes are astute enough - more astute than some of the 'Marxists' in Britain - to realise the anti-communist essence of Trotskyism. A similar situation prevailed in fascist Germany. We are told by James Klugmann in *From Trotsky to Tito* (Lawrence & Wishart Ltd, London, 1951):

"In Mussolini's Italy of the nineteen-thirties, when it meant long terms of imprisonment, and perhaps torture or even death, to be in any way connected with the Communist Party, and when not only all the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but the works of all Italian and foreign democrats and progressive were strictly banned from Italian libraries and bookshops, the works of Trotsky, on the 'new kind of communism' were 'freely' and widely translated and distributed. I remember vividly how in 1938, passing through Italy on the way to meet the anti-fascist and Communist students of Belgrade University, and spending a few hours in Mussolini's Milan, the word 'communism' caught my eye on a number of books prominently displayed in a bookshop window. They were the newly translated works of Trotsky.

"In Hitler's Germany, when to be a Communist or Socialist or militant trade unionist or liberal or democrat meant arrest, the concentration camp, and often death and torture, when there was instituted one of the most thoroughgoing 'purges' of literature and burning of books that the world has ever known, when Schiller's 'Don Carlos', the poems of Heine and the novels of Thomas Mann were banned or burned as 'subversive', the writings of Trotsky were widely translated and distributed.

"Trotsky's writings and those of his followers were freely published in the middle and late thirties by the Hearst Press in America. His works on his 'new kind of Communism' were published by the Franco Press at Salamanca and Burgos. The secret police of the Polish dictatorship were specially educated in Trotskyism in order to facilitate their work of espionage and disruption inside the Polish working-class movement".

4. The myths and lies, about the Ukraine famine of 1932, perpetrated by bourgeois counter-revolutionary quarters the world over have been thoroughly exposed in an excellent book entitled 'Fraud, Famine and Fascism' by Douglas Tottle (Progress Books, Toronto, 1987). We recommend everyone to read this excellent work, which not only presents the facts as they were, but also throws tremendous light on the modus operandi of the bourgeois lying propaganda machine.

5. As a matter of fact, Trotsky's proposals concerning collectivisation in 1924 were a form of wrecking which, had they been followed, would just as certainly have led to the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship as would the implementation of Bukharin's non-Marxist theory of the kulaks growing into socialism. The essence of Trotsky's 'left' deviation and Bukharin's right deviation is the same - both lead to the overthrow of proletarian state power and the restoration of capitalism.

6. The victory of revisionism in the USSR after the death of Comrade Stalin does not in any way prove the correctness of Trotsky's absurd theory that with the advances in socialist construction, civil war, leading to the restoration of capitalism, is inevitable. As to the reasons for the triumph of revisionism in the USSR, this is not the time or the place to deal with them, but they will be dealt with elsewhere.

7. The Ryutin programme also contained the following points:

(a) This programme stood for coming to an agreement with fascism because, to put it in the language of the accused Sokolnikov, "the leading members of the centre were of the opinion

that as an isolated revolution our revolution could not persist as a socialist revolution, that the Kautskian theory of ultra-imperialism and Bukharin's kindred theory of organised capitalism had proved to be correct. We were of the opinion that fascism is the most organised form of capitalism, it is conquering, seizing Europe, strangling us. Therefore, it would be better for us to come to an agreement with it, better to arrive at some compromise in the sense of retreating from socialism to capitalism." (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre, p. 489).

(b) This programme stood for the defeat of the USSR in war.

(c) The programme also stood for the abolition of democracy for, as Trotsky wrote to Radek in December 1935, according to Radek's testimony at his trial, "There can be no talk of any kind of democracy. The working class has lived through 18 years of revolution, and it has vast appetites; and this working class will have to be sent back to privately-owned factories and partly to state-owned factories which will have to compete with foreign capital under most difficult conditions. That means that the living standard of the working class will be drastically lowered. In the countryside the struggle of the poor and middle peasants against the kulaks will be renewed. And then, in order to hold power, we shall need a strong government, irrespective of what forms are employed to veil it" (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre, p. 114).

(d) Finally this programme stood for the partitioning of the USSR. "Give the Ukraine to Germany, the Maritime Province and the Amur region to Japan."

Chapter 8

TERRORISM

First the evidence relating to terrorism. At the trial of the Zinovievite terrorist centre (the first of the three Moscow trials) in August 1936, Smirnov, one of the accused and a Trotskyite, stated that in 1931 he had while in Berlin received, through Trotsky's son Sedov, a message from Trotsky. Trotsky in this message said *"that it was necessary to change the old methods of struggle against the Party, and that the time had arrived to adopt terroristic methods of struggle."*

Holtzman, who had a secret meeting with Trotsky in Copenhagen in 1932, also testified that in the course of his conversation with Trotsky, the latter said that it was *"necessary to remove Stalin."*

Vyshinsky: *"What does 'remove Stalin' mean? Explain it."*

Holtzman: *"I will speak about that. Then Trotsky said that if Stalin were removed, it would be possible for the Trotskyites to come to power and to the leadership of the CPSU. He also said that the only means of removing Stalin was terrorism."*

Vyshinsky: *"Did Trotsky say that outright?"*

Holtzman: *"Yes. He said that for this purpose it was necessary to choose cadres of responsible people fit for this task. Then he said that this was to be communicated to Smirnov, but I was not to tell anybody else about it."*

Vyshinsky: *"So Trotsky plainly told you that the fundamental task now (that is, in the autumn of 1932) was to assassinate Comrade Stalin? You remember that for sure?"*

Holtzman: *"Yes." (Trial of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre).*

Accused Fritz David stated that he too had a conversation with Trotsky in November 1932. During this conversation Trotsky said literally the following:

"Now there is no other way out except the removal by violence of Stalin and his adherents. Terror against Stalin - this is the revolutionary task. Whoever is a revolutionary - his hand will not tremble." (Volume 8, Preliminary Investigations, p. 62).

Accused Berman-Yurin testified that Trotsky repeatedly said: *"until Stalin is removed by violence, there will be no possibility of changing the policy of the Party, in the fight against Stalin we must not hesitate to adopt extreme measures - Stalin must be physically destroyed."*

To add to the above evidence concerning the adoption of terrorism by Trotskyism as a means of achieving power, it might also be added that in 1932, in a fit of counter-revolutionary fury, Trotsky burst out in an open letter with an appeal to *"put Stalin out of the way"*. This letter was found between the double walls of Holtzman's suitcase and figured as an exhibit in the first Moscow trial.

Again, in 1933, Trotsky advocated terrorism against the leaders of the Soviet government and Party in a fairly open and undisguised form. In the Trotskyite *Bulletin of the Opposition*, numbers 36-37, of October 1933, we find a number of direct references to terrorism as a method of fighting against the Soviet government. Here is an example:

"It would be childish to think that the Stalin bureaucracy [this is the slanderous way in which the Trotskyites referred to the Soviet government] can be removed by means of a Party or Soviet Congress. Normal constitutional means are no longer available for the removal of the ruling clique.

"They can be compelled to hand over power to the proletarian vanguard [the Trotskyite fascist agents regarded themselves as the proletarian vanguard!] only by force."

Trotsky was beyond the reach of the arm of Soviet law when he wrote the above sentences in which he advocated terrorism. So none of the Trotskyite and other bourgeois critics of the trials will be able to claim that Trotsky was forced to write the above lines by the OGPU. So when the various accused at the trials declared that they had organised terrorist acts on the direct instructions of Trotsky, they were compelled to say what was actually true and, to put it in the words of Comrade Vyshinsky, *"no chatter, no slander, no insinuations and no Trotskyite lying can obscure this fact!"* (*The Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre*).

Before going on to give details of the terroristic acts of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Rights, the question should be asked: why did these people resort to terrorism? This is a very important question which arises again and again and hence must be answered exhaustively. How can Marxism be reconciled with the preaching of terror and terroristic activities? The accused Reingold provided the answers to these questions in the following

terms:

"In 1932, Zinoviev, in Kamenev's apartment, in the presence of a number of members of the United Trotskyite-Zinovievite Centre, argued in favour of resorting to terror as follows: although terror is incompatible with Marxism, at the present moment these considerations must be abandoned. There are no other methods available of fighting the leaders of the Party and the Government at the present time. Stalin combines in him all the strength and firmness of the Party leadership. Therefore Stalin must be put out of the way in the first place."

As Vyshinsky said: *"Here you have a reply, frankly cynical, insolent, but absolutely logical."*

Continuing Reingold said: *"Kamenev enlarged on this theory and said that the former methods of fighting, namely, attempts to win the masses ... and banking on economic difficulties have failed. That is why the only method of struggle available is terrorism, terroristic acts against Stalin and his closest comrades-in-arms, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Kossior, Postyshev and Zhdanov."*

At the first trial, Kamenev asserted: *"I became convinced that the policy of the party, the policy of its leadership, had been victorious in the only sense in which the political victory in the land of socialism is possible, that this policy was recognised by the masses of toilers."*

This statement is unique for its lack of principle, for its cynicism. Here is a frank admission that the accused fought against the Party's policy just because the policy of the Party had been victorious.

Rykov gave a similar explanation for the adoption of terrorism by his underground group. He explained: *"In view of the illegal and conspiratorial character of the counter-revolutionary organisation of the Rights, the absence of any kind of mass basis for its counter-revolutionary activities, and the absence of all hope of arriving at power in any other way, the adoption of terrorist methods, in the opinion of the centre, held out some prospects."* (*Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites*).

Thus it can be seen that the accused came to terrorism because of the complete absence of favourable prospects for them in the fight for power by other methods and by other means. It was precisely on the basis of terroristic struggle that the negotiations which finally resulted in the union of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Rights were conducted and successfully con-

cluded. Terrorism in order to overthrow the Soviet government and restore capitalism was the real basis on which the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Rights united. Let us now pass on to the actual organisation and commission of terroristic acts by the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Rights against the leaders of the Soviet government and the Party.

Terrorist activities of the accused and the murders of public figures of the Soviet state planned and executed by them.

The murders planned and successfully executed by the accused were those of S.M. Kirov, V.R. Menzhinsky, V.V. Kuibyshev and A.M. Gorky and the murder of M.A. Peshkov.

Let us take the assassination of Kirov.¹ This assassination was fully revealed and unmasked in the trial of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist centre, but it was only established in the third trial - the trial of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites - that the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist centre which actually committed the murder of Kirov did not do so independently. It was incontrovertibly established at the third trial that Kirov was assassinated by the decision of the Right- Trotskyite Centre, *"the Centre of all centres"* (Vyshinsky).

The accused Yagoda confirmed in the court that Kirov was assassinated by direct decision of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, that this decision was carried out by Yagoda. Yagoda performed this shameful duty. He gave orders to Zaporozhetz, assistant chief of the Regional Administration of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in Leningrad, to do all he could to have this assassination committed. Some two months before the assassination Nikolayev, the assassin of Kirov and tool of the underground Trotskyite-Zinovievite organisation in Leningrad, was detained and brought to the Regional Administration. He was found to be in possession of a revolver and cartridges and a chart of the route that Kirov used to take. It was perfectly clear that Nikolayev was preparing to commit a terroristic act against Kirov. But observing the direct orders of Yagoda, Zaporozhetz released this would-be assassin. Two months later Nikolayev assassinated Kirov, with the direct participation of Yagoda, who was charged at the time with the duty of protecting the persons of the members of the government. This is how the traitors to the cause of socialism committed this dastardly and foul crime - the murder of Comrade Sergei Mironovich Kirov. In murdering Kirov *"these mad dogs of capitalism tried to tear limb from limb the*

best of our land. They killed one of the men of the revolution who was most dear to us, that admirable and wonderful man, bright and joyous as the smile on his lips was always bright and joyous, as our new life is bright and joyous. They killed our Kirov; they wounded us close to our very heart. They thought they could sow confusion and consternation in our ranks." But "to the murderers' treacherous shot of December 1, 1934, the whole country replied with unanimous execration." (Vyshinsky, Trial of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre).

Yagoda also confirmed in the court that Rykov and Bukharin had taken part in the adoption of the decision to murder Kirov.

The court proceedings in the trial of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites also established that the terrorist activities of the Rights and Trotskyites were not confined to the murder of Kirov; that Gorky, Menzhinsky, Kuibyshev and Peshkov (son of Gorky) also fell victim to terrorist acts committed on the instructions of the Right-Trotskyite centre. In this connection Yagoda testified as follows:

"In 1934, in the summer, Yenukidze informed me that the Centre of the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' had adopted a decision to organise the assassination of Kirov ... Thus I declare categorically that the murder of Kirov was carried out on the instructions of the Centre of the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites'. It was also on the decision of this Centre that terrorist acts were committed against Kuibyshev, Menzhinsky and Gorky. What was the situation here? Even before Kirov was assassinated, Gorky's son Maxim died. I have already stated before the Court that I admit my part in causing Max's sickness." (Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, pp. 572-3).

Yagoda's testimony was confirmed by those who took a direct part in these dastardly assassinations. Yagoda at first tried to deny all responsibility for the murder of Peshkov. But later on he admitted it in camera, explaining that his unwillingness to speak of this had been due to the fact that the motives for the murder of Peshkov had been of a purely personal character. But Yagoda did speak in the open session of the court of the murder of Menzhinsky, Chairman of the OGPU, insisting that the motives for that murder were not at all of a personal, careerist nature but were of a purely political character. Yagoda declared:

"I deny that in causing the death of Menzhinsky I was guided by considerations of a personal nature. I aspired to the post of head of the OGPU not out of personal considerations, not for careerist considerations, but in the interests

of our conspiratorial activity." (ibid.)

How did Yagoda execute these murders? What methods did he adopt? Yagoda believed in the technique of killing by the most crafty means. His technique envisaged recourse to doctors, which furnished a perfect guarantee (so at least Yagoda thought) against exposure. Yagoda's method for bringing about the death of his victims was death from disease. In reply to a question by the investigation authorities as to how death from disease was to be understood, Yagoda stated:

"Very simply. A person naturally falls ill; he is sick for some time; those who surround him become accustomed, as is also natural, to the idea of the patient's either dying or recuperating. The physician who treats the patient can facilitate either the recovery of the patient or his death ... well, all the rest is a matter of technique." (ibid).

Having devised this method of killing, Yagoda forced it on the doctors who carried out these murders. When Doctor Pletnev understood Yagoda's method as a proposal to use poison, Yagoda told Dr Pletnev: *"No, that is crude, too crude and dangerous; the thing to do is to employ a suitable method of treatment to hasten the end of the people whom you will be called upon to treat" (ibid).*

"To employ a suitable method of treatment to hasten the end of the people whom you will be called upon to treat" - this indeed is the last word in cynicism, perfidy and treachery.

Yagoda also proposed to murder Kirov by this 'safe' method of 'death from illness', but his proposal was rejected by Yenukidze. Yagoda said:

"When Yenukidze conveyed to me the decision of the Contact Centre about the assassination of Kirov, I expressed my apprehension that a direct terrorist act might expose not only myself, but the whole organisation as well. I pointed out to Yenukidze that there was a less dangerous method, and I reminded him, Yenukidze, how Menzhinsky's death was brought about with the help of physicians. Yenukidze replied that the assassination of Kirov must be carried out the way it was planned, that the Trotskyites and Zinovievites took it upon themselves to commit this murder, and it was our business not to place any obstacles." (ibid).

But Yenukidze promised that next time they would adopt the method and means proposed by Yagoda.

"As for the safe method of causing death with the help of physicians," con-

tinued Yagoda, *"Yenukidze said that in the near future the centre would discuss the question as to who exactly of the leaders of the Party and the government should be the first to be done to death by this method"* (ibid).

Nothing could surpass the cynicism and perfidy of these people who, with revolting calm and coolness, discussed which of the leaders of the Party and the government it would be best to murder, and what method should be adopted.

The time to adopt Yagoda's 'safe' methods came when the next murders were discussed, which leads to the murder of Gorky.

Murder of Gorky

"Some time later, during my next meeting with Yenukidze, he told me that the centre had decided to undertake a number of terrorist acts against members of the Political Bureau and, in addition, against Maxim Gorky personally... Yenukidze explained to me that the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites', considering that the overthrow of the Soviet government was a prospect of the near future, regarded Gorky as a dangerous figure. Gorky was a staunch supporter of Stalin's leadership, and in case the conspiracy was carried into effect, he would undoubtedly raise his voice in protest against us, the conspirators."

The decision to kill Gorky was finally taken by the bloc because he was *"a staunch supporter of Stalin's leadership,"* because the traitorous conspirators regarded him as a *"dangerous figure."*

Accused Bessonov also testified that when in Paris in July 1934 he met Trotsky. Trotsky told Bessonov that Gorky must be removed at all costs because Gorky was a close friend of Stalin's and a champion of the general line of the Party. Trotsky instructed Bessonov to convey this order of his to Pyatakov. This message categorically stated that Gorky must be physically destroyed at all costs. It was transmitted by Bessonov to Pyatakov, to the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites. The bloc, as Yagoda testified, accepted Trotsky's order and adopted the decision to murder Gorky and actually did murder Gorky.

The bloc also adopted the decision physically to remove Kuibyshev, the Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and one of the most active members of the Political Bureau.

To put it in Comrade Vyshinsky's words: *"Thus, in the course of this brief period three victims, three remarkable men, met an untimely death by decision*

of the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites'. Three of the finest people of our country, true sons of their fatherland, fell victim to a shameless conspiracy of traitors. And among them was the pride of Russian and world literature, the great Russian author and literary genius, Alexei Maximovich Gorky.

"Every line of his songs and stories, of his novels and tales, breathes the spirit of nobility and the ardour of revolutionary action. It was not without good reason that he bound up his life with the great Lenin and the great Stalin, as one of their best and closest friends. It was not without good reason that Lenin several times wrote that Gorky was a man of great artistic talent who had done and would do much for the world proletarian movement.

"It was not without good reason that Lenin wrote that Gorky was undoubtedly the greatest representative of proletarian art, who by his great artistic productions had formed firm ties with the working class of Russia and the world. Gorky sensed the coming storm, he foretold the victory of our movement, the triumph of the bright intellect of the proletariat over the murk and vileness of capitalism.

"One of the finest friends of toiling mankind perished from the treacherous blows delivered at the sick heart of this great man. One of the brightest and mightiest beacons of human reason and human beauty was extinguished. This beacon was extinguished by these traitors, by these beasts in human form, who coldly and treacherously stopped forever the ardent and noble heart of this great man" (ibid).

Bukharin and Rykov tried their best to disclaim liability for the murder of Gorky but (i) the testimony of Rykov and Bukharin themselves and (ii) the logic of things, established incontrovertibly that Bukharin and Rykov knew about the preparations that were being made for the assassination of Gorky, that they organised this assassination, and that they shielded this assassination - and that, therefore, they were participants in the foul murder of Gorky. Here are the relevant parts of the testimony of Rykov and Bukharin on this point:

"Yenukidze told me", said Rykov, "that the Trotskyites and Zinovievites were extremely concerned because of the influence which Gorky was acquiring and because he was a determined supporter of Stalin and the general line of the Party".

This conversation between Rykov and Yenukidze took place in 1935, a year before Gorky was assassinated. Continuing Rykov said:

"They [the Trotskyites and Zinovievites] considered it necessary in view of this significance of Gorky's — putting an end to Gorky's political activity."

In reply to Vyshinsky's question as to how could an end be put to Gorky's political activity, Rykov said that Yenukidze *"spoke in such a raised voice, or in such sharply hostile expressions, that it was clear to me that this tone concealed the possibility of the employment of violent measures."*

On being asked *"What does 'going to the extent of violent measures' mean? May it also mean murder?"* Rykov replied: *"Of course."*

Rykov was asked by Vyshinsky: *"You knew that preparations for Gorky's murder were being made?"* Rykov answered: *"Not exactly."* Vyshinsky's comment on Rykov's answer was very apt: *"Not exactly, but he knew!"*

Let us now deal with Bukharin's testimony. Bukharin said: *"In 1935 Tomsky told me that Trotsky was preparing some hostile action or hostile act against Gorky."* Tomsky knew about this *"hostile action or hostile act"* from Bessonov who had brought from abroad Trotsky's instructions in this connection. Bukharin is asked: *"What did this hostile act consist in?"* His answer is: *"Action against the 'Stalinite Gorky', as a defender of socialist construction in general, and of Stalin's policy in particular."*

Vyshinsky: *"Did Tomsky link up the perpetration of a hostile act against Gorky with the question of the overthrow of the Soviet government?"*

Bukharin: *"In essence he did".*

Thus it is clear that in 1935, a year before Gorky fell victim to a terroristic act, both Rykov and Bukharin knew that Trotsky was preparing a hostile act against Gorky. Rykov knew it from Yenukidze and Bukharin from Tomsky. This is precisely what was testified to by Bessonov when he gave details of his conversation with Trotsky in Paris in July 1934. The logic of things also proves that the preparation of *"hostile acts or actions"* against Gorky meant nothing but preparations for the physical destruction of Gorky, for there was no other way of *"putting an end to Gorky's political activity"*. The logic of things also proves this point in still another way, namely, since *"the preparations of a hostile act against Gorky"* were linked up *"with the question of the overthrow of the Soviet Government"*, such preparation could not but be preparation for the physical destruction of Gorky. Gorky was very influential and popular among the masses; he was also a firm supporter of the Leninist line of the Party. The conspirators who were conspiring and making preparations to overthrow Soviet power could not spare Gorky as a

target of their revolting *"hostile actions"* any more than they had spared Kirov, who had distinguished himself by his fight against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, who had routed the Trotskyites and Zinovievites in Leningrad. All influential Marxist-Leninists were on the Trotskyite list of those to be murdered. Some they murdered successfully. In other cases they were not so successful. Of the latter more will be said later.

Consequently, having adopted the decision of *"putting an end to Gorky's political activity,"* the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, with the full knowledge and agreement - and hence full participation - of Bukharin and Rykov, got on with the job of executing the decision. This time Yagoda would not stand for the rejections of his proposals regarding methods and means of committing the dastardly crime. It was time to put into effect Yagoda's formula of killing by degrees, *"murder with a guarantee"* - the method of murdering with the help of expert knowledge. So Yagoda employs a gang of specially trained murderers and poisoners - Levin, Pletnev, Kazakov, Maxim-Dikovskiy, Kryuchkov and Bulanov. Yagoda chose doctors for the commission of these monstrous crimes because, as Vyshinsky put it, *"he reckons with historical circumstances, so to speak,"* because other methods can prove too dangerous. The findings of the most authoritative commission of medical experts which thoroughly investigated all the material placed at its disposal leave no doubt whatsoever that the physicians, on Yagoda's instructions, and with the full knowledge and approval of the Right-Trotskyite centre, brought about the deaths of Gorky, Kuibyshev and Menzhinsky. The following were the questions put to the Commission and its answers to these questions in connection with the death of Gorky.

Question: *"Can it be granted that properly qualified physicians could have adopted such a wrong method of treatment without malicious intent?"*

Reply: *"It cannot."*

Question: *"Is it permissible in general for prolonged, large doses of heart stimulants, namely, digitalis, digalen (extracts of foxglove), strophanthin and strophanthus, to be administered intravenously, subcutaneously and internally at the same time, and in particular, in the case of the very sick patient A.M. Gorky, who was 68 years of age, and suffered from the above-mentioned affection of the internal organs?"*

Reply: *"Absolutely impermissible."*

Question: *"May it be regarded as established, on the basis of the sum total of these facts, that the method of treatment of A.M. Gorky was a deliberate act*

of wrecking?"

Reply: *"Yes, it can be taken as established beyond doubt".*

There are the same findings in the other cases.

Apart from Gorky, other prominent Bolsheviks such as Kuibyshev and Menzhinsky were done to death by the application of bandit 'science' - by Yagoda's method of *"death with a guarantee"*. Gorky's son Peshkov was likewise disposed of. But the 'guarantee' proved worthless and the criminal gang of Trotskyites, Rights and Zinovievites were caught by the truly Bolshevik Intelligence, brought to justice and made to pay with their heads for their foul, dastardly and cynical crimes.

These, then, were the murders actually committed by this gang of professional wreckers and assassins, not to mention the scores of people done to death by this same gang during the course of their wrecking activities, to which the next chapter is devoted. But the picture of this gang of criminals in action would not be complete without at least a brief reference to the number of its planned and attempted assassinations, assassinations that for one reason or another could not be carried out.

Planned and attempted assassinations.

This list includes the following, who escaped falling victim to the designs of the Trotskyite gang of professional assassins and wreckers: Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Orjonikidze, Zhdanov, Kossier, Postyshev, Eiche and Beria. Time does not permit me, comrades, to deal with every one of these cases exhaustively. I shall, therefore, choose three cases for relatively detailed treatment. As to the rest, I shall be forced to make only a bare mention of them. The three cases I have chosen for detailed treatment are those concerned with preparations and attempts on the lives of Comrades Stalin, Molotov and Orjonikidze.

Stalin first: the first trial proved that the united Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist centre, on the instructions of Trotsky received by the 'United Centre' through the accused Smirnov, Holtzman and Dreitzer in the period 1932-36, indulged in terrorist activities against leaders of the Soviet government and the CPSU, that they concentrated on the organisation of terror against the leaders of the Party and government in general and against Stalin in particular. Underground terrorist groups were organised for this purpose.

This trial established that in 1934 the accused Bakayev, Reingold and Dreitzer twice tried to make an attempt on the life of Comrade Stalin. The trial established that Trotsky, not confining himself to the organisation of terroristic acts against the leaders of the Party and government under the immediate direction of the 'United Centre', also sent during 1932-36 a number of terrorists from abroad for the same purpose. In November 1932 Berman-Yurin and Fritz David were told by Trotsky to go to the USSR with the specific instruction to assassinate Comrade Stalin. Nathan Lurye, another terrorist, was also sent by Trotsky in the same year for the same purpose. Nathan Lurye, in conjunction with Franz Weitz (who was then living in Moscow in the guise of a foreign specialist but was in fact an agent of the Gestapo and a person very close to Himmler, the Chief of the Gestapo), made preparations for attempts on the lives of Comrade Stalin and other comrades such as Voroshilov, Kaganovich and Orjonikidze. Here is what Berman-Yurin testified in connection with the preparation for an attempt on Comrade Stalin's life in reply to the question put by Vyshinsky: "So Trotsky not only gave you general instructions, but also formulated your task in a concrete way?"

Berman-Yurin: *"He [Trotsky] said that the terroristic act should, if possible, be timed to take place at a plenum of the Executive Committee at ... the Congress of the Comintern, so that the shot at Stalin would ring out in a large assembly. This would have a tremendous repercussion far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union and would give rise to a mass movement all over the world ..."*

In March 1933 Berman-Yurin left for Moscow. Berman-Yurin, after his arrival in Moscow and in accordance with Trotsky's instruction, as conveyed to him through Trotsky's son, Sedov, contacted Fritz David. The two of them discussed preparations for an attempt on Comrade Stalin's life at the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. The plan failed, however, because no admission ticket could be secured for Berman-Yurin. It was therefore decided to postpone the assassination of Comrade Stalin until the Congress of the Comintern but this attempt also failed. Here is what Berman-Yurin said regarding this failure:

"The Congress was to have been convened in September 1934. I gave Fritz David a Browning pistol and bullets to hide. But before the opening of the Congress Fritz David informed me that he had again failed to obtain a ticket for me, but that he himself would be at the Congress. We agreed that he

should be the one to commit the terroristic act.

"Several days later I met Fritz David, and he said he could not manage to shoot. He was sitting in a box in which there were too many people and there was no possibility of shooting. Thus, this plan failed too."

Let us now turn to the terroristic attempts on the lives of Comrades Molotov and Orjonikidze. In making preparations for these, the line of the accused was to follow up and take advantage of visits of the leaders of the Party and government to outlying districts and to organise their assassination there. It was precisely by taking advantage of such a visit of Comrade Molotov's to Siberia that an attempt was made on his life. Muralov, confirming Arnold's testimony, firmly and frankly admitted that he did indeed organise a terroristic act against Comrade Molotov, Chairman of the People's Commissars of the USSR. Muralov not only organised the terroristic act, but actually tried to carry it out through the medium of Shestov and Arnold. In a similar fashion a terroristic act was organised against Comrade Orjonikidze, also taking advantage of a visit to Siberia. Arnold relates in his testimony the circumstances in which he was recruited by the Siberian Trotskyite organisation *"for the work"*, and at this point the following dialogue develops between Vyshinsky, the State Prosecutor, and Arnold:

Vyshinsky: *"For what work?"*

Arnold: *"For the performance of terrorist acts."* (A pause).

Vyshinsky: *"What next?"*

Arnold: *"Then he left."* (A pause).

Vyshinsky: *"Why have you stopped?"*

Arnold: *"At that time, it was in 1933 ..." (A pause). "What was it you want me to relate?"*

Vyshinsky: *"The work to which Shestov assigned you. Your present work?"*

Arnold: *"In 1934 several leaders of the government visited our district. I was the manager of the garage and it fell to me to perform terrorist acts."*

Vyshinsky: *"Who instructed you?"*

Arnold: *"Cherepukhin."*

Vyshinsky: *"And who instructed Cherepukhin?"*

Arnold: *"Cherepukhin was instructed by Shestov."*

Vyshinsky: *"And did you speak to Shestov personally about it?"*

Arnold: *"Only later."*

Vyshinsky: *"You did speak to him?"*

Arnold: *"I did."*

Vyshinsky: *"What acts did you prepare for?"*

Arnold: *"I was told of two places where to commit the terrorist acts: one place was at Pit No. 3, the other place was at Pit No. 8."*

Vyshinsky: *"Well, go on with your story. Why have you suddenly lost your voice? When did you organise the terrorist acts?"*

Arnold: *"The first terrorist act was in 1934, at the beginning of the year, or rather in the spring."*

Vyshinsky: *"Against whom?"*

Arnold: *"Against Orjonikidze."*

Vyshinsky: *"What was the nature of it?"*

Arnold: *"Its nature was that Cherepukhin definitely told me: 'Orjonikidze is coming tomorrow. Look here, you must perform the terrorist act and stop at nothing'."*

Vyshinsky: *"Well, what then?"*

Arnold: *"I agreed to the proposal. The next day I drove up in the car, because, as the manager of the garage, and as a member of the Party, I was above suspicion. I drove to the station. Orjonikidze, Eiche and Rukhimovich got in. I drove them to the German Colony, and they asked me to drive from there to Tyrkan, and when we got to the top of the hill they asked me to stop so that they could take a look at the whole of Prokopyevsk. We then stopped at the combined pit, No. 7-8-9. Cherepukhin had warned me that everything was in readiness there. 'You will see an obstacle and on this obstacle you will cause an accident'. And so, when I descended the hill I went at great speed, about 70 or 80 kilometres an hour, and I saw an obstacle about one and a half kilometres ahead. It flashed into my head at once that this was the place where I was to cause the accident. Now knowing the place, I did not know what would happen to me ... So I slowed down and soon stopped, and then turned on to the bridge on the left, although I was to have driven straight ahead."*

Vyshinsky: *"You did not dare?"*

Arnold: *"I could not do it."*

Vyshinsky: *"You could not do it, you did not dare? That is our luck. And the second case?"*

Arnold: *"One morning Cherepukhin came to my office and said: 'Molotov is coming today. Look here, see that you don't muff it this time'. I told him that I had not muffed it. He said: 'I know how you did not muff it'. I then realised that somebody was keeping an eye on me. I replied that I would do it, I drove up to the dispatch office. I knew the place where I was to cause the accident very well; it was near the rise from Pit No. 3. There is a curve there. On this curve there is not a gully, as Shestov called it, but what we call an embankment, the edge of the road, about 8 or 10 metres deep, a drop of nearly 90 degrees. When I came to the station, Molotov, Kurganov, Secretary of the District Committee of the Party, and Gryadinsky, Chairman of the Territory Executive Committee, got into the car ...*

"I was told to drive to the workers' residential quarter through Komsomolskaya Street. I did so. Just as I was leaving the dirt road for the high road, a car suddenly came dashing towards me. There was no time to think; I had to commit a terrorist act. I see that the other car is flying towards me. Then I realised that Cherepukhin had not trusted me and had sent a second car. I had not much time to think, but I got scared. I managed to turn to the side, into the gully. At that moment Gryadinsky seized me and said 'What are you doing?'"

Vyshinsky: *"What stopped you?"*

Arnold: *"Cowardice stopped me."*

Vyshinsky: *"And this thwarted your criminal plans?"*

Arnold: *"Yes".*

Vyshinsky: *"I have a question to ask Shestov. Accused Shestov, do you confirm Arnold's testimony regarding the preparations and the attempt on the life of Comrade Molotov?"*

Shestov: *"Yes, in the main that is what Cherepukhin told me."*

Vyshinsky: *"On whose instructions was it organised?"*

Shestov: *"It was organised on my instructions."*

Vyshinsky: *"On your instructions?"*

Shestov: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"Through Cherepukhin?"*

Shestov: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"And did you speak to Arnold personally before this incident?"*

Shestov: *"No, I was at that time working at the Anzhero-Sujensk mine, and therefore Cherepukhin was in charge of all the practical work."*

Vyshinsky: *"The practical work?"*

Shestov: *"Yes, the murder."*

Vyshinsky: *"Cherepukhin was in charge?"*

Shestov: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"And did you learn about this act from Arnold after it was over?"*

Shestov: *"Yes, it was not until the autumn that he told me about it, at the end of 1934."*

Vyshinsky: *"And under what circumstances did he tell you about it?"*

Shestov: *"He came to work at the Anzhero-Sujensk mine."*

Vyshinsky: *"Well, and what of it, why should he tell you about it?"*

Shestov: *"I wanted to know how it happened."*

Vyshinsky: *"Did he know that it was done on your instructions?"*

Shestov: *"I wanted to know about the matter from the point of view of the technique, why and how."*

Vyshinsky: *"You wanted to know?"*

Shestov: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"That is, you asked him?"*

Shestov: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"And he explained?"*

Shestov: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"And did you give him instructions to organise an attempt on the life of Comrade Molotov?"*

Shestov: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"On whose instructions?"*

Shestov: *"I had received the directives from Muralov."*

Vyshinsky: *"From Muralov?"*

Shestov: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"May I put a question to the accused Muralov?"*

The President: *"You may."*

Vyshinsky: *"Muralov, I must verify the testimony on this point once more. Do you admit that you gave instructions to Shestov to organise an attempt on the life of Comrade Molotov?"*

Muralov: *"I have already testified that I confirm this."*

Vyshinsky: *"Please understand that I am questioning you in connection with the examination of the accused Arnold. Shestov gave him instructions to organise an attempt on the life of Comrade Molotov. In his turn, Shestov refers to you, and I must verify it."*

Muralov: *"I admit, I confirm it".*

As regards preparations for the assassination of other leaders mentioned above it may be briefly noted that the trials revealed the following:

The first trial revealed that the 'United Centre', i.e., the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist centre, instructed a member of the Moscow terrorist centre to make practical preparations for the organisation of a terroristic act against Comrade Voroshilov. Nathan Lurye made preparations for attempts on the lives of Comrades Stalin, Voroshilov, Kaganovich and Orjonikidze. In 1934, Nathan Lurye tried to make an attempt on the lives of Comrades Kaganovich and Orjonikidze. On 1 May 1936, on the instructions of M Lurye, Nathan Lurye tried to make an attempt on the life of Comrade Zhdanov during the First of May demonstrations in Leningrad.

This trial also established that the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist centre made preparations for terroristic acts against Comrades Kossier and Postyshev through the medium of the Ukrainian terrorist group operating under the direction of the Trotskyite Mukhin.

The second trial, the Pyatakov-Radek trial, revealed that Pyatakov had also prepared, in accordance with the decision of the Trotskyite centre, to carry out terroristic acts against the leaders of the Soviet government and Party through the medium of the Ukrainian centre, for a terroristic act against Postyshev and Kossier and, in 1935, against Stalin. Mdivani, under the direction of Serebryakov, prepared for a terroristic act against Comrade Beria. Muralov prepared for terroristic acts against the leaders who visited Siberia (see Arnold's testimony), apart from one against Comrade Eiche, the Secretary of the West-Siberian Territorial Committee of the CPSU(B), who, naturally, lived in Siberia.

Such, in brief, is the picture of Trotsky's terrorist activity. Let us now pass to another aspect of Trotskyism in action, to another of its professional skills, namely, wrecking, diversion and sabotage in conjunction with, and on the direct instructions of, the Secret Service agencies of foreign powers.

NOTES

1. In order to throw doubt on the authenticity of the Moscow trials, and at the same time to malign Stalin, Trotskyites and ordinary bourgeois scholars of the meanest kind have made the baseless assertion, repeated a million times over in bourgeois academic and political circles, that Stalin was behind Kirov's assassination - for Kirov, so runs the allegation, was opposed to Stalin who had, therefore, to eliminate Kirov in order to establish his own absolute power. This was part of Stalin's supposed policy of gaining power by getting rid of 'old Bolsheviks' who stood in his way.

This is such a monstrous lie that even bourgeois scholars, if they are honest, find it hard to swallow. J Arch Getty is one such scholar. In his book *Origin of the Great Purge*, (Cambridge, 1985), he not only gives a fitting rebuff to this accusation, but also chides various pseudo experts on the trials - such as Robert Conquest - as well as memoir-writing 'old Bolsheviks', for basing their writings on anecdotes, rumour and gossip instead of making critical use of "the internal records of the participants."

Getty's research was based on an examination of the Smolensk Party records in connection with the CPSU's campaign of verification of Party membership (*Proverka*) and purges (*Chistka*) of 1929, 1933 and 1935, aimed at excluding and expelling undesirable, corrupt and alien elements from the Party. Quite correctly, Getty is careful to confine the use of the word 'purge' to these campaigns and not apply it to the Moscow trials of prominent figures charged with crimes against the Soviet state.

Some of Getty's pertinent observations on bourgeois historiography are of such interest and significance that it is worth while reproducing them in this footnote: " ... Interpretations based on critical use of the internal records of the participants are better grounded than those that rely on the literary memoirs of courageous but exogenous victims of the process". (See p. vii of Getty's preface).

"In their writings on the Great Purge, scholars and journalists have traditionally relied on the memoirs of émigrés and defectors from the Soviet Union as well as the personal accounts of victims of terror." Nevertheless, " ... historians have been justifiably skeptical of memoirs and autobiographies. Louis Gottschalk, the famous historian of the French Revolution, believed them to be untrustworthy sources written late in life for a mass audience by people whose intentions were dubious." (see Getty's introduction, p. 11).

"For no other period or topic have historians been so eager to write and accept history-by-anecdote. Grand analytical generalizations have come from secondhand bits of overheard corridor gossip. Prison camp stories ('My friend met Bukharin's wife in a camp and she said ...') have become primary sources on central political decision making. The need to generalize from isolated and unverified particulars has transformed rumours into sources and has equated repetition of stories with confirmation. Indeed, the leading expert on the Great Purge [i.e., Robert Conquest] has written that 'truth can thus only percolate in the

form of hearsay' and that 'basically the best, though not infallible, source is rumour'. As long as the unexplored classes of sources include archival and press material, it is neither safe nor necessary to rely on rumor and anecdote." (p.5).

"To understand why something happened, it is necessary first of all to know what happened." (p.9).

"Although the Great Purges are often associated with the denunciation of 'old Bolsheviks', the opposite seems to have been the case in Smolensk in 1935." (p.85).

On Kirov's assassination, Getty writes:

"It is sometimes thought that Kirov was a 'moderate' who opposed Stalin's generally hard line on various issues. According to much of the literature, Stalin killed Kirov to clear the way for his policy of terror" and then "is said to have used Kirov's assassination as a pretext for the next phase of the 'Great Purge' in which he annihilated members of the Old Bolshevik opposition for their alleged complicity in the killing of the popular leader." (pp.92-93).

Boris Nicolaevsky, writing as the 'Old Bolshevik', was the origin of this fairy tale, which has been repeated millions of times since by diverse bourgeois and Trotskyite writers, although at the time Trotsky personally did not subscribe to this fabrication. Here is Getty's observation on this crude falsification:

"The Nicolaevsky scenario suffers from serious flaws. In the first place, virtually no evidence suggests that Kirov favored or advocated any specific policy line other than Stalin's General Line. One scholar has recently concluded that 'the problem exists of establishing to what extent the rise of Kirov and the new direction of Soviet policy were connected. As we have seen, they are often so interwoven that it is difficult to single out a line put forward by Kirov which is distinguishable from the official one.' The rumor that Kirov favored lenient treatment for dissidents, for example, is offset by opposite contemporary speculations. Trotsky, writing three years after the assassination, called Kirov 'a clever and unscrupulous Leningrad dictator, a typical representative of his corporation,' and maintained that terrorist acts like the killing of Kirov by 'despairing individuals' of the 'younger generation' 'have a very high significance.' Gregorii Tokaev, who was on the receiving end of Kirov's policies toward the opposition, said that Kirov 'ruthlessly stamped out' the opposition at this time and was the 'first executioner'. A contemporary article in Nicolaevsky's 'Sotsialisticheskii vestnik' (Socialist Herald) labeled Kirov a hard-liner. If Kirov was soft on the oppositionists, the opposition certainly did not know it.

"Certainly Kirov's public speeches do not reflect a moderate attitude toward members of the opposition. In his speech to the Seventeenth Congress, he ridiculed members of the opposition, questioning their 'humanity' and the sincerity of their recantations. He sharply denounced Trotsky's 'counter-revolutionary chatter' and applauded the services of the secret police, including their use of forced labor on canal construction projects. It was upon Kirov's motion that Stalin's speech was taken as the basis for the Congress's resolution." (pp.93-94).

And further:

"If Stalin and Kirov were antagonists, it would be difficult to explain Kirov's continued rise. Stalin chose Kirov for the sensitive Leningrad party leadership position and trusted him with delicate 'trouble-shooter' missions to supervise critical harvests (like Kirov's journey to Central Asia in 1934). Kirov was elected to the Secretariat and Politburo in 1934, and

Stalin wanted him to move to the Central Committee Secretariat in Moscow as soon as possible. Unless one is prepared to believe that Stalin did not control appointments to the Secretariat and Politburo, one must assume that he and Kirov were allies." (pp.94-95).

Chapter 9

WRECKING, DIVERSION AND SABOTAGE

While the Soviet people, under the correct leadership of the CPSU, and imbued with labour heroism, were busily building socialism in the USSR, the 'heroes' of the Moscow trials - the Trotskyites, Rights and Zinovievites - linking their fate with the fascists and with the agents of the intelligence services of foreign powers, losing all scruples, going on to the utmost levels of duplicity and deceit, and elevating perfidy and treachery to a system, to the law of their struggle against the Soviet state, against the building of socialism in the USSR - were busy displaying their 'labour heroism'¹ on another front, namely, wrecking. These professional wreckers set themselves the task of destroying what the Soviet people were building. Spurred on by their hatred of socialist construction in the USSR, by their desire to prove the 'correctness' of the wretched, reactionary and counter-revolutionary theory of 'permanent revolution', by their desire to make reality conform to their idealist theory and by their desire to restore capitalism, the despicable 'heroes' of these trials get to work. And in strict adherence to Trotsky's instructions *"to strike the most palpable blows at the most sensitive spots"*, these 'heroes' blow up bridges, cause explosions in factories and gas mines, kill workers, wreck power stations, cause train accidents, destroy horses and kill cattle, sabotage agricultural plans, weaken the defence industry, sabotage the country's finances and foreign trade, create an artificial shortage of essential supplies, put nails and glass in butter! No crime is too monstrous for this gang. This is how the theory of 'permanent revolution' is proved in action.

The chief aim of the wrecking carried out by the Rights and Trotskyites was to undermine the economic might of the USSR and to enfeeble Soviet defence in order to liquidate the Soviet, socialist system and to restore capitalism.

Grinko, whose job as the People's Commissar for Finance should have been to safeguard the finances of the country, organises wrecking in the sphere of finance, while simultaneously acting as an agent of the German

and Polish intelligence services and as a right-hand man of Bukharin and Rykov. Grinko's way of sabotaging Soviet finance was *"to strike at the Soviet Government with the Soviet rouble."*

But finances cannot be isolated from the various branches of industry whose development and direction they determine. Wrecking in the sphere of finance soon spreads to various branches of the Soviet economy. In agriculture the wrecking activities were designed to frustrate the target of achieving a harvest of seven to eight billion poods of grain.

In pursuit of their aim of overthrowing the Soviet government in order to restore capitalism, the Trotskyites and Rights adopted the most sordid and cynical methods to undermine the confidence of the masses in the organs of Soviet power, to sow discontent among the population and to rouse people against Soviet power. In this connection it may be mentioned that Grinko so 'organised' the Savings Bank business that depositors had to waste an enormous amount of time and encounter unpleasantness and insolence, rudeness and lack of attention. Every attempt was made to incense public opinion and turn it away from the Savings Bank. Here is what Grinko said in connection with his wrecking activities in the Commissariat of Finance:

"One of the tasks set me by the Right and Trotskyite Centre was to organise undermining activities in the People's Commissariat of Finance ...

"This task of the Right and Trotskyite Centre was conveyed to me by Rykov, and in doing so he emphasised that the leadership of the Centre, he and Bukharin, attached great importance to the development of undermining activities in the People's Commissariat of Finance in view of the special importance and political significance of money. At the same time he gave me Bukharin's formula: Strike at the Soviet Government with the Soviet rouble ...

"Wrecking activities were to be carried on in connection with those financial measures that are connected with the broad masses of the population: taxes, savings banks, loans, etc.

"In regard to savings banks, two measures were adopted: the reduction in the number of savings banks; and the other in connection with borrowing on state loan bonds. The reduced number of savings banks was not prepared for this wide measure, and as this operation was connected with a service affecting tens of millions of people, it caused irritation among broad masses of the population.

"Considerable undermining work was carried out in the sphere of the state

budget ...

"I also participated in undermining activities in the sphere of agriculture by carrying out wrecking financial measures. Undermining activities in the sphere of agriculture was regarded by the Right and Trotskyite Centre as a very important task.

"Stalin had urged collectivisation as the decisive means of overcoming the backwardness of agriculture. On the basis of the successes achieved in collectivisation, the task was set of achieving a harvest of 7-8 billion poods per annum. The Right and Trotskyite Centre drew up a plan of undermining measures ... From the point of view of the political preparations for the anti-Soviet struggle, this was of enormous significance, which was also taken into consideration by the Right and Trotskyite Centre when the program was drawn up." (Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites).

Let us leave Grinko, for the time being at least, and pass on to the activities of another wrecker, Chernov, who *"managed in one evening to land in the police station [in Berlin] and become a spy"* for German imperialism. Chernov is given instructions by the German intelligence service, and he acts on those instructions. Chernov told the court bluntly: *"the German intelligence service made a special point of the organisation of wrecking activities in the sphere of horse-breeding,"* the purpose being not to provide horses for the Red Army. Chernov did not find it difficult at all to fulfil this commission. After all he was the People's Commissar of Agriculture. So he selected three factories to prepare *"serums with virulent bacteria"* with which a large number of cattle were destroyed. Chernov told the Court that in this way 25,000 horses were destroyed, on his instructions. Also on Chernov's instructions, pigs in large numbers were infected with erysipelas and the plague in the Voronezh Region, the Azov-Black Sea Territory and in the Leningrad Region. Here is what Chernov had to say on the point under consideration.

"For this purpose [i.e., the destruction of cattle], three factories were selected at my suggestion: Kashintsevo, Orel and Stavropol. In these factories, serums were made with virulent bacteria and given special serial numbers. Boyorshinov was informed of these serial numbers and he transmitted them to the chiefs of the veterinary departments in the localities who could be relied upon in this matter, and they in turn transmitted them to the veterinary surgeons who had anti-Soviet feelings and who in case of a heavy cattle mortality would not raise a big fuss.

"... In this way these serums were distributed and artificial infection was carried out in these three regions.

"It is difficult to estimate the results, but at any rate it may be taken for granted that several thousands of pigs perished owing to this diversive act." (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites).

Take Zelensky, the Chairman of the Centrosoyuz. He organises the most monstrous of all crimes, namely, the practice of mixing nails and glass with foodstuffs, butter in particular, thus hitting at the most vital interests of the Soviet state, the health and lives of the Soviet people. He does his best to create an artificial shortage of products possessed by the USSR in superabundance. In this connection must be mentioned the case of fifty carloads of eggs which he deliberately destroyed to create a shortage of eggs in Moscow. These wrecking activities were designed to incense the public and to stir up feeling against the system of economic management in the USSR, against the Soviet system, against Soviet power. These wrecking activities provide a clue as to why the Soviet people in those days had to suffer from shortages of necessary food articles from time to time, the shortages being at the time blamed on the Soviet economic system by the bourgeois enemies of socialism. Here is some of the relevant dialogue between Vyshinsky, the state prosecutor, and the accused Zelensky in regard to wrecking in the sphere of foodstuffs:

Vyshinsky: *"You want to explain the technicalities of this business and I want to get to the bottom of this business. You said at the preliminary investigation that the destructive character of your work consisted in the following: the adopted scale of grades of butter had the result that there was only butter of the highest grade, no cheap butter reached the market."*

Zelensky: *"That is what I just wanted to explain."*

Vyshinsky: *"Is it a fact, or not?"*

Zelensky: *"It is."*

Vyshinsky: *"Further. This affected the budget of the consumer. Is that so, or not?"*

Zelensky: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"Did this rouse satisfaction or dissatisfaction on the part of the public?"*

Zelensky: *"Dissatisfaction."*

Vyshinsky: *"Is this what you were striving for?"*

Zelensky: *"It was."*

Vyshinsky: *"Did your organisation strive for it?"*

Zelensky: *"It did."*

Vyshinsky: *"And was the butter which was issued for sale always of good quality, or did you try to spoil its quality too?"*

Zelensky: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"Were there cases when members of your organisation connected with the butter business threw glass into the butter?"*

Zelensky: *"There were cases when glass was found in butter."*

Vyshinsky: *"Glass was not 'found', but thrown into the butter. You understand the difference: thrown into the butter. Were there such cases or not?"*

Zelensky: *"There were cases when glass was thrown into the butter."*

Vyshinsky: *"Were there cases when your accomplices, fellow participators in the criminal plot against the Soviet power and the Soviet people, threw nails into the butter?"*

Zelensky: *"There were."*

Vyshinsky: *"For what purpose? To make it 'tastier'?"*

Zelensky: *"That is clear."*

Vyshinsky: *"Well, that is organising wrecking and diversive activities. Do you admit that you are guilty of this?"*

Zelensky: *"I do."*

And further:

Vyshinsky: *"You are talking about overcharging, but I am interested in questions which are closer to butter. I want first to speak about eggs, and then about overcharging. Did you take the same sort of measures as in the case of butter with regard to the supply of eggs to the public? That is another question that interests the public. For example, was there a case, or cases, when periodical attempts were made to leave Moscow without eggs? Were there such cases?"*

Zelensky: *"Yes there were."*

Vyshinsky: *"Was there a case in 1936 when Moscow was left without eggs through your fault, through the fault not of you personally, but of one of the ac-*

tive participators in this conspiratorial bloc?"

Zelensky: "There was."

Take Sharangovich. He artificially spreads anaemia among horses, thus causing some 30,000 horses to perish. He also undermines the peat industry. He testified:

"I am guilty of the fact that I personally, and the national Fascist organisation of Byelorussia under my guidance, directed by the Centre of the Rights, carried on intensive wrecking and diversive activities in all branches of economic and cultural life. Together with my accomplices, I undermined agriculture, destroyed horses, deprived collective farmers of household land, muddled the planning of crop areas and endeavoured, from provocateur motives, to incense the collective farmers against the Soviet government.

"In the industry of Byelorussia, we undermined the fuel base, the power industry, retarded the speed of new construction work, and committed a number of wrecking and diversive acts."

Sharangovich added: *"I once more wish to tell the court of the terrorist activities in which I and our underground organisation engaged, acting on the instructions of the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' and of the Polish General Staff" (Trial of Anti-Soviet bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, p.742).*

Ikramov, according to his own testimony, practised his wrecking activities in Namangan, in the silk mills, in the cotton-ginning plants, and in cotton growing. According to the testimony of Ikramov and Khodjayev, the leaders of the bloc, Bukharin and Rykov, played a leading role in the organisation of wrecking and sabotage.

Ivanov destroys the paper and cellulose industry.

Rozengoltz does not lag behind his 'colleagues' in wrecking work. He organises in a wrecking and criminal way the foreign trade of the USSR, thus weakening the defence capability of the USSR while, at the same time, strengthening the defences (or rather the aggressive capability) of the enemies of the USSR. He signs oil agreements that further the interests of German and Japanese fascism. He specially organises the sale of gold tailings in a wrecking way, again to serve the interests of Germany and Japan and contrary to the interests of the socialist USSR. Rosengoltz hindered in every way the imports for defence purposes of the Soviet Union, while at the same time accelerating in a criminal and wrecking way the export of iron to Japan, which could be used by the Japanese military to make shells with

which to bombard the Soviet Union.

Wrecking and sabotage of Soviet industry was carried out in all parts of the country. At the second trial, the testimony of Pyatakov also gave details of the wrecking and sabotage carried out under the directions of the various Trotskyite organisations up and down the country, for example, the wrecking carried out in the coke and chemical industries in the Ukraine, the copper industry in the Urals and in the power stations in the Kuznetsk area. Pyatakov stated that the wrecking was carried out by the managers of various plants and trusts, not on their own initiative, but on the instructions of Trotsky as well as on his own personal directives:

"In general all this was not done on these people's [i.e., managers', etc] own initiative but on Trotsky's instructions, and then on my own personal directives." (Trial of Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre, p.47).

Boguslavsky, another of the accused at the same trial as Pyatakov, also gave morbid and sickening details of wrecking carried out by the Siberian centre in the sphere of railways, on the instructions of Trotsky and on the personal directives of Pyatakov. Said Boguslavsky:

"In 1934 the work of the Siberian Centre, and my work in particular, entered upon a new path. In 1934 I had my second meeting with Pyatakov ... This time Pyatakov said that our work was completely unsatisfactory, and set us tasks which, though not new, had a new sound ... In response to my pessimism, Pyatakov said: 'We have got to get down to work, especially as Trotsky has been sending letters and directives. He accuses us of inaction bordering, as he then said, on the sabotage of his, Trotsky's, directives... As regards work on the railways, which I was directing myself, the number of accidents on the line considerably increased in 1934 ... In 1934 there was a considerable increase in the number and percentage of locomotives put out of action' (ibid.)

Is it not fantastic! Here is a Soviet Minister whose responsibility it is to see to the building of heavy industry. What does he actually do? He appoints his trusted lieutenants to key posts and directs them to organise sabotage and wrecking activities; and on finding that the wrecking activities of his assistants are not proceeding as fast as he would have liked, he tells them that they *"must get down to work"*, i.e., that they must organise more wrecking and sabotage, as Trotsky has been sending letters and directives. Trotsky *"accuses us of inaction bordering ... on sabotage of his, Trotsky's, directives."* This reveals our super-industrialiser Trotsky in his true colours. He accuses his henchmen of 'sabotage' because they are not carrying out enough sabot-

age in Soviet industry!!

Disorganisation of the Soviet economic development plan went on. Special emphasis was placed on the weakening of those industries which were connected with the defence of the country so as to make way for the foreign invasion then being planned. Having given details of the sabotage carried out in the sphere of foreign trade, the accused Rozengoltz added:

"It is necessary to note especially the wrecking activities which followed from our aim of working for defeat - the delay in the import of materials needed for defence." (Trial of Rights and Trotskyites).

Drobnis told a similar story: *"One of the wrecking tasks in the plan was to diffuse funds on measures of secondary importance. Another was to delay construction work in such a way as to prevent the launching of important departments on the dates fixed by the government." (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre).*

Under Pyatakov's direction wrecking activities were organised in a systematic way and planned very minutely. At the preliminary investigation Pyatakov testified:

"I advised my people (and this myself) not to scatter their wrecking work, but to concentrate all their attention on the principal, big industrial enterprises, which are important for defence, and of all Union importance.

"On this point I operated according to Trotsky's instructions: 'to strike palpable blows in the most sensitive places'".

And as Vyshinsky said: *"To do him justice, Pyatakov knew how to strike palpable blows in the really sensitive places."*

The second trial revealed that in accordance with the formula 'to strike palpable blows in the most sensitive places', and under Pyatakov's direction, machinery, installations and whole enterprises were spoilt or destroyed. Whole workshops were burnt and blown up. Scores of trains were wrecked, with loss of human life.

In the organisation and carrying out of their wrecking activities, the accused not only regarded loss of human life as something unavoidable and inevitable, but even as a deliberate part and parcel of their policy of causing disaffection among the population towards the Soviet government. Drobnis said:

"It will be better if there is loss of human life in the mine, as it will undoubtedly cause disaffection among the workers, and this is what we want."

(Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre).

The accused Knyazev reported that Livshitz instructed him *"to prepare for and carry out acts (explosions, train wrecks, or poisoning) which would be accompanied by great loss of human life."* (*ibid*).

This is precisely what was done. The Trotskyite centre caused an explosion in Tsentralnaya Pit which resulted in the death of 10 workers and severe injury to 14 others. The deliberately-planned train collision at Shumikha station resulted in the death of 29 Red Army men and the injury of another 29. This wrecking was brought about by Knyazev on 27 October, 1935, on the instructions of Livshitz, the People's Assistant Commissar of Railways. In 1935-36, Knyazev, acting on Livshitz's instructions, organised and brought about the wrecking of a number of trains - passenger trains and troop trains - involving loss of life. Others active in carrying out wrecking activities in the sphere of railways were Serebryakov, Turok and Boguslavsky.

In the coal and chemical industries of the Kuznetsk Basin, the accused Drobnis, Norkin, Shestov and Stroilov, on the instructions of Pyatakov and Muralov, carried on wrecking and diversive work with the object of disrupting the output of coal, delaying the building and development of new mines and chemical works, creating conditions of work harmful and dangerous to workers by allowing gas to accumulate in galleries and pits. In addition, on 23 September 1936, on the instructions of Drobnis, as mentioned above, members of the local Trotskyite organisation caused an explosion at the Tsentralnaya Pit in the Kemerov mine, which resulted in the death of 10 workers and grave injury to a further 14.

In the chemical industry the accused Rataichak and Pushin, on the instructions of Pyatakov, performed wrecking work with the object of disrupting the state production plan, delaying the construction of new factories and enterprises and spoiling the quality of the construction work on new enterprises. In addition, in 1934-5, Rataichak and Pushin organised three diversive acts at the Gorlovskaya Nitrogen Works, and two of them were accompanied by explosions which caused the deaths of workers and heavy material loss to the state. Diversive acts were also organised at the instigation of Rataichak at the Voskressensk Combined Chemical Works and Nevsky plant.

The trials revealed that some at least of the wrecking activities were carried out on the direct instructions of the intelligence services of Germany

and Japan. The accused Knyazev had acted on the direct instructions of Mr H, an agent of the Japanese intelligence services. Chernov's evidence at the third trial disclosed the same. Speaking of the 1930 period, a period characterised by acute problems for the USSR on the grain front, Chernov said:

"The chief task assigned to me by the German Intelligence Service at that time was to arrange to spoil grain within the country. This involved delaying the construction of storehouses and elevators, so as to create a discrepancy between the growing size of the grain collections and the available storage space

...

"As regards crop rotation, the idea was to plan the crop area incorrectly and thus place the collective farm peasants in such a position that they would be virtually unable to practise proper crop rotation and would be obliged to plough up meadows and pastures for crop growing. This would reduce the size of harvests in the country and at the same time rouse the indignation of the peasants, who would be unable to understand why they were being forced to plough up meadows and pastures when the collective farms wanted to develop stock-breeding and required fodder for the purpose. As regards stock-breeding, the aim was to kill off pedigree breed-stock and to strive for a high cattle mortality." (Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites).

The diversive nature of various explosions was established and admitted by the accused. It was corroborated and proved by the evidence of witnesses and by technical experts. The answers given by technical experts to the various questions put to them leave no room for any doubt that these explosions were the result of malicious intent; that very little was required to prevent the occurrence of these explosions. Take, for instance, the explosion in the hydrogen department of the Gorlovska Fertilizer Works. In regard to this explosion the experts were asked whether there had been any possibility of averting this explosion.

Reply: *"Certainly there had been."*

Question: *"What should have been done to avert the explosions?"*

Reply: *"Very little had to be done. All that was required was to adhere to the safety regulations. But this was not done. Hence the explosion."*

Question: *"But perhaps, after all, the explosion was an accident?"*

Reply: *"Malicious intent is indisputable."*

In order fully to realise the utter monstrosity of these crimes, one must not lose sight of the fact that not only were these crimes committed but they

were committed by the very people who were entrusted with the protection of the interests of the Soviet state against every kind of encroachment. These people should have been the first to protect Soviet industry and safeguard it from all damage, but they acted like downright traitors. Pyatakov, Assistant People's Commissar of Heavy Industry, should have been the first to protect this important section of the Soviet economy but as a matter of fact he was its wrecker-in-chief. Rataichak should have been the first to safeguard the chemical industry. Livshitz, the Assistant People's Commissar of Railways; Chernov, the People's Commissar of Agriculture; Grinko, the People's Commissar of Finance; Sokolnikov, Assistant People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs - all these people should have been the first to sound the alarm at the slightest sign of any danger to the interests of the Soviet state, but instead they acted as wreckers, in breach of the trust placed upon them, and in violation of their duty to the land of the Soviets. This really is monstrous and shows the utmost limits of moral depravity these people attained. In this context I cannot refrain from saying that the accused Evdokimov in the first trial was a thousand times right when he gave the following characterisation of the accused at that trial, which is equally applicable to the various accused at the subsequent trials:

"The difference between us [the accused] and the Fascists," said Evdokimov, "is very much in our disfavour. Fascism openly and frankly inscribed on its banner: 'Death to Communism'. On our lips we had all the time 'Long live Communism' whereas by our deeds we were fighting Socialism victorious in the USSR. In words - 'Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union'. In deeds - preparation for the assassination of the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party, one of whom [i.e., Kirov] we did kill. In words - 'Down with Imperialism', in deed - banking on the defeat of the USSR in the struggle against international imperialism." (Trial of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Centre).

Perfidy and Duplicity of the Accused

Further, in order fully to appraise the moral depravity of the accused at the Moscow trials and the magnitude of their crimes and understand fully the perfidious lengths to which they went, it is necessary to mention the political duplicity, double-dealing, hypocrisy and treachery practised by them. Here are a few examples:

- (1) Just at the time when the preparations of terroristic acts were at

their height, when they were advancing to the consummation of the despicable murder of Comrade Kirov, precisely at that time Zinoviev (on 8 May 1933) sent a letter to the Central Committee. In this letter he not only renounced his past mistakes but hypocritically vowed his loyalty to socialism and to the Party. He ended his letter with the following lines:

"I ask you to believe that I am speaking the truth and nothing but the truth. I ask you to restore me to the ranks of the Party and to give me an opportunity of working for the common cause. I give my word as a revolutionary that I will be the most devoted member of the Party, and will do all I possibly can at least to some extent to atone for my guilt before the Party and its Central Committee."

After the Moscow trials we now know what these words were worth. Zinoviev carried his perfidy to such lengths that after Kirov's murder, which he had organised, he sent an obituary notice to *Pravda* entitled *The Beacon Man*. Here is what Zinoviev wrote:

"The grief of the Party is the grief of the whole people, of all the peoples of the USSR. The Party's mourning is the mourning of the whole of our great country ... The whole people have felt the bitterness of bereavement."

"The foul murder of Sergei Mironovich Kirov has in truth roused the whole Party, the whole of the Soviet Union."

"The loss of this beloved and dear man has been felt by all as the loss of one who is nearest and dearest of all ..."

"Beloved son of the Party."

"A son of the working class - this is what this Beacon Man was," "our dear, deep, strong ... one could not help loving him, one could not help being proud of him."

Having cited this letter in his concluding speech in the case of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite terrorist centre, Vyshinsky made the following comments which sum up the feelings of all revolutionaries and honest proletarians the world over on the subject under discussion:

"This is what Zinoviev wrote, exceeding all bounds of cynicism!"

"Such is this man. He loved him, he was proud of him, and he killed him! The miscreant, the murderer, mourning over his victim! Has anything like this ever occurred before?"

"What can one say, what words can one use, fully to describe the baseness

and loathsomeness of this: sacrilege! Perfidy! Duplicity! Cunning!

"It was you, Zinoviev, you who with your sacrilegious hand extinguished this beacon, and you began publicly and hypocritically to tear your hair in order to deceive the people.

"Whom did you kill? You killed a magnificent Bolshevik, a passionate tribune, a man who was dangerous to you, a man who fought devotedly for Lenin's testament against you. You killed this man in a flash of time by the bullet fired by the despicable hand of Nikolayev, and two or three days afterwards you sent an article to the Pravda in which you wrote about the 'extinguished beacon'. Where shall we find the words with which to appraise this despicable trick! I cannot find the words in my vocabulary!"

Kamenev also published in 1933 similar deceptive, hypocritical articles which are remarkable for their duplicity and perfidy. In these articles Kamenev condemned his own mistakes and renounced his past erring ways, saying that *"the man who had fought Lenin for decades became the most important figure in the opposition."* *"It's clear,"* wrote Kamenev in this article of 25 May 1933, *"that the resistance to the policy headed by Cde Stalin was based on the premises which made members of the Party in October 1917 come out as the opponents of the policy of Lenin."*

Kamenev wrote the above lines in May 1933. Yet in the summer of 1933, after he and Zinoviev returned from exile, a meeting of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite centre was held in Zinoviev's apartment for the purpose of organising terrorist acts against the leaders of the Party and the Soviet government. Vyshinsky questioned Kamenev on the discrepancy between his words and his deeds, and the following dialogue ensued:

Vyshinsky: *"What appraisal should be given to the articles and statements you wrote in 1933, in which you expressed loyalty to the Party. Deception?"*

Kamenev: *"No, worse than deception."*

Vyshinsky: *"Perfidy?"*

Kamenev: *"Worse!"*

Vyshinsky: *"Worse than deception; worse than perfidy - find the word. Treason?"*

Kamenev: *"You have found the word!"*

(2) The Trotskyites' unscrupulousness in political struggle and their moral degradation is also fully revealed by the articles which Radek and

Pyatakov wrote by way of exposure of their own accomplices, Zinoviev and Kamenev, who were responsible for the foul and despicable murder of Kirov. These articles, in which Radek and Pyatakov demanded the death penalty for their friends, allies and accomplices, represent the acme of cynicism and mockery at the last remnant of human conscience, at the last conceptions of morality.

Radek in number 3 of *The Bolshevik* for 1935, by way of exposure of the duplicity of Zinoviev and all the heads of the Zinoviev faction, wrote the following lines:

"Having slipped into counter-revolution, the ex-leaders of the Zinovievite-Trotskyite bloc have resorted to the methods of interventionist spies, dynamiters and wreckers. Duplicity proved to be camouflage enabling them to bombard the proletarian General Staff."

And further, at the time of the trial of Zinoviev, Kamenev and others, Radek exclaimed:

"Crush the vipers! It is not a matter of exterminating ambitious men who have gone to the length of committing a great crime, it is a matter of exterminating the agents of Fascism who were prepared to assist in igniting the conflagration of war, to facilitate the victory of fascism in order to receive from its hands at least the shadow of power."

Radek talked in this article about the "Trotskyite- Zinovievite Fascist gang and its henchman - Trotsky" etc.

Radek ended this article with the following paragraph: *"The proletarian court will pass sentence on these sanguinary murderers, which they have deserved a hundred-fold. People who have raised the sword against the beloved leaders of the proletariat must pay with their heads for their unparalleled crime. The chief organiser of this gang and of its deeds, Trotsky, has already been condemned by history to the pillory of shame. He will not escape the verdict of the proletariat."*

Pyatakov does not lag behind his fellow wrecker, Radek. Pyatakov wrote on 21 August 1936:

"One cannot find the words fully to express one's indignation and disgust. These people have lost the last semblance of humanity. They must be destroyed, destroyed like carrion which is polluting the pure, bracing air of the land of Soviets; dangerous carrion which may cause the death of our leaders, and has already caused the death of one of the best people in our land - that

wonderful comrade and leader S.M. Kirov."

This is what Radek and Pyatakov wrote about Zinoviev and Kamenev, but it turned out that they wrote it about themselves, for, as we now know, not only did Radek and Pyatakov know in advance about the attempt on Kirov's life, but they actually consented to the attempt being made.

(3) Take Bukharin. Leaving aside his earlier hypocritical self-denunciations, let us begin with the year 1928. In this year Bukharin declared at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party that he had no differences with the Party. It turns out, however, that at that very same time Bukharin was engaged in secret negotiations, and reached an agreement with, Kamenev. In 1929 Bukharin wrote in *Pravda* about his erroneous views thus:

"While admitting these errors of ours, we on our part will exert every effort to wage, together with the entire Party, a resolute struggle against all deviations."

It was precisely at that time that there was taking shape the underground organisation that began to oppose the Soviet power with arms. Bukharin admitted during his trial that his above declaration was a lie, a tactical manoeuvre designed to mislead the Party. When Bukharin wrote the above lines - at that very time, according to his own testimony and that of Rykov and Ivanov, he was engaged in fanning the struggle in the North Caucasus and in organising kulak revolts against Soviet power.

The year 1930, and Bukharin hands in a declaration to the Central Committee admitting his errors. Bukharin in this declaration writes about his *"unreserved condemnation of every attempt against the unity of the Party, all factional activity, all attempts at surreptitious struggle against the Party leadership, surreptitious defence of another political line differing from that of the Party."*

It turns out, however, again according to Bukharin's own testimony, that it was at this precise moment that he was engaged in negotiations with Semyonov concerning the organisation of terroristic acts against the leaders of the Soviet government and Party.

The year 1933: Bukharin makes a speech at the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU(B) in which he demands *"severe punishment of A.P. Smirnov's grouping,"* and speaks about his own *"Right opportunist, absolutely wrong general political line"* and of his *"guilt before the Party, its leadership, before the Central Com-*

mittee of the Party, before the working class and the country," and so on and so forth.

It turns out, however, that this was the first year of the formation of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, which had Bukharin and Rykov as its leaders and which proceeded to engage in terrorism, diversion, wrecking, espionage and high treason, and in encouraging the severance of national republics from the USSR.

The year 1934: at the 17th Party Congress, Bukharin in his speech approved of the *"ruthless crushing of all oppositions and of the Right opposition as the main danger, i.e., of the very group to which I once belonged."*

It turns out, however, that precisely at that time Bukharin was engaged in mobilising all forces with the purpose of intensifying the activity of his group, of this criminal gang, which had already become a group of murderers, professional wreckers, genuine spies and agents of the intelligence services of foreign countries.

The other accused were no less experienced in the game of hypocrisy, double-dealing, duplicity and treachery. Each one of them was able to mask himself and his criminal activities for a fairly long time, and, as Vyshinsky remarked in his concluding speech at the first trial:

"This is perhaps one of the most striking cases in history when the word mask acquired its real meaning: these people put their masks on their faces, adopted the pose of repentant sinners who had broken with the past, who had abandoned their old erring ways and mistakes which grew into crime."

It is precisely because of the masks worn by these people, and the high official positions they held, that they escaped detection for so long.²

In their criminal activity aimed at the overthrow of the Soviet government and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, the accused at the trials spared no one - neither the people who refused to obey them nor those who carried out their instructions. The first trial revealed that in the event of their plot being successful, and on coming to power, the accused intended to appoint Bakayev (another of the accused) as chairman of the OGPU. On being appointed to this position, Bakayev was to destroy all the threads of their conspiracy that might be in the hands of the OGPU, the possibility of which was not excluded by Zinoviev and Kamenev, as well as the very people who carried out the instructions of these criminals. Reingold testified:

"Zinoviev and Kamenev were both of the opinion, and they told me about this, that on the morrow of the coup d'état, after the seizure of power, Bakayev should be put at the head of the OGPU machinery, he was to assist in covering up the traces, in doing away with, in killing, not only the employees of the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs - the OGPU - who might be in possession of any threads of the conspiracy, but also all the direct perpetrators of terroristic acts against Stalin and his immediate assistants. By the hand of Bakayev, the Trotskyite-Zinovievite organisation was to destroy its own activists, its own terrorist gunmen, who were involved in this matter" (Trial of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Centre).

Another incident which shows how this gang of most despicable criminals would have dealt with anyone who dared disobey them is that of the death of engineer Boyarshinov. Boyarshinov was at one time a wrecker and had been convicted of wrecking at the Shakhty trial. But he reformed and started working as an honest Soviet citizen. He refused to construct the Rukhimovich mine according to wrecking plans that were drawn up and he protested time and time again against work being delayed, and against Stroilov's criminal activity. He exposed Stroilov. Boyarshinov's honesty in work and his refusal to obey the wreckers enraged the latter. This gang organised his murder. On 15 April 1934 Boyarshinov was driving from the railway station on a horse-drawn cart when he was run into by a motor-truck and crushed to death at the behest of the Shestov-Cherepukhin gang.

If this is what they did when they were not in power, the magnitude of the crimes they would have committed had they come to power is unimaginable.

Thus it can be seen that this gang intended to come to power over mountains of corpses. Yet there are people, even 'Marxists', who weep over the just punishment meted out by the court of revolutionary justice to this gang of murderers, whom they describe as 'Bolsheviks'. These 'Marxists' have never shown any signs of shedding even a single tear for those who fell victim to the terrorist and wrecking activities of this gang; for millions of people who would have once again been subjected to capitalist wage slavery and exploitation had this gang come to power. The truth is that those who shed tears over the fate of the accused in these trials - a fate consequent upon their own criminal and treasonable activities against the land of socialism - are not Marxists. They are capitalist roaders who are sad that capitalism was not restored in the Soviet Union.

Before ending this chapter the question must be asked: how was it that despite all the wrecking and diversionist activities of this gang - the accused - the Soviet Union was able to advance on all fronts - economic, technical, military, political, ideological and cultural - and to build socialism? The answer is a simple one, namely, that if there were dozens of unscrupulous people sapping the foundations of the Soviet Union, there were millions of honest people protecting it by their vigilance and devotion. What scores of wreckers destroyed, millions of Soviet people were able to repair in no time. That is the only explanation to account for the gigantic and literally miraculous achievements of the USSR during that period in the task of socialist construction.

We shall now move on to the next chapter, which deals with the treasonable activities of the accused, i.e, their agreements with fascist and other powers.

NOTES

1. To give you an example of the 'labour heroism' of the accused at these trials: Trotskyite terrorists were arriving into the Soviet Union from abroad to commit terroristic acts against the leaders of the Party and government. The Zinovievite section of the 'United Trotskyite-Zinovievite Centre' increased its efforts a hundredfold in order to commit criminal terroristic acts sooner than the Trotskyites. To the Zinovievite section of the terrorist centre it was a 'matter of honour' to carry out its criminal designs before the Trotskyites. This is the kind of 'emulation' and 'labour heroism' that the accused practised.

2. They escaped detection also for the reason that a lot of the Party members of the CPSU(B), because of their total absorption in the economic work and being carried away by the economic successes, became complacent. This is how Comrade Stalin expressed himself on the matter under consideration:

"The matter is that our Party comrades have been totally absorbed in the economic work in recent years, have been engrossed to the limit in economic successes, and being engrossed in all these things forget about all else, throw aside all else.

"The matter is that being carried away by economic successes they began to regard this as the beginning and end of everything, and simply gave up paying attention to such things as the international position of the Soviet Union, capitalist encirclement, strengthening of the political work of the Party, struggle against wrecking, etc., supposing all these questions to be second-rate and even third-rate matters.

"Successes and achievements are, of course, a great thing. Our successes in the sphere of socialist construction are truly enormous.

"But successes like everything else under the sun have their seamy side. Among people who are not very skillful in politics big successes and big achievements not infrequently give rise to carelessness, complacency, self-satisfaction, overweening self-confidence, swell-headed-

ness and braggery. You cannot deny that braggarts have lately developed among us tremendously. It is not surprising in these circumstances of big and serious successes in the sphere of socialist construction that feelings of boastfulness are created, feelings of showy demonstration of our successes, and feelings are created for underestimating the strength of our enemies, feelings of overestimation of our own strength, and as a result of all this political blindness appears.

"I must here say a few words about the dangers connected with successes, about the dangers connected with achievements.

"We know by experience of the dangers connected with difficulties. For a number of years we have been fighting against such kinds of dangers, and I must say not without success. Among people who are not staunch, dangers connected with difficulties not infrequently give rise to downcast feelings, distrust in their own forces, feelings of pessimism. And, on the contrary, when it is a matter of fighting against the dangers which arise from difficulties, people are tempered in this struggle and emerge from the struggle really granite Bolsheviks.

"Such is the nature of the dangers connected with difficulties. Such are the results of overcoming difficulties.

"But there is another kind of danger, the danger connected with successes, the danger connected with achievements. Yes, yes, comrades, dangers connected with achievements, with successes. These dangers consist in the fact that among people little skilled in politics and not having seen much, the conditions of successes - success after success, achievement after achievement, the overfulfilment of plans after overfulfilment of plans - gives rise to feelings of carelessness and self-satisfaction, creates an atmosphere of showy triumphs and mutual congratulations which kill the sense of proportion and dull political instinct, take the spring out of people and impel them to rest on their laurels.

"It is not surprising that in this narcotic atmosphere of swell headedness and self-satisfaction, this atmosphere of showy demonstrations and loud self-praise, people forget some essential facts which are of first-grade significance for the fate of this our country: people begin to miss seeing such unpleasant facts as capitalist encirclement, the new forms of wrecking, the dangers connected with our successes, etc.

"Capitalist encirclement? A mere bagatelle! What significance can some capitalist encirclement or other have if we fulfil and surpass our economic plans? The Party statutes, the election of Party organs, the reporting of the Party leaders to the mass of the Party members - is there really any need for all this? Is it worth worrying about all these trifles at all if our economy grows and the material situation of the workers and peasants becomes ever better and better? Mere details! We overfulfil the Plans, our Party is not bad, the Central Committee of the Party is also not bad - what do we need? They are funny people sitting there in Moscow in the Central Committee of the Party. They invent some kind of questions, talk about some wrecking or other, don't sleep themselves and don't let other people sleep.

"This is an example plain to see of how easily and 'simply' some of our inexperienced comrades are infected with political blindness as the result of a dizzying rapture in our economic successes.

"Such are the dangers connected with successes, with achievements.

"Such are the reasons why our Party comrades are carried away by economic successes,

have forgotten facts of an international and internal character which are of real importance for the Soviet Union, and have not noticed a whole series of dangers surrounding our country.

"Such are the roots of our carelessness, forgetfulness, complacency, and political blindness.

"Such are the roots of the shortcomings in our economic and Party work." (Defects in Party Work and Measures for Liquidating Trotskyites and Other Double Dealers, Report to the Central Committee of the CPSU, 3/5 March 1937).

Chapter 10

TREASONABLE AGREEMENTS WITH FASCISM

The first Moscow trial in August 1936 already threw some light on the relationship and close coordination between the Trotskyites and the Gestapo. We have already seen that Nathan Lurye, a terrorist sent from Berlin to the USSR by Trotsky, worked in close coordination with Franz Weitz, an agent of the Gestapo and a man trusted by Himmler, the chief of the Gestapo at that time. It was not, however, until the third trial, the trial of the Anti-Soviet bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, in March 1938, that it became clear that Trotskyite connections with the German General Staff dated back to a much earlier period. According to the testimony of the accused Krestinsky, Trotskyites had concluded an agreement with German imperialism under which they agreed to carry out espionage for Germany and to provide her with information in return for funds for carrying on the Trotskyist opposition's propaganda within the USSR.

"In 1921 Trotsky told me to take advantage of a meeting with Seeckt during official negotiations to propose to him, to Seeckt, that he grant Trotsky a regular subsidy for the development of illegal Trotskyite activities; at the same time he told me that, if Seeckt will put up a counter-demand that we render him services in the sphere of espionage, we should and may accept it ... I put the question before Seeckt and named the sum of 250,000 gold marks, that is 60,000 dollars a year. General Seeckt, after consulting with his assistant, the chief of staff, agreed in principle and put up the counter-demand that certain confidential and important information of a military nature be transmitted to him, even if not regularly, by Trotsky in Moscow or through me. In addition he was to receive assistance in obtaining visas for some persons whom they needed and whom they would send to the Soviet Union as spies. This counter-demand of General Seeckt was accepted and in 1923 this agreement had been put into effect" (Accused Krestinsky at the Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites).

Apart from securing funds from Germany in return for doing espionage work for her, for supplying her with essential and important information,

funds also became available to the Trotskyites and Rights through criminal misuse and manipulation of foreign trade. Here is what Rosengoltz had to say at his trial on the matter under discussion:

"Foreign trade was criminally utilised by way of using and stealing funds to finance the Trotskyite movement. Without dwelling on quite a number of perhaps insignificant dealings, I shall mention two of the most important examples. The first was an operation carried out by Kravetsky to the amount of \$300,000, which were transmitted to the Trotskyite organisation or direct to Trotsky" (Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites).

Initially the necessity to secure funds for their anti-Party propaganda seems to have led the Trotskyites to conclude a treasonable agreement with the German Reichswehr. But as the Trotskyites suffered more and more defeats in their open attacks on the Party, as they became more and more isolated and lost even the semblance of mass support for their policy of opposition to the building of socialism in the USSR, they felt obliged to drop methods of open struggle against the Party that no longer had any prospect of success and to adopt conspiratorial tactics. They degenerated into a band of professional wreckers, assassins and diversionists. This change of Trotskyism's tactics and its connections with the foreign bourgeoisie led it from the position of mere opposition to the building of socialism in the USSR to the policy of direct bourgeois restoration. As their bourgeois connections became more and more extensive, in proportion as the Trotskyites became more and more isolated from the Party and the Soviet working class and masses, the imperialist bourgeoisie, taking advantage of this isolation, demanded more and more concessions from the Trotskyites in the event of the latter coming to power with imperialist help. Thus the change in the Trotskyites' tactics led to a change in their programme. In this context, comrades, I cannot refrain from citing a few passages from the last plea of the accused Krestinsky, who was a Trotskyite. Here is what he said:

"In 1921 I accepted Trotsky's proposal to take part in the illegal Trotskyite work which he was then commencing, mustering forces and cadres for subsequent open action.

"A bureau was formed right then, consisting of Trotsky, Serebryakov, Preobrazhensky, Pyatakov and myself. This was in October 1921. My illegal struggle against the Party dates from this moment.

"In the spring of 1922, when I arrived for the Eleventh Party Congress, Trot-

sky broached the subject of securing funds for the internal Party struggle, for the struggle against the Central Committee, which, as he visualised it, would be a prolonged and acute one. Victor Kopp, who was present, proposed that an attempt be made to secure funds from the German Reichswehr. This proposal at first gave rise to certain vacillations on my part, but I afterwards accepted it and played an active part in the conclusion of a treasonable agreement with the Germans.

"Towards the end of 1923 an open attack of the Trotskyites on the Party took place. The defeat which we Trotskyites suffered only served to intensify our resentment and to aggravate the struggle.

"In 1926-27 the Trotskyites launched a number of attacks on the Central Committee. Simultaneously, a Trotskyite struggle began in the Western Communist Parties as well. Taking advantage of the situation, the Reichswehr demanded that we should not only intensify our espionage activities, but also give certain political promises of future grants of economic concessions in the Ukraine in case we came to power. Trotsky and I, fearing to lose a source of funds at a moment of acute struggle, agreed to it and consented to deepen this treasonable agreement.

"At the end of 1927 Trotsky flung all his forces into the struggle but suffered smashing and utter defeat. The Trotskyites were expelled from the Party. The majority of their leaders were exiled. The masses were against us, and an open struggle offered no prospect of success. Accordingly, Trotsky gave instructions to all who had been expelled or exiled to get themselves reinstated in the Party by submitting double-dealing statements to the effect that they had renounced their views. At the same time he gave instructions for the restoration of the illegal Trotskyite organisation, which now was to bear a purely conspiratorial character.

"Its method of struggle was to pave the way for an armed coup. The means to this end were terrorism, wrecking and diversion.

"The change in the tactical line was accompanied by a change of program. We had always considered that the building of socialism in the USSR alone is impossible inasmuch as the bourgeois-capitalist system was still preserved in the other countries, and the fascists had come to power in some. We deemed it necessary to adopt the policy of permitting capitalist relations in the country, and then, as our connections with the foreign bourgeoisie became more extensive, we in this way arrived at the policy of direct bourgeois restoration.

"During the meeting in Meran in October 1933, Trotsky expounded to me at

length the bourgeois-restorationist program of our conspiratorial organisation and the program for the overthrow of the socialist social system existing in the country, adopting for this purpose methods of terrorism, wrecking and diversion, and envisaging the subsequent dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the severance from it of the Ukraine and the Maritime Region.

"I accepted the program proposed by Trotsky, and also agreed to the new methods of struggle. And from that moment I bear complete political and criminal responsibility for all these methods of struggle.

"In February 1935 Pyatakov informed me that an agreement on a joint armed coup had been reached between the Trotskyites, the Rights and Tukhachevsky's military group. From that moment I bear responsibility not only for the actions of the Trotskyites, but for the actions of the Rights and of the military conspirators as well" (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, pp. 732-3).

Proof relating to the agreements concluded by Trotsky¹ with Nazi Germany and fascist Japan is also to be found in the testimony of Sokolnikov and Radek. Both of them gave detailed accounts of the various encounters they had had with the diplomatic representatives of fascist Germany who were keen on confirming that Trotsky was not just acting on his own, that behind him there really stood people who occupied influential and important positions in the Soviet government and economy. Here is what Sokolnikov said:

"I had a conversation with Kamenev at the beginning of 1934. During this conversation Kamenev informed me about the defeatist position taken by Trotsky and about his own defeatist views. Incidentally, one definite result of this conversation was that Kamenev warned me that someone might approach me with enquiries."

Vyshinsky: *"Who might do this?"*

Sokolnikov: *"The diplomatic representative of a certain country."*

Vyshinsky: *"Kamenev warned you about this?"*

Sokolnikov: *"Yes. Kamenev warned me about this."*

Vyshinsky: *"Did Kamenev tell you what enquiries would be addressed to you?"*

Sokolnikov: *"Yes, he told me that I would be asked for confirmation of the fact that the negotiations which were being carried on by Trotsky abroad were not being carried on by him in his own name, but that behind Trotsky there*

was an organisation of which he was the representative."

Vyshinsky: *"You were to confirm this if enquiries in this sense were addressed to you?"*

Sokolnikov: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"Such a question was addressed to you?"*

Sokolnikov: *"Yes, in the middle of April after one of my official talks with the representative of a certain country with whom I had frequent meetings in connection with my official duties. The conversation took place after the official talk was over, when the interpreters had withdrawn to the neighbouring room. While I was showing my visitor to the door he asked me whether I knew that Trotsky had addressed certain proposals to his government. I confirmed that this fact was known to me. He asked further whether these proposals were serious. I confirmed this too. He asked whether this was my own personal opinion. I said that this was not only my opinion but that of my friends as well. I understood this question of his as a confirmation of the fact that the government of that country had really received Trotsky's proposals, and wanted to make sure that Trotsky's proposals were really known to the organisation and that Trotsky's right to conduct these negotiations was not disputed."*

Vyshinsky: *"What post did you hold at that time?"*

Sokolnikov: *"Assistant People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs." (Trial of Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre, January 1937, pp. 148-9).*

An additional factor that drove the Trotskyites into the arms of the fascists, that led to the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites to arrive at agreements with the fascists, that led them to enter upon the *"course of terrorist struggle, of wrecking struggle, of diversive acts, on a defeatist position"* was their over-estimation of the strength of German fascism and under-estimation of the might of the USSR, and a desire to arrive at a compromise with fascism:

"We considered," declared Sokolnikov, that fascism was the most organised form of capitalism, that it would triumph, would seize Europe and stifle us. It was therefore better to come to terms with it, it was better to consent to a compromise in the sense of retreating from socialism to capitalism. All this was explained by the following argument: better make certain sacrifices, even very severe ones, than lose everything. I should explain, emphasise, this principle, because without it, it would be quite impossible to understand how the bloc and the centre of the bloc could have entered upon the course of ter-

rorist struggle, of wrecking struggle, of diversive acts; on a defeatist position." (ibid., p. 151).

The Trotskyites and Rights argued that the purpose of these agreements reached by them with the fascists was to prevent fascism from "seizing Europe" and "stifling" the USSR; that their purpose was to "utilise this hostile power [German fascism]" by paying a price which in the present case meant committing treasonable acts against the Soviet Union. But it goes without saying that, their intentions notwithstanding, the Trotskyites and Rights, divorced from the Soviet working class and armed with a counter-revolutionary programme of capitalist restoration, ended up, and could not but have ended up, by becoming the agents of fascism, its tools and puppets. They could never have made use of fascism. Fascism was bound to have made use of them.

"We had to decide a political problem which consisted of only one point," continued Sokolnikov, "could we by adopting this most painful course, which in regard to the existing Party leadership, in regard to the Soviet power, in regard to the Soviet Union, represented, as we understood full well, a series of the most heinous crimes, of the most shameful crimes, represented treason and so forth - we had to decide whether after paying this price we would be able to utilise this hostile force."

Vyshinsky: *"Or they would utilise you?"*

Sokolnikov: *"Or they would utilise us, if we became simply an appendage of German Fascism, which would utilise us and then throw us away like a dirty rag, we would be condemned, disgraced and proved to be utter nonentities."*

Vyshinsky: *"And did you expect any other fate than to be utilised by Fascism and then thrown away like a useless rag?"*

Sokolnikov: *"Of course. If we had counted only on such an end we ought to have liquidated the bloc completely."*

Vyshinsky: *"You thought you could retain some independence?"*

Sokolnikov: *"I am saying what we thought at the time. We figured that we had certain chances. Where did we see them? We saw them in the play of international contradictions. We considered that, let us say, complete sway in the Soviet Union could never be established by German Fascism because it would encounter the objections of other imperialist rivals, that certain international conflicts might occur, that we could rely on other forces which would not be interested in strengthening Fascism" (ibid, pp. 154-5).*

Radek, Pyatakov and Sokolnikov told the court that they had, in arriving at an 'agreement' with Germany and Japan, calculated on utilising these two countries in their own Trotskyite interest. *"But how can one seriously talk about this when this very 'parallel' centre is simply a wretched little gnat compared with a wolf?"* asked Vyshinsky, continuing:

"Agreement! They should have said simply: surrender to the mercy of the conqueror. Of course it was not an agreement but surrender to the mercy of the conqueror."

And further: *"This agreement reminds me of Krylov's fable 'The Lion Goes Hunting'. In this fable the dog, the lion, the wolf and the fox came to an agreement, 'entered into a covenant' to go hunting together. The fox caught a deer and they began to share it: one of the 'contracting parties' says: 'This part is mine according to the bond; this part is surely mine, for I am the lion, and this is mine because I am stronger than you all; and as for this part, if any one of you as much as puts his paw upon it, he will not leave this place alive.'*

"This 'covenant' is very much like your agreement, Messrs the accused, Messrs officers of German and Japanese fascism."

The third trial revealed that, bereft of all support within the Soviet Union, the leaders of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, with the object of overthrowing the socialist social and state system existing in the USSR and restoring capitalism, concluded through Trotsky and individual participants in this anti-Soviet 'bloc', an agreement with the representatives of certain foreign states on armed assistance in overthrowing Soviet power in the USSR, on condition of its dismemberment and the severance from the USSR of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Maritime Region, and the Central Asiatic and Transcaucasian Republics for the benefit of the above-mentioned states. The conclusion of this treasonable agreement was facilitated by the fact that the leading participants in the anti-Soviet conspiracy were direct agents of foreign intelligence services and had for many years carried on espionage activities for these intelligence services.

As has already been mentioned, Krestinsky, on the direct instructions of Trotsky, entered into treasonable connections with the German Reichswehr in 1921 and remained a German spy until his arrest in 1937, receiving in return for his espionage work, and for the use of the criminal activities of the Trotskyite organisation 250,000 German gold marks per annum.

Rosengoltz began espionage work for the German General Staff in 1923 and for the British Intelligence Service in 1926.

Rakovsky was an agent of the British Intelligence Service since 1924 and a Japanese spy since 1934.

Chernov began espionage work for Germany in 1928, having formed connections with the German intelligence service with the aid of the notorious Menshevik and émigré, Dan.

Sharangovich was recruited and sent by the Polish intelligence service to carry on espionage work in the USSR in 1921. He remained a Polish spy until the day of his arrest.

Grinko was a German and Polish spy from 1932.

The leaders of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, Bukharin, Rykov and Yagoda, were not only informed of the espionage activities of their accomplices, but encouraged these treasonable connections, and themselves gave instructions to the participants in the bloc when they conducted treasonable negotiations with the representatives of foreign states.

Bukharin did his best to deny his part in the organisation of espionage against the USSR, but his denial proved worthless in the light of the evidence against him. Rykov's evidence proved beyond doubt that Bukharin and Rykov were fully guilty of espionage connections and of conducting espionage work for foreign intelligence services. Here is a relevant section from the dialogue between the state prosecutor and Rykov at the morning session of 7 March, 1938:

Vyshinsky: *"Consequently, Chervyakov and the people connected with you maintained systematic connections with the Poles?"*

Rykov: "Yes"

Vyshinsky: *"What kind of connection is it?"*

Rykov: *"There was an espionage connection there, too".*

Vyshinsky: *"But was there an espionage connection maintained by a part of your organisation with the Poles on your instructions?"*

Rykov: *"Of course."*

Vyshinsky: *"Bukharin included?"*

Rykov: *"Of course."*

Vyshinsky: *"Were you and Bukharin connected?"*

Rykov: *"Absolutely."*

Vyshinsky: *"So you were spies?"*

Rykov: (No reply)

Vyshinsky: *"And the organisers of the espionage?"*

Rykov: *"I am in no way better than a spy."*

Vyshinsky: *"You organised espionage, so you were spies?"*

Rykov: *"It may be said, yes." (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites).*

Rykov also very clearly indicated another highly characteristic feature which exposed the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites as an agency of certain foreign intelligence services. Questioned on the subject of the dismemberment of the USSR, and asked *"was there also the aim of preparing a base for the Fascists, for their attack upon the USSR and for their victory?"* Rykov replies: *"Yes, that is unquestionably so."*

The court investigation established that the aim of preparing a base for an attack upon the USSR and of ensuring victory against the USSR in the event of such an attack was set by the German, Polish and other intelligence services to the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites as to a direct agency of the fascist intelligence services. And the accused Chernov was absolutely right when he said that, apart from Trotsky, the real masters of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites were in fact the intelligence services of certain foreign states.

The intention of these despicable traitors, these menials of capitalism, was to transform the USSR into a colony of German fascism. Exposing the essence of the agreement with the Reichswehr, the threads of which led to the treason and treachery of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, Krestinsky said:

"We [the Trotskyites] were receiving a small sum of money and they [the Reichswehr] were receiving espionage information which they would need during an armed attack. But the German government, Hitler particularly, wanted colonies, territory, and not only espionage information. And he [i.e., Hitler] was prepared to be satisfied with Soviet territory instead of colonies for which he would have to fight England, America and France." (ibid).

And still further continued Krestinsky:

"We were prepared to restore capitalist relations in the USSR and to make territorial concessions to the bourgeois states with which we had already come to an agreement."

It is for the reasons contained in the above passage from Krestinsky that the imperialist and fascist states were prepared to render the most energetic support to the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites in order to enable the latter to come to power by overthrowing the Soviet government. Had the 'bloc' come to power, they would have restored capitalism in the USSR and made large territorial concessions to imperialist states. It is for these reasons that the bourgeoisie all over the world mourn and wail over the just punishment of these traitors to socialism and deserters to the camp of the bourgeoisie. It is for these reasons precisely that the bourgeoisie continues to describe these traitors as the "*real Bolsheviks*" purged by Stalin because of the latter's alleged desire for absolute power. Comrades, do we not have the right to ask this bourgeois gentry: gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, since when have you decided to side with the real Bolsheviks? Would it not be a cause for greatest satisfaction on your part - a cause warranting lavish celebrations - if all the real Bolsheviks of a communist party were eliminated? One has merely to raise these questions to give, in the affirmative, answers to them. The truth of the matter is that, having rid itself of these traitors, the Bolshevik Party emerged very strong indeed. In this context I must quote a few passages from Comrade Stalin's Report to the 18th Party Congress of the CPSU(B). In these passages Comrade Stalin deals with the 'drivel' that the purging of the Party and Soviet organisations of Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Rights led to the weakening of the Party and the 'demoralisation' of the Soviet system. Here is what Comrade Stalin said:

"Certain foreign pressmen have been talking drivel to the effect that the purging of Soviet organisations of spies, assassins and wreckers like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Yakir, Tukhachevsky, Rosengoltz, Bukharin and other fiends has 'shaken' the Soviet system and caused it 'demoralisation'. All this cheap drivel deserves is laughter and scorn. How can the purging of Soviet organisations of noxious and hostile elements shake and demoralise the Soviet system? The Trotsky-Bukharin bunch, that handful of spies, assassins and wreckers, who kowtowed to the foreign world, who were possessed by a slavish instinct to grovel before every foreign bigwig and were ready to serve him as spies - that handful of individuals who did not understand that the humblest Soviet citizen, being free from the fetters of capital, stands head and shoulders above any high-placed foreign bigwig whose neck wears the yoke of capitalist slavery - of what use that miserable band of venal slaves, of what value can they be to the people, and whom can they 'demoralise'? In 1937 Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich and other fiends were sentenced to be shot. After that, the elections to the Supreme

Soviet of the USSR were held. In these elections, 98.6% of the total vote was cast for the Soviet government. At the beginning of 1938 Rosengoltz, Rykov, Bukharin and other fiends were sentenced to be shot. After that the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Union Republics were held. In these elections 99.4% of the total vote was cast for the Soviet government. Where are the symptoms of 'demoralisation', we would like to know, and why was this 'demoralisation' not reflected in the results of the elections?

"To listen to these foreign drivellers one would think that if the spies, assassins and wreckers had been left at liberty to wreck, murder and spy without let or hindrance, the Soviet organisations would have been far sounder and stronger. (Laughter). Are not these gentlemen giving themselves away too soon by so insolently defending the cause of spies, assassins and wreckers?

"Would it not be truer to say that the weeding out of spies, assassins and wreckers from our Soviet organisations was bound to lead, and did lead, to the further strengthening of these organisations?

"What, for instance, do the events at Lake Hassan show, if not that the weeding out of spies and wreckers is the surest means of strengthening our Soviet organisations?"

The accused Rakovsky testified that the bloc worked for the defeat of the USSR and systematically engaged in spying. In this connection reference must be made to Bukharin. As mentioned earlier, Bukharin tried to prove that he did not favour the defeat of the USSR, that he did not favour wrecking, espionage and diversive activities, because in general he was not supposed to have any connection with practical matters, because he was a 'theoretician' who occupied himself with arming Trotskyism with the 'spiritual' weapon of the theory of the restoration of capitalism. But even Bukharin had to admit the following:

"In short, as one of the leaders of the Right Centre, it was my duty to communicate our line to one of the leaders of the periphery centre."

What was the line that Bukharin had to communicate "as one of the leaders of the Right Centre"? Said Bukharin:

"Briefly, this line was that in the fight against Soviet power it is permissible to utilise a war situation and to make certain concessions to capitalist states for the purpose of neutralising them, and sometimes for the purpose of obtaining their assistance."

As Vyshinsky put it: *"If this involved and intricate statement of Bukharin's*

is deciphered, it means downright treason, desertion to the enemy, depending on military circumstances and war conditions in order to utilise assistance of these enemies for the achievement of one's criminal ends." (Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites).

When Bukharin was asked: *"In other words, orientation towards assistance from certain foreign states?"* he replied: *"Yes it can be put that way."*

Further, on being asked: *"In other words, orientation towards the defeat of the USSR?"* - Bukharin, remaining true to this *"nebulous verbal acrobatics,"* as Vyshinsky aptly described Bukharin's way of answering questions, replied: *"In general, summarised, I repeat, yes."*

Radek and Pyatakov also testified, at the trial of the anti-Soviet Trotskyite centre, to the defeatist position adopted by the Trotskyites, to their complete dependence on foreign powers for the purposes of coming to power by overthrowing the Soviet government, and to the various territorial and other concessions they had agreed to grant to these foreign powers in return for their assistance.

In the event of the defeat of the USSR and the Trotskyites coming to power, the Trotskyites, according to the testimony of the various accused at the second trial, intended not only to lease as concessions the industrial enterprises which the imperialist states regarded as important, but also sell outright to private owners important enterprises which they had already earmarked for this purpose. The Trotskyites proposed to liquidate the collective and state farms and adopt individual farming. And on the partitioning of the country, Radek's formula was *"Give Ukraine to Germany and the Amur region to Japan."*

The total impotence of Trotskyism, its complete isolation from the Soviet working class and masses, its utter dependence on fascism, its efforts to provoke a war against the Soviet Union and to work for the defeat of the latter in the event of such a war, and its real counter-revolutionary essence is revealed by the following remarks made by the accused Radek during his last plea:

"... I perceived that Trotsky himself had lost faith. The first variant was a concealed way of saying: Well boys, try to overthrow the Soviet power by yourselves, without Hitler. What, you cannot? Try to seize power yourselves. What you cannot? Trotsky himself already felt his complete internal impotence, and staked on Hitler. The stake was now on Hitler. The old Trotskyites had held that it was impossible to build up socialism in one country, and that it was

therefore necessary to force the revolution in the west. Now they were told that revolution in the west was impossible, and so destroy socialism in one country, destroy socialism in the USSR. Yet nobody could help but see that socialism in our country had been built." (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre).

The words emphasised sum up the quintessence of Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution': if world revolution does not follow the revolution in a given country, then, says Trotskyism, destroy the revolution in the country where it has taken place.

Comrades, it is not possible for me to present the mass of evidence relating to all the treasonable 'agreements' arrived at by the Trotskyites and Rights with fascism. I shall have to be content with the few details that I have already given you. As for the rest, you must read the transcripts of these trials to get a complete picture. I propose, therefore, to complete this chapter with a quotation from Bukharin, which aptly characterises the accused at these trials:

"We all became rabid counter-revolutionaries, traitors to the socialist fatherland, we turned into spies, terrorists, and restorers of capitalism. We embarked on treachery, crime and treason. We turned into an insurrectionary band, we organised terrorist groups, engaged in wrecking activities, wanted to overthrow the Soviet government of the proletariat" (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites).

Now, comrades, it is proposed to pass to consider the military aspects of the conspiracy, the plans of the conspirators for a coup d'état.

NOTES

1. According to the testimony of the accused Bessonov at the third trial, Trotsky had come to an agreement with the German and Japanese intelligence services to wage a joint struggle against Soviet power and the USSR. Bessonov said that this agreement was concluded on the basis of the following five points:

- (a) Mutual sabotage of all official relations between the USSR and Germany. This is nothing less than provocation in the international relations of the USSR in order to provoke conflicts in the interests of the imperialists.
- (b) All-round collaboration between the Trotskyite organisations in the USSR and the German secret and espionage agents in order to undermine the military and economic might of the USSR in order to ensure its defeat in war.
- (c) German fascism was to give help to a coup d'état in the USSR, its purpose being to trans-

fer power to the bloc of Rights and Trotskyites.

(d) The fourth point provided for the acceleration of foreign intervention followed by the conclusion of peace with the new government - a Trotskyite government - which the Trotskyites hoped to establish.

(e) And, finally, the severance of the Ukraine from the USSR in favour of Germany, the severance of the Maritime Region in favour of Japan, the severance of Byelorussia in favour of Poland, and the dismemberment of the USSR by severing regions and republics from it and placing them at the disposal of the imperialists.

Chapter 11

THE MILITARY ASPECT OF THE CONSPIRACY -

PLANS FOR A COUP D'ETAT

The most difficult to detect was the military aspect of the conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet government. It was not until May 1937 that the Soviet authorities discovered a most dangerous gang of plotters and conspirators in the Red Army. The Soviet government took appropriate and timely measures; it brought eight generals to trial on the following charge:-

"Being in the employ of the military intelligence services of one of the foreign states which carries on an unfriendly policy towards the USSR, had systematically furnished to the military circles of that State espionage information, committed wrecking acts with the aim of undermining the might of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, prepared, in the event of military attack on the USSR, the defeat of the USSR, the defeat of the Red Army, and pursued the aim of assisting in the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and in restoring the power of the landlords and capitalists in the USSR."

That the generals actually were involved in the conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet government, that they did plan a coup d'état, that they did commit wrecking acts, was made amply clear by the evidence of the various of the accused at the third Moscow trial.

Rykov gave the following account of the plan of the generals for a coup d'état:

"I remember that once, in my presence, Bukharin formulated the idea of opening the front ... the existence of a military group, headed by Tukhachevsky, which was connected with our centre and which aimed at taking advantage of a war to overthrow the government. This meant preparing for intervention pure and simple. Our dealings with the Germans, which we intensified in every way, were meant to stimulate in every way an armed attack, inasmuch as in

this sphere the conspiratorial organisation had entered into treasonable relations with them." (*Trial of Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites*, p. 186).

The initial plan of the conspirators seems to have been to stage a coup d'état in the event of a military attack on the Soviet Union, to take advantage of such an attack to overthrow the Soviet government. But this plan had to be reviewed in the light of the fact that by the end of 1936 more and more Rights and Trotskyites were being discovered and their whole organisation was on the verge of collapse and disintegration. It was in these circumstances of increasing insecurity for the still-at-large renegades that the development of the conception of a peacetime coup d'état took place. The details of such a planned coup d'état were given by Rosengoltz at his trial:

"The point I stopped at was the conference we had with Tukhachevsky. It took place at the end of March (1937) ... At this conference Tukhachevsky stated that he counted definitively on the possibility of a coup and mentioned the date. He believed that by May 15, in the first half of May, he would succeed in carrying out this military coup ... Tukhachevsky had a number of variants. One of them, the one on which he counted most, was the possibility for a group of military men, his adherents, gathering in his apartment on some pretext or other, making their way into the Kremlin, seizing the Kremlin telephone exchange, and killing the leaders of the Party and the government" (*Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites*, pp. 252-3).

Krestinsky, a co-accused of Rosengoltz, also admitted to having taken part in the conference with Tukhachevsky, referred to above by Rosengoltz. Krestinsky added:

"We discussed the necessity of terrorist acts against the leaders of the Party and the Soviet government ... we had in mind Stalin, Molotov and Kaganovich." (*ibid.*, p. 254).

Bukharin's testimony also confirms the existence of two plans - a plan for a peacetime coup d'état, and another for a coup d'état in time of war - for a coup d'état to overthrow the Soviet government. Said Bukharin:

"When I asked Tomsy how he conceived the mechanism of the coup he said this was the business of the military organisation, which was to open the front."

Vyshinsky: *"Permit me to read Bukharin's testimony, Volume 5 pages 95-6: 'Tomsy told me that two variants were discussed: the case where the new government would be formed in time of peace', and this meant that the conspirators would or-*

ganise a new government in time of peace, and 'the case where it would be organised in time of war; in the latter case the Germans were demanding big economic concessions,' concessions of which I have already spoken, 'and were insisting upon cessions of territory'".

In the latter case, that is, in the case of a front being opened to a German attack, Bukharin explained: *"It would be expedient to try those guilty of the defeat at the front. This will enable us to win over the masses by playing on patriotic slogans."* And further: *"I had in mind that by this, that is, by the conviction of those guilty of the defeat, we would be able at the same time to rid ourselves of the Bonapartist danger that alarmed me."* (*Trial of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites*, pp. 432-6).

This brings me to the question of Bonapartism referred to by Bukharin. This Bonapartism is the Bonapartism of the generals - of Tukhachevsky and the military group who were to be the decisive force in the counter-revolutionary action - of whom the Trotskyites were very afraid. This is indicative of the conspiratorial atmosphere of cynicism, callousness, selfishness and suspicion in which the renegades from the camp of socialism - the Trotskyites and the Rights - lived. They were afraid of their own shadows and were frightened by the mere rustling of leaves. Though they found it necessary to collaborate with each other against the Soviet regime, they also had in store plans to tackle each other. Here is what Rosengoltz stated in this context:

"Sedov (Trotsky's son) spoke a lot about the necessity of the maximum, the closest possible connections with Tukhachevsky, inasmuch as, in Trotsky's opinion, Tukhachevsky and the military group were to be the decisive force of the counter-revolutionary action. During the conversation it was also revealed that Trotsky entertained fears regarding Tukhachevsky's Bonapartist tendencies. In the course of one conversation Sedov said that Trotsky in this respect even expressed the fear that if Tukhachevsky successfully accomplished a military coup, it was possible that he would not allow Trotsky into Moscow ... Trotsky therefore proposed that during the coup d'état we should everywhere place our own people, people who would be faithful to Trotskyism and who could be relied upon as regards vigilance." (*Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites*, p. 245- 246).

Such then were the crimes committed by the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Rights in their struggle against Soviet power and for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. In view of these crimes committed by this rabid

and unprincipled band of wreckers, diversionists, spies and assassins acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of other countries, is it possible for any honest person to doubt, even for a moment, the correctness of the following characterisation of these wreckers given by Comrade Stalin? Said Comrade Stalin:

"Two words about wreckers, diversionists, spies, etc. I think it is clear to everybody now that the present-day wreckers and diversionists, no matter what disguise they may adopt, either Trotskyite or Bukharinite, have long ceased to be a political trend in the labour movement, that they have become transformed into a gang of professional wreckers, diversionists, spies and assassins, without principles and without ideals." "Of course," continued Comrade Stalin, "these gentlemen must be ruthlessly smashed and uprooted as the enemies of the working class, as betrayers of our country. This is clear and requires no further explanation."

No, comrades, it is not at all possible for anyone who is in the least honest to cast doubt on the validity of the above characterisation of the Trotskyites.

In view of the fact that these crimes were committed by the Trotskyites and Rights from high official positions and that these crimes were committed amidst colossal socialist construction, is it surprising that the accused "suffered from a peculiar duality of mind" and "a most unhappy mind"? Bukharin, in his last plea, dealt with the process of degeneration of the Rights and Trotskyites and the "most unhappy mind" that this degeneration had produced in the case of each of the accused. Here is what Bukharin said:

"I have already said when giving my main testimony during the trial, that it was the naked logic of the struggle that drove us, the counter-revolutionary conspirators, into this stinking underground life, which has been exposed at this trial in all its starkness. This naked logic of the struggle was accompanied by a degeneration of ideas, a degeneration of psychology, a degeneration of ourselves, a degeneration of people. There are well-known historical examples of such degeneration. One need only mention Briand, Mussolini and others. And we too degenerated, and this brought us into a camp which in its views and features was very much akin to a kulak praetorian fascism. As this process advanced all the time very rapidly under the conditions of a developing class struggle, this struggle, its speed, its existence, acted as the accelerator, as the catalytic agent, of the process which was expressed in the acceleration of

the process of degeneration.

"But this process of degeneration of people, including myself, took place in absolutely different conditions from those in which the process of degeneration of the international labour leaders in Western Europe took place. It took place amidst colossal socialist construction, with its immense scope, tasks, victories, difficulties, heroism ...

"And on this basis, it seems to me probable that every one of us sitting here in the dock suffered from a peculiar duality of mind, an incomplete faith in his counter-revolutionary cause. I will not say that the consciousness of this was absent, but it was incomplete. Hence a certain semi-paralysis of the will, a retardation of the reflexes. It seems to me that we are to a certain extent people with retarded reflexes. And this was due not to the absence of consistent thought, but to the objective grandeur of socialist construction. The contradiction that arose between the acceleration of our degeneration and these retarded reflexes expressed the position of a counter-revolutionary, or a developing counter-revolutionary, under the conditions of developing socialist construction. A dual psychology arose. Each one of us can discern this in his own soul, although I will not engage in far-reaching psychological analysis.

"Even I was sometimes carried away by the eulogies I wrote of socialist construction, although on the morrow I repudiated this by practical actions of a criminal character. There arose what in Hegel's philosophy is called a most unhappy mind. This unhappy mind differed from the ordinary unhappy mind only by the fact that it was also a criminal mind."

Now, comrades, the question: why did Trotskyism degenerate to the point of being an advanced detachment of fascism? This question must be answered. Some indications concerning the answer to this question have already been given. Comrade Lenin has already been quoted in this context, and this penetrating observation of his will now be repeated:

"Verily it may be said," said Comrade Lenin, "that a small mistake persisted in, learnedly demonstrated and 'carried to its logical conclusion', will grow into a monstrosity."

This is what happened in the case of Trotsky. He started with an erroneous analysis as to the role of the peasantry in the Russian revolution. This was *"a small mistake"*, which if corrected might not have led to Trotsky's degeneration. Instead of rectifying his *"small mistake"*, however, Trotsky *"persisted in"* it, *"learnedly demonstrated"* it and carried it *"to its logical conclusion"*. The result was that Trotsky's *"small mistake"* not only grew into

a "monstrosity", but also into a crime. Trotsky's theory of 'permanent revolution', with its underestimation of the role of the peasantry, is the cause of Trotsky's degeneration. It is the starting point of the road that led to alliance with fascism. Having failed to correct his erroneous 'theory', Trotsky started on the long road of opposition to Bolshevism. He joined the Bolshevik Party only a few months before the revolution. After the revolution he carried on with his anti-Party and factional activities in relation to such issues as Brest-Litovsk, the trade unions, etc. Guided by this theory of 'permanent revolution', Trotsky opposed the building of socialism in the USSR. As his line suffered defeat after defeat in the Party, as he got more and more isolated from the rank and file of the Party and the working class of the USSR, he passed on to conspiratorial methods and connections with fascist and imperialist states. This is how Trotskyism degenerated. The whole history of the struggle of Trotskyism against Bolshevism and Leninism was nothing but a preparatory school for the transformation of Trotskyism from the erroneous political trend, that it once was, in the labour movement, into a "gang of professional wreckers, diversionists, spies and assassins, without principles and without ideals."

The accused Rakovsky, who was a very close personal friend of Trotsky's, raised the following question during his last plea:

"And the question which arises and to which I, as one of those involved, feel the necessity to find an answer, is the question as to how former members of the government, former ambassadors, have ended up here. What form of political insanity brought them to this dock of political infamy?"

Having correctly rejected "the trite and shallow bourgeois explanation, according to which all revolutions finish by devouring their own children," Rakovsky goes on to give the following explanation:

"... We [the Trotskyites] were what is known as an alien body in the living Party organism. Trotsky joined the Bolshevik Party only a few months before the October Revolution, his ideology took shape in the fight against Bolshevism. I joined the Party at the end of 1917, after I had belonged for more than a quarter of a century to the Second International, which developed under entirely specific conditions, under conditions of peaceful development of capitalism, and, although I belonged to its Left wing, I was permeated by its opportunism. If you trace back the history of other Trotskyites, if I take Radek, Pyatakov, Preobrazhensky as examples, you will find that both before the October Revolution and after the October Revolution every one of them was guilty of a num-

ber of serious deviations."

This is absolutely correct, comrades. Time does not permit me to go into the history of each of the accused; however, if you trace back their history you will find that they ended up in the dock precisely because of "*a number of serious deviations*," because they failed to correct their "*small mistakes*" but on the contrary "*persisted*" in them and carried them to their logical conclusion. This is the only scientific explanation.

In this context a few lines from the last plea of Serebryakov at the second trial seem particularly appropriate:

"It is painful to realise that I, who entered the revolutionary movement in my early years and was an honest and devoted Party member for two decades, ended by becoming an enemy of the people and finding myself here in the dock. But I realise that it happened because, having once committed a political error, I subsequently persisted in it, I aggravated this error, which, by the inevitable logic of fate, developed into most grievous crimes."

Forces supporting Trotskyism

Again, comrades, the question must be asked: what were the social forces, internally and externally, that supported the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Rights, all of whom believed it was impossible to build socialism in the USSR? What section of the Soviet population supported these groups who opposed the Party's policy of socialist construction in the USSR? The answer is clear, comrades. Only those sections who did not desire the building of socialism supported the various anti-Party groups. These elements, hostile to socialist construction, can be listed to include the following: the bourgeois specialist, the urban merchant and shopkeeper, the kulak, the bourgeois nationalist, the ex-Tsarist bureaucrat, the politically degenerate sections of the army, and, of course, the Mensheviks and Socialist- Revolutionaries.

To these internal forces hostile to socialism must be added the external force, the world imperialist bourgeoisie which was always hatching plots to exterminate the Soviet system and restore capitalism in the USSR.

"We must remember," said Lenin once, "*that we are at all times a hair's breadth from invasion.*" (Collected Works, Vol. 27 p. 117).

And again: "*We are surrounded by the world bourgeoisie, which watches every minute of vacillation in order to bring back 'its own', to reinstate the*

landlords and the bourgeoisie." (*Collected Works*, Vol 26 p. 348).

Both the internal and external enemies of socialist construction acted in concert with, and not in isolation from, one another. Reminding the Soviet people of the dangers of capitalist encirclement, Stalin said that:

"The resistance of the dying classes in our country does not take place in isolation from the outside world, but finds support from the capitalist encirclement" (*Problems of Leninism*, p.386).

The Shakhty trial in 1928, the 'Industrial Party' case in 1931, the trial of the British engineers Thornton, Macdonald and others in 1933 and finally the Moscow trials provide living proof of the truths contained in these quotations of Comrades Lenin and Stalin. All these trials showed how the internal and external enemies of socialism acted, and always will act, in concert with each other. They showed also that the enemies of socialism will never depart peacefully and quietly from the historical stage, that they will never quietly and peacefully 'grow into socialism', that they will resist and fight to the last, using all kinds of methods and subterfuges, peaceful as well as violent.

The various enemies of socialism listed above hoped during the years of open Trotskyite struggle against the Party, from 1923 to 1927, for a Trotskyite victory. They therefore lay quiet. They knew that a Trotskyite victory would lead to the restoration of capitalism, for the Trotskyites were opposed to the Party's policy of constructing socialism in the USSR. The kulaks, the merchants, the bourgeois specialists, the Mensheviks, and, of course, world imperialism, etc., were also opposed to the policy of socialist construction. So objectively there was no difference between the Trotskyist opposition, on the one hand, and the kulaks, the merchants and world imperialism, on the other. Insofar as they were all opposed to the building of socialism in the USSR, an objective basis existed for unity and cooperation between them. That this unity and cooperation actually took place was shown incontrovertibly by the Moscow trials.

But the hopes of all those who wanted to restore capitalism in the USSR were dashed completely with the defeat of the Trotskyite opposition. The counter-revolutionaries who had hitherto pinned their hopes on a Trotskyite victory were stirred into activity by the defeat of the Trotskyites. An additional factor that caused the counter-revolutionaries to increase their resistance was that by 1927 it was clear that the NEP was not leading to capitalism as they had hoped. It became clear by 1927 that socialism was

being built in the USSR. So the reactionaries increased their resistance: bourgeois experts resorted to systematic sabotage but were discovered and exposed at the Shakhty trial in 1928. Another group of bourgeois experts which operated under the signboard of the 'Industrial Party' indulged in sabotage, wrecking and diversion. It established relations with Russian capitalist circles abroad and prepared for foreign intervention. The leader of this group, Professor Ramzin, had this to say at his trial:

"Approximately beginning with 1927, with the transition to the definite reconstruction of national economy, a sharp change in the sentiments of both engineering and White emigrant groups took place. The socialist offensive and the beginning of reconstruction furnished an immediate cause and base for active combat." (Wreckers on Trial, 1931, p.7).

The Mensheviks began to be more active and improved their connections with the Russian right-wing organisations abroad and with the Labour and Socialist International. In their programme of 1924, the Mensheviks had declared:

"The conditions of production in Russia are being re-shaped more and more on a capitalist basis by the course of objective development, and that in consequence of Bolshevik economics, both Russian and foreign capital will inevitably reconquer one position after another."

Mensheviks also, like the Trotskyites, insisted that socialism could not be built in the USSR. They saw in the launching of the first five-year plan nothing but an adventure which, in their view, would result in economic chaos, thus paving the way for the restoration and development of capitalism. In 1928 the Mensheviks strengthened their illegal organisation, bringing it together in an all-union bureau. This bureau, which had leading members on the State Planning Commission and in the State Bank, started in these institutions a policy of sabotage and prepared for coming to power through foreign intervention. At the trial of the Mensheviks, Petunin, a witness and a member of the Board of Directors of Centrosoyuz (the central organisation of Russian co-operatives) had this to say:

"I remember very well the content of the instructions of the foreign CC of the RSDLP (Russian Social Democratic Labour Party - the Menshevik organisation) concerning the differences in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. These instructions were contained in a letter of which I received a copy through Gromann in the summer of 1929. This letter, which was signed by Dan and Abramovitch, contained an estimate of the Right-Wing deviation in the CPSU

(Communist Party of the Soviet Union). The letter pointed out, as the result of their struggle against the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Trotskyists had arrived at the position of Social Democracy, and that on the basis of this example, and as a result of the logic of the struggle, it must be assumed that the Right-Wingers would arrive at the same position during the course of the struggle. The more bitter the struggle, the more clear will this be seen, according to this letter. Therefore, oil must be poured on the fire in order that the flame of the struggle should burn more fiercely."

These then were the internal forces opposed to the policy of building socialism in the USSR. When the Trotskyites passed over from the policy of opposition to the Party to the methods of terrorism, sabotage, diversion, wrecking and treason, it regarded these forces as its closest allies. At the trial of the Anti-Soviet bloc of Rights and Trotskyites both Bukharin and Chernov gave details of the close contacts that their bloc maintained with émigré Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary organisations in order to obtain the cooperation of the latter with the bloc inside the USSR.

At the trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite centre, too, we have the testimony of Loginov, which shows who were real allies of Trotskyism and reveals the sections of the population that supported Trotskyism:

"Pyatakov pointed out," declared Loginov, one of the witnesses in the Pyatakov-Radek trial, "that in the struggle against the Soviet State we must not rely on our internal forces alone, that these forces would hardly be sufficient. I remember that this was how Pyatakov put it, pointing out that this was just how Trotsky thought, that we could not, that it was impossible to rely on the workers and proletarian masses within the country, that we ought, therefore, to try to enlist large numbers of engineers in our work. I pointed out at that time that we would hardly be able to attract the younger generation who had been brought up under the Soviet power; main attention must be devoted, not to the young engineers but to the older ones, especially those who had taken part in the struggle against the Soviet Power in the 1930-1 period" (Trial of Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre, January 1937, p.180-1).

As regards the external forces supporting Trotskyism in its struggle against the Party's policy of socialist construction, the second and third trials fully revealed that these forces were none other than fascism and imperialism. These trials revealed the alliance between Trotskyism and fascism; they revealed the absolute similarity and indistinguishability between the Trotskyites and agents of the intelligence services of foreign states.

Forces supporting the Soviet government and the CPSU(B)

What sections of the population supported the Soviet government and the CPSU(B) with Stalin at its head? It was the working class and the broad masses of toilers, bent upon building socialism in the USSR who, with ardent fervour and devotion, supported the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party. It was the working class of the Soviet Union that delivered the sharpest blows at the Trotskyites; it was in the largest enterprises of Moscow, Leningrad and the Don Basin that the Trotskyites suffered their most crippling and humiliating defeats in the Party debate of 1925-27. In the Party only 4,000 people voted for the line of the Trotskyite opposition, whereas 724,000 people voted for the line of the Party. This does not, however, prevent the Trotskyites today, any more than it prevented Trotsky in his day, from presenting Trotsky as the leader of the workers against the 'bureaucracy'. The only trouble is that the workers in the Soviet Union (and Russia prior to the formation of the Soviet Union) have always refused to recognise Trotsky as their leader. Prior to the October Revolution Trotsky was the 'leader' of a small group, pretending to stand between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, but as a matter of fact supporting the Mensheviks. And when after the October Revolution, particularly from 1923 onwards, Trotsky flung himself into oppositionist activity against the Party, he never was able to get the support of the working class. In view of this, and in view of all that has been said, it may be said, in the words of J.R. Campbell, that *"Trotskyism is not a struggle of socialism against bureaucracy; it is a struggle of the bureaucratic degenerates (representing the forces of capitalist restoration ...) against the ... drive to socialism."*(*Soviet Policy and its Critics*)

The kind of government the Trotskyites intended to establish.

If the Trotskyites had come to power, what kind of government would they have established? The only answer is: a government of capitalist restoration. Speaking of Trotsky's letter of December 1935, the existence of which was confirmed by Pyatakov and Serebryakov, this is what Radek had to say:

"In the sphere of politics, a new note in this letter was the way it posed the question of power. In this letter Trotsky said: 'There can be no talk of any kind of democracy. The working class has lived through 18 years of revolution, and it has vast appe-

titles; and this working class will have to be sent back to privately-owned factories and partly to state-owned factories which will have to compete with foreign capital under most difficult conditions. That means that the living standard of the working class will be drastically lowered. In the countryside the struggle of the poor and middle peasants against the kulaks will be renewed. And then, in order to hold power, we shall need a strong government, irrespective of what forms are employed to veil it." (*Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre*, p. 114).

Such then is the real nature of Trotskyism, comrades. Such is the nature of Trotskyism without its left uniform. Such is the essence of the theory of 'permanent revolution'. The logical end of Trotskyism, according to which socialism cannot be built in a single country and which relies on all the forces hostile to the building of socialism is ... the restoration of capitalist relations of production in the economic sphere and the restoration of 'strong government', namely the fascist form of bourgeois government, in the political sphere.

The historical significance of the trials

Finally in this chapter, comrades, the question will be asked: what is the historical significance of these trials? The historical significance of these trials consists, first and foremost, in the fact that these trials established with exceptional scrupulousness and exactitude that the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Rights were nothing other than a gang of murderers, spies, diversionists and wreckers, without any principles or ideals; that they were a gang of conspirators engaged in the overthrow of the Soviet socialist system in order to restore capitalism. I would like to conclude this section by citing a few paragraphs from Comrade Vyshinsky's concluding speech at the third Moscow trial on the historical significance of the third trial. I hardly need to emphasise that, though spoken in regard to the third trial, these remarks of Comrade Vyshinsky's are equally applicable to all the Moscow trials. Here is what Comrade Vyshinsky said of the historical significance of the trial of the Anti-Soviet bloc of Rights and Trotskyites:

"The historical significance of this trial lies first and foremost in the fact that it has completely exposed the bandit character of the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites', its ideological sterility, exposed the fact that the bloc - all these Rights, Trotskyites, Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries, bourgeois nationalists, etc., etc., - are all hired agents of the fascist intelligence services.

"The 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' is no political grouping; it is a gang of spies, of agents of foreign intelligence services.

"This has been proved fully and incontestably. Herein lies the enormous social, political and historical significance of the present trial.

"The 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' now in the dock - as the trial has shown with the utmost clarity - is only an advance detachment of international fascism, is a pack of hangmen and surreptitious murderers, with whose aid fascism is operating in various countries, primarily in Spain and in China.

"That is why the exposure of the 'bloc of Rights and Trotskyites' as a gang of spies is of enormous importance not only for our Socialist revolution, but also for the whole international proletariat. It is of enormous importance for the cause of peace throughout the world. It is of enormous importance for the whole of human culture, for the fight for real democracy and the freedom of nations, for the struggle against all and sundry warmongers, against all international provocations and provocateurs.

"That is why this trial is being followed with bated breath by the working people throughout the world, and particularly in those countries where the people are engaged in a heroic struggle for their freedom, against fascist tyranny.

"Under the leadership of Trotsky, under the leadership of the German, Japanese, Polish and other intelligence services, the Bukharins and Rykovs, Yagodas and Bulanovs, Krestinskys and Rosengoltzes, Ikramovs, Khodjayeys and Sharangoviches do their dark deeds by order of their masters not only in our country, but in Spain, in China, and wherever the class struggle of the working people is going on, wherever honest people are fighting for genuine freedom, for genuine democracy, for genuine human culture.

"The Bukharins and Rykovs, Yagodas and Bulanovs, Krestinskys and Rosengoltzes, Ikramovs, Sharangoviches, Khodjayeys and others are the very same as the Fifth Column, the POUM, the Ku Klux Klan. They are one of the detachments of the fascist provocateurs and incendiaries of war operating on the international arena.

"The smashing of this detachment is a great service to the cause of peace, the cause of democracy, the cause of genuine human culture." (The Trial of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, pp. 628-9).

Nothing better, in my view, could be said as to the historical significance of the trials.

The exposure of Trotskyism "is of enormous importance ... for the whole of the international proletariat". This is a task, comrades, we must undertake

and fulfil in order to be worthy disciples of Lenin and Stalin, to be real Marxist-Leninists; this is a behest we must fulfil, for if we do not it will be impossible in the concrete conditions of Britain to wrest the British proletariat away from the social-democratic influence of Trotskyism and to build a truly proletarian movement for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. It is for this reason, then, that we have gone into the question of the Moscow trials.

Now, comrades, I come to the last part of what I have to say, namely, to comment on the bourgeois criticisms of the Moscow trials and to refute these criticisms. In view of the fact that hardly a day goes by without various bourgeois intellectuals and paid as well as unpaid agents of the bourgeoisie coming out with distortions in connection with these trials, it must be admitted that it is necessary to deal with these distortions. All Trotskyite criticisms of the trials will, of course, be dealt with as bourgeois criticisms, for the Trotskyites are nothing but agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement.

Chapter 12

BOURGEOIS CRITICISMS OF THE MOSCOW TRIALS AND REFUTATION OF THESE CRITICISMS.

From the time of the October Revolution - because of the October Revolution - Soviet Russia became the principal target of attack by the world bourgeoisie and its ideological representatives, the 'learned' professors and bourgeois intelligentsia, the hirelings of the bourgeoisie. These were the people who had hitherto completely devoted themselves to 'refuting' Marxism and had 'annihilated' Marxism hundreds of times. The world bourgeoisie and its ideologues represented Soviet Russia as an aggressor just when she was on the receiving end of the intervention and aggression of 14 imperialist and bourgeois countries who were armed to the teeth and all out to stifle the Revolution. The world bourgeoisie and its ideologues represented the leaders of Soviet Russia - Lenin, Stalin and others - as trigger-happy and blood-thirsty murderers. They represented Soviet Russia as a big forced-labour camp precisely at a time when the USSR was the only country which had eliminated unemployment - a time when in the capitalist world the working class in their millions were suffering unemployment, poverty, misery, degradation and starvation.. The world bourgeoisie never ceased its campaign of lies and slander against the Soviet Union. It never missed a single opportunity to mobilise public opinion against the Soviet Union. Its aim was first to keep the workers of the capitalist countries ignorant of the gains of socialism in the USSR in order to thwart the development of a proletarian revolutionary movement aimed at the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism, and second to prepare for another intervention against the Soviet Union. In other words, the campaign of the imperialist bourgeoisie was aimed first at containment and then at the final destruction of socialism, its aim was to prevent the Russian Revolution from spilling over into other countries, as well as to destroy the Soviet Revolution itself. With these aims in mind, the imperialist bourgeoisie or-

ganised all kinds of sabotage and espionage against the USSR, while preparing public opinion against the Soviet system.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the world bourgeoisie should have come out as the foremost vilifier of Soviet revolutionary justice. In these circumstances the Moscow trials were a heaven-sent opportunity for the imperialists and the bourgeois intelligentsia, Trotskyites included, to exploit to the utmost the fertility of their imagination for the purpose of misrepresenting these trials. They turned them into a Hollywood melodrama, so much so that anyone who has read the verbatim reports of these trials could not but begin to wonder, should he read the bourgeois version of the trials, if he is reading about the same ones. The bourgeois version has no connection whatsoever with the real Moscow trials, so for this reason the bourgeois criticisms of the trials are not scientific criticisms, but the criticisms of a dying and decadent class and its ideological flunkys who are paid inflated salaries for doing this dirty work in defence of the tottering and moribund imperialist bourgeois class rule. These criticisms are, in other words, the product of the self-interest of the bourgeoisie. It is nevertheless necessary to deal with them, for they exercise such a hold over the minds not only of our 'educated' youth, but also of the working people. I shall, therefore, raise each criticism, answer it and then go on to the next one.

Criticism number one

If there was such a large-scale conspiracy, ask our bourgeois critics, why were the conspirators' 'achievements' so meagre and insignificant, especially in view of the fact that some of the accused occupied extremely important positions in the Soviet government and economy?

The answer is: firstly, the lack of success on the part of the conspirators can never constitute a justification for the conclusion that there was no conspiracy. Secondly, the 'achievements' of the various accused at the Moscow trials were by no means meagre and insignificant. Kirov was murdered by them; they were also responsible for the deaths of Gorky, Peshkov, Kuibyshev and Menzhinsky. Then there were attempts on the lives of other prominent Bolshevik leaders such as Molotov and others, as we have seen above - attempts which nearly succeeded. Add to this the most important 'achievements' of the accused - wrecking, sabotage and diversion as practised by them in Soviet industry and agriculture, which resulted in the deaths of many innocent people and the loss of grain (which was spoilt),

valuable machinery, plant and bridges (which were blown up), the loss of trains (in consequence of pre-arranged 'accidents'), the weakening of industry, particularly the defence industry, and so on and so forth, and it will be seen that the conspirators' 'achievements' were not 'meagre' at all.

Criticism number two

It is asserted by the bourgeois critics that there was no deliberate wrecking, that the charges of wrecking, diversion, sabotage, etc. against the various accused were false. For example, the Dewey Commission set up by the American Committee for the Defence of Leon Trotsky stated at the time:

"The Commission finds from the evidence in its possession that the wrecks, delays, and damages charged against the accused in the Moscow trials are explicable in terms of haste, inefficiency and over-reaching, and that the charges of sabotage, wrecking and diversion as far as they concern Leon Trotsky, stand not proved and not credible."

That the sabotage was a reality, that the accused organised and directed the carrying out of acts of sabotage, etc., is clear not only from the admissions of the accused and the evidence presented at the Moscow trials (some of which has been reproduced above) but is also corroborated by facts presented to us by some foreign experts who were involved in the work of industrial construction in the Soviet Union as engineers, etc. One such expert was Mr John D Littlepage, an American mining engineer, who was employed as an expert in the gold and copper mining industries of the USSR from 1927 till 1937. In December 1937 the *Saturday Evening Post* carried three articles by Mr Littlepage in which, dealing with the subject of wrecking, Mr Littlepage had this to say:

"During the period while I was detached temporarily from the Gold Trust and assigned to work in the copper mines, I had an opportunity to observe at first hand the actions of Yuri Pyatakov, the vice-commissar executed in 1937, after he had confessed to the leadership of a wrecking ring. I went to Berlin in the spring of 1931 with a large purchasing commission headed by Pyatakov; my job was to offer technical advice on purchases of mining machinery. Some things happened on that occasion which I never understood until I read Pyatakov's testimony at his trial in 1937.

"Among other things, the commission in Berlin was buying several dozen mine hoists, ranging from 100 to 1,000 horse-power. Ordinarily these hoists consist of drums, shafting, bearing, gears, and so on, placed on a foundation

of I or H beams. The commission asked for quotations on the basis of pfennigs per kilogram. When I studied these proposals, I discovered that the firms had substituted cast-iron bases weighing several tons for the light steel provided in the specifications, which would reduce the cost of production per kilogram, but increase the weight, and therefore the cost to the purchaser.

"Naturally, I was pleased to make this discovery, and reported to the members of the commission with a sense of triumph. But these men were distinctly lukewarm; they even brought considerable pressure on me to persuade me to approve the deal. I couldn't figure out their attitude. I finally told the commission members flatly that they would have to make such purchases on their own responsibility, and that I would see that my own contrary advice got on the record. Only then did they drop the proposal.

"At the time I attributed their attitude to obstinate stupidity, or perhaps some personal graft. But this incident was fully explained by Pyatakov's subsequent confession. The matter was so arranged that Pyatakov could have gone back to Moscow and showed that he had been very successful in reducing prices, but at the same time would have paid out money for a lot of worthless cast iron and enabled the Germans to give him very substantial rebates. According to his own statement, he got away with the same trick on some other mines, although I blocked this one."

Regarding the state of affairs prevalent in the zinc and copper mines in the Urals, Mr Littlepage had this to say:

"The Communist chairman of the whole Urals region, a man named Kabakov, was officially responsible for this procedure. Kabakov held this job for about 15 years, and had so much power that he was dubbed the 'Bolshevik Viceroy of the Urals'. For some reason which I have never understood he retained the complete confidence of the Kremlin and was always forgiven any mistake. Judged dispassionately his record was bad.

"Under his long rule, the Ural region, which has almost unlimited mineral riches and was given vast capital sums for exploitation, never did produce anything near what it should have done. I positively refused to work in the territory controlled by this man in 1932; five years later, in 1937, he was arrested on charges of industrial sabotage covering a period of nine years. When I heard of his arrest, I was not surprised.

"Towards the end of 1932 I was given an assignment which has completely convinced me that organised wrecking existed on a large scale in Russia. I was sent to rehabilitate Russia's greatest lead-zinc mines, a former British conces-

sion in Southern Kazakstan. I had been warned that conditions were pretty bad, but wasn't prepared for anything quite so bad as I found. These mines are among the best lead-zinc mines in the world, and, in addition, the ore carries an unusually large amount of gold.

"The methods which had been used in these mines were enough to break the heart of a mining engineer. They had resulted in several cave-ins so large that production had almost been stopped. The mines lie alongside a river and the cave-ins had caused a sudden large increase in the flow of water, which had overtaxed the installed pumping equipment, and the mines were in such conditions that they were in danger of being lost beyond recovery at any moment through flooding. The Government had spent large sums for modern American machinery and equipment for these mines, but much of it was already useless. For example, a fine large flotation concentrator had been erected, but was in terrible shape because the equipment had not been taken care of, and the workmen were untrained in the use of American machinery, which the Russian engineers themselves did not understand.

"I went into these mines as chief engineer with the same authority which I had been given when I first went to Khalata. I saw at once that immediate action was necessary to save the mines, and decided upon a plan of work. One of the chief difficulties here, as I later discovered, had been quarrels between two parties at the mines about the proper methods to use. But the local people showed immediate confidence in my judgment and gave me excellent co-operation. As a result, we managed to get the mines and mill into fairly good shape in a few months.

"Two of the younger Russian engineers at these mines impressed me as particularly capable, and I took a great deal of pains to explain to them how things had gone wrong and how they had been righted. These engineers were not Communists, but they had been trained under the Communist regime and seemed to be working honestly.

"It was clear to me that Communist managers at the mines, ignorant of engineering problems, had compelled these young fellows to act against their better judgment, in order to obtain some immediate increase of production at the expense of the future, and even at the risk of losing great bodies of valuable ore.

"I said to them: 'Don't let these Communist managers push you into anything like this again. You know what is right, and you must stick to it.' They promised me faithfully that they should do as I advised. I made out an elaborate set of recommendations and instructions for additional improvements for

mines and smelters. These instructions amounted to a blueprint detailing the proper methods for developing mines and plant for years to come.

"Well, one of my last jobs in Russia, in 1937, was a hurry call to return to these same mines. When I looked over that plant, I was ready to leave Russia for good. Once more the mines were close to destruction. Thousands of tons of rich ore had already been lost beyond recovery, and in a few more weeks, if nothing had been done meanwhile, the whole deposit might have been lost.

"I discovered that the property had gone along fairly well for two or three years after I had reorganised it in 1932. Then a commission came in from Pyatakof's headquarters, as it had in the mines in Khalata. My instructions had been thrown into the stove, and a system of mining introduced throughout those mines which was certain to cause the loss of a large part of the ore body in a few months. Pillars which we had left for protecting the main working shafts had been mined, so that the ground around these shafts was settling.

"One of the most flagrant examples of deliberate sabotage involved a rather elaborate ventilating system which had been ordered for the lead smelter to prevent the poisoning of workers. This ventilation system, which cost a lot of money and was necessary to protect the health of the workers in the smelter, had actually been installed in the filter section of the mill, where there were no harmful gases or dust of any kind. Any engineer would agree that such action could hardly be the result of mere stupidity, however gross.

"I went through this plant thoroughly, and drew up my report, explaining how the written instruction I had left behind me in 1932 had disappeared sometime in 1934. When I submitted this report, I was shown the written confessions of the young engineers mentioned above. They confessed that they had used my written instructions of 1932 as the basis for deliberately wrecking the plant. Their confessions explained just how and when the 'mistakes' had occurred which I had outlined in my report. They admitted that they had been drawn into a conspiracy against the Stalin regime by opposition Communists, who convinced them that they were strong enough to overthrow Stalin and his associates and seize power for themselves. The conspirators proved to them that they had many supporters among Communists in high places. They decided that they had to back one side or the other, and picked the losing side."¹

In view of facts such as the above, all attempts to deny the existence of wrecking, sabotage, diversion and terrorism fall flat on their face.

However, the fact that wrecking, diversion, sabotage and terror took place does not by itself in any way implicate the 54 accused at the three

Moscow trials. What implicates the accused are their own admissions, corroborated by other evidence.

Criticism number three

Bourgeois critics usually assert that the confessions of the accused were spurious, that they had been extracted from the accused by the Soviet political police using torture. Some even assert that the accused accepted false accusations out of Party loyalty.

(a) Torture

That this criticism is totally without foundation becomes absolutely clear on closer examination. There were 54 accused in all - 16 in the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial, 17 in the Pyatakov-Radek trial and 21 in the Bukharin-Rykov-Yagoda trial. All of them pleaded guilty to the various charges under which they were brought before the court. The crimes with which they were charged ranged from diversion, wrecking and sabotage through to terror, murder and concluding pacts with foreign imperialist powers in order forcibly to overthrow the Soviet regime. If proved, the commission of such grave and shameful crimes against the Soviet regime entailed death penalties. The only reward that the accused could expect for pleading guilty to the crimes they were charged with would have been certain death. It is never explained by the bourgeois critics why the accused - no fewer than 54 of them - admitted to committing crimes they allegedly did not commit while knowing fully well that by their admissions they were signing their own death warrants. It is never explained why all the accused displayed such remarkable passion for confessing to the commission of crimes that they in fact, according to our critics, never had committed. Perhaps all 54 accused were suffering from a special mental disease, perhaps they were possessed with a death wish, etc? There must be some Freudian 'explanation' that the bourgeois critics would no doubt be able to put forward. We, however, cannot take such rubbish seriously.

In our view, and facts support this view down to the minutest detail, the 54 accused at the Moscow trials made confessions because they had in fact committed the crimes with which they were charged. There could be no question of forcing them to make confessions, of extracting false confessions from them by use of torture and suchlike methods. Some of the accused had been in the underground revolutionary movement during Tsarist times. Others, like Muralov, were well-known for their outstanding physical cour-

age. Muralov, says Trotsky, *"was in the full sense of the word a heroic personality"*. Yet it is alleged that the accused made false confessions. These trials took place in a large hall packed with foreign journalists. Surely it would not have been difficult at all for the accused, in the presence of the international press, to denounce these trials as frame-ups, if indeed they were such. It would not have been difficult for them to denounce the rough methods used by the OGPU to extract false confessions from the accused, had such methods in fact been used. Had a single one of the accused made a single statement denouncing these trials as 'Stalinist frame-ups', and denouncing the allegedly rough methods used by the investigating authorities, the bourgeois press would have ensured the transmission of such a denunciation through to every single household in the world. Unfortunately for the Trotskyites and other bourgeois critics of the trial, however, none of the accused - not a single one of the 54 - said anything, either against the trials or against the methods of interrogation employed by the examining authority. On the contrary, they not only admitted their guilt, but also gave political and, in some cases (Bukharin for example), philosophical explanations of their crimes, as has been seen above.

To refute the allegation of the application of torture to extract false confessions from the accused, nothing better is available than the evidence of Muralov who, according to Trotsky, *"was in the full sense of the word a heroic personality"* and who, therefore, would not have broken down in the face of torture, who would not have owned up to crimes of which he was guiltless. Here is what Muralov said on the question of torture:

Vyshinsky: *"I am interested in knowing why you decided to give truthful testimony. Examining the record of preliminary investigation, I see that at a number of interrogations you denied any part in underground work. Is that so?"*

Muralov: *"Yes. Up to December 5. Eight months."*

Vyshinsky: *"Why, then, in the end did you decide to give, and did give, truthful testimony? Explain the motives that led you to the decision to lay everything on the table - if you have laid everything on the table."*

Muralov: *"I think there were three reasons which held me back and induced me to deny everything. One reason is political, and profoundly serious; two of an exclusively personal character. I shall begin with the least important, with my character. I am very hot-tempered and resentful. That is the first reason. When I was arrested, I became embittered with resentment."*

Vyshinsky: *"Were you badly treated?"*

Muralov: *"I was deprived of my liberty."*

Vyshinsky: *"But perhaps rough methods were used against you?"*

Muralov: *"No. No such methods were used. I must say that in Novosibirsk and here I was treated politely and no cause for resentment was given. I was treated very decently and politely."* (*Trial of the Anti-Soviet Trotskyite Centre*, pp. 231-2).

As a matter of fact the allegation of torture was so untenable that even a group of French Trotskyites, headed by André Ferrat, while putting forward a still more absurd 'explanation' (that of Party duty, of which more anon), at the time rejected torture as an explanation. In a pamphlet entitled *Why Did They Confess?* published by the Que Faire group, we find the following lines:

"The accused declare that they have not been subjected to any torture; nothing permits us to affirm the contrary. On the one hand it is improbable that torture could break men of the temper of Pyatakov, Radek, Muralov ..."

It must, however, be noted that the Moscow trials were not the first trials in connection with which allegations of the accused having been subjected to torture were made. Similar allegations were made at the time of the trial of the Metro-Vickers engineers in 1933. Quite a few of the British engineers had pleaded guilty to the charges. At the time the British press declared, without a shred of evidence, that these confessions were extracted from the accused by subjecting them to torture. In open court two of the engineers concerned, Monkhouse and Thornton, withdrew their confessions and pleaded Not Guilty, while Macdonald, another engineer, pleaded Guilty first, then withdrew his plea of Guilty only to confirm it again later. The questioning of these gentlemen in open court by the public prosecutor, Vyshinsky, is so relevant for refuting the bourgeois slanders against Soviet revolutionary justice in general and the allegations of torture in particular that it is useful to reproduce here some of the dialogue between Vyshinsky and the various accused.

Thornton is questioned as to why he signed the following statement, namely: *"The protocols of interrogation first in Gussev's, mine, and each other's presence, and then in Kutuzova's, mine and each other's presence, which were shown to me during this interrogation and in which I confess facts about my spying activities and my connections with other persons, I have read. I can make no additional remarks about the records of these protocols. The protocols are taken down correctly and are confirmed by my signature."*

Vyshinsky (to Thornton): *"Do you confirm this?"*

Thornton: *"No, it was written and I signed it."*

Vyshinsky: *"Do you confirm that you made it voluntarily without being influenced, without any pressure?"*

Thornton: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"Everything that you read?"*

Thornton: *"Yes."*

Vyshinsky: *"Then you signed?"*

Thornton: *"Yes, and now the Court will examine it."*

The President: *"But why did you give such information? Was it only to take up everyone's time, the Court's and the Public Prosecutor's? Or did you have some special reason? What you are saying is absurd. You have been making depositions for three weeks so as to deny them now."*

Thornton: *"I merely ..."*

The President: *"Decided to provide work for the Court?"*

Thornton: *"I did it because, as I have said, I was frightened."*

The President: *"How were you frightened? By whom were you frightened? Where and when were you frightened?"*

Thornton: *"I was not frightened by arrest and by the consequences, but simply in this way ..."*

The President: *"No, you give a straight reply so that it will be clear and plain to everybody; who frightened you, when did they frighten you, in what room?"*

Thornton: *"I want to speak through the interpreter."*

The President: *"When you find it difficult to reply you always resort to the aid of the interpreter. But very well, you may."*

Thornton: *"No, I will speak in Russian. I was simply afraid, but of what I do not know myself."*

The President: *"And you were afraid on March 11th, March 12th, March 13th and April 4th. You were evidently also afraid on April 10th, the day before the trial, because you made no statement."*

Thornton: *"Some of the points there are right and some of them I want to withdraw, and I was told that this would have to be done during the trial."*

The President: *"Who told you that? Give his name."*

Thornton: *"I was told by ... "* (tries to remember)

Vyshinsky: *"Well, let that pass. Let me ask you something else. I am interested in the circumstances in which you were questioned in the office of the Public Prosecutor of the Republic by my assistant Roginsky, in my presence. Were the facts that are set down here written exactly as I was told or not?"*

Thornton: *"As I spoke. Yes, correctly."*

Vyshinsky: *"Nothing was distorted."*

Thornton: *"No, you did not change anything."*

Vyshinsky: *"But perhaps Roginsky did?"*

Thornton: *"No."*

Vyshinsky: *"Perhaps the OGPU distorted it?"*

Thornton: *"No, I signed it with my own hand."*

Vyshinsky: *"And with your head? When you were writing it did you consider and think?"*

Thornton: (does not reply).

The President: *"And whose head is thinking for you now?"*

Thornton: *"At present I feel different."*

Vyshinsky: *"Let us finish with this record. It is important to establish the facts. We will draw conclusions later; at present it is important for me to confirm from the deposition which was made on March 19th that the facts which were here set down were really told by you, that there was no falsification, no juggling."*

Thornton: *"That is so."*

Vyshinsky: *"The depositions which you made before were given quite freely and voluntarily, without pressure or coercion. Do I understand you correctly?"*

Thornton: *"Correctly."*

Vyshinsky: *"I have no further questions."*

Here is the examination of Mr Macdonald during that short period in which he withdrew his plea of Guilty.

The President (to Macdonald): *"Was the deposition on page 204 written by you in your own handwriting?"*

Vyshinsky (to Macdonald): *"Read this, please."*

Macdonald: *"Yes, I signed it."*

Vyshinsky: *"Under what circumstances did you sign it?"*

Macdonald: *"I considered it convenient under those circumstances."*

Vyshinsky: *"Under what circumstances? Was any special method of examination applied to you?"*

Macdonald: *"No."*

Vyshinsky: *"Were you forced to write this?"*

Macdonald: *"No, but I signed it because it was not the open court."*

Vyshinsky: *"Were you compelled to do so?"*

Macdonald: *"In the beginning I refused to do so."*

Vyshinsky: *"Where?"*

Macdonald: *"Before the investigator - when the investigator said sign I said 'no'. But he did not allow me to do otherwise."*

Vyshinsky: *"He forced you to?"*

Macdonald: (no answer).

As indicated earlier, Macdonald later returned to his plea of Guilty.

The examination of Monkhouse also, as had the examination of Thornton and Macdonald, disclosed that there had been no torture applied to him. It disclosed that Macdonald's allegation of a lengthy interrogation lasting 18 hours was completely groundless.

Having been released from prison, Monkhouse gave the following account to the British bourgeois press of the treatment he had received at the hands of the Soviet authorities:

"They were extraordinarily nice to me and exceedingly reasonable in their questioning. My examiners seemed first-rate technical men who knew their job. The OGPU prison is the last word in efficiency, entirely clean, orderly and well organised. This is the first time I have ever been arrested, but I have visited English prisons and can attest that the OGPU quarters are much superior. My release resembled a friendly farewell party. All my papers and belongings were restored to me; OGPU officials carried down my bag, shook hands cordially and showed every concern for my comfort. I was assured that the other British prisoners would be equally well treated." (Daily Dispatch).

Despite this the bourgeois press throughout maintained that the confessions were extracted from the British engineers by use of torture. *"Our countrymen are undergoing the horrors of a Russian prison"*, shrieked the *Daily Express* of 20 March 1933. *"Great anxiety is felt"*, proclaimed *The Times* of 17 April 1933 with its usual hypocrisy, *"as to what is happening to Mr Macdonald in prison between the sittings of the court. Those acquainted with the Chekist methods think his life is in danger."* The bourgeois press had at the time maintained that the accused would in open court say that they had been tortured. But when the engineers said nothing of the kind, the ever-shifty bourgeois press then declared that the engineers were still in the grip of the OGPU and would tell the truth only after their release. And when after their release the engineers did tell the truth (see Monkhouse's above account of the treatment he received) - a truth that proved unacceptable to the ever-lying imperialist gutter press - then all that was left to the bourgeois press was to plumb new depths and invent hypnotism and strange Tibetan drugs. This is precisely what the *Daily Mail* did. It came up with an invention of its own, a strange Tibetan drug which on being administered overpowered the will of its victim (the accused in our case) and which destroyed (to use Trotsky's phrase) *"all human reflexes"* to such an extent that he was prepared to admit anything at the behest of the prosecution! And this brings me to another 'explanation' of the confessions:

(b) That the confessions were extracted by use of drugs, hypnotism - by destroying 'all human reflexes'.

Needless to say this criticism is as absurd as it is fantastic. In this criticism the flight of fancy of the bourgeois mind has registered a complete and total break with reality, an utter departure from it. The absurdity of this criticism is proved not only by medical science, but also by the behaviour of the accused in the dock, who discussed complicated political matters at length, answered questions for hours, indulged in dialogue with the state prosecutor, Vyshinsky. Some of them even discussed philosophy in the dock: referring to Bukharin, Vyshinsky said that he *"even called Hegel as a witness"*. *And they conducted their own defence. Can such behaviour be associated with people who are drugged or hypnotised? Can such behaviour be attributed to people who have had all their human reflexes destroyed? Surely not.*

As a matter of fact Bukharin, in his last plea, dealt with the allegations of Tibetan drugs and hypnotism. Here is what he said:

"Repentance is often attributed to diverse and absolutely absurd things like Tibetan powders and the like. I must say of myself that in prison, where I was confined for over a year, I worked, studied, and retained clarity of mind. This will serve to refute by facts all fables and absurd counter-revolutionary tales.

"Hypnotism is suggested. But I conducted my own defence in the Court from the legal standpoint too, oriented myself on the spot, argued with the State prosecutor, and anybody, even a man who has little experience of this branch of medicine, must admit that hypnotism of this kind is altogether impossible." (Trial of Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, p.777).

(c) Out of Party loyalty

Another 'explanation' offered by some of the bourgeois critics of the confessions is that the accused made false confessions and took upon themselves false accusations out of reasons of Party duty.

This 'explanation' was proffered by Trotsky himself in the course of his evidence before the Mexican 'Commission' in regard to Muralov's confession. This same 'explanation' was echoed in the already-quoted pamphlet of the French Trotskyites who, rejecting torture as an explanation, put forward the same hypothesis as that put forward by Trotsky, namely that the accused accepted false accusations out of Party duty:

"The accused declare that they have not been subjected to any torture. Nothing permits us to affirm the contrary. On the one hand it is improbable that torture could break men of the temper of Pyatakov, Radek, Muralov ...

"The truth is what benefits the party. What benefits Stalin - what the party demands, what Stalin demands. That is the attitude adopted by the former oppositionists who renounced independent political activity and their ideas. The confessions they made during the trials flow from the same mentality, the same attitude as their statements of 1927, as all the declarations of repentance that followed them ...

"Hence when in 1936 the leadership of the party judged it necessary, in the alleged interests of the revolution, to deal a blow to Trotskyism and to Trotsky, when it was decided to use for this end the former oppositionists, the former Trotskyists, what could they oppose to the orders of the party, to the will of Stalin? After the sacrifice of their ideas they were required to sacrifice their lives and their honour. This was needed for the defence of the USSR. Trotskyism is the principal danger, for in the case of war, it might create difficulties, turn the workers away from the duty to the party, or profit by the circumstances

to substitute for the government of Stalin another government. It is thus that the party leadership reasons; it demands from the 'capitulators' - its hostages - this last service; participate in the execution of Trotskyism. Through their permanent capitulations of the past ten years, the former opposition are all destined to play this last comedy, to forge this last link in the chain of hypocrisy that for years has constituted their lives.

"There are some who, in spite of their weaknesses in the past, do not go along with the amalgam, who revolt, with a last exertion of will, on seeing the gulf to which their policies have driven them. Well, they will have time in prison for reflection, for proving whether their devotion to the party of which they talk so much will not turn out to be more powerful than petty bourgeois scruples. Those who agree to render this supreme sacrifice² to the regime, which for them continues to be the regime of the proletarian revolution, will be the ones to appear at the public trial. They will be under discipline as members of the Communist Party" (Why Did They Confess? published by the Que Faire group).

What could be more absurd than the above 'explanation' given by Trotsky and his French followers? On the one hand the Trotskyites and other bourgeois critics of the trials continue to assert that the accused at the trials were Bolsheviks and old revolutionaries who were fighting against the 'Stalinist bureaucracy', 'the ruling caste,' and found themselves in the dock because Stalin wanted to get rid of them. On the other hand we are told by this same gentry that the accused accepted false accusations, made false confessions that they knew would cost them their lives, out of party duty and to please Stalin! In other words, they took upon themselves false confessions all for the love of the 'bureaucracy', the 'ruling caste,' and the 'chief bureaucrat', Stalin, i.e, for the love of, and out of duty to, the same Party which they had hitherto regarded as bureaucratic and had devoted themselves wholeheartedly to fight against.

What could be more absurd than the assertion contained in the above-quoted remarks of the French Trotskyites that there was no Trotskyite plot against the Soviet government and yet the latter felt threatened by Trotskyism? That it was so frightened by the non-existent plot that it decided to combat Trotskyism by staging a show trial of former Trotskyites who, having never actually committed the crimes they were charged with, nevertheless obliged Stalin and the Party (the same Stalin and the same Party they had hitherto fought against) by making false confessions and by admitting to

having connections with fascists for the overthrow of the Soviet government and for the restoration of capitalism in the USSR? Such, according to the above absurd assertion, is the love of the accused for Stalin and the Party that they would admit to anything that was required of them by Stalin and the Party, even making false admissions of their connections with the Nazis. Surely absurdity must have its bounds! When it comes to Trotskyism, however, apparently it does not.

(d) Promise of pardon

Yet another 'explanation' (that was put forward by Trotsky when in 1936 he appeared as a witness before a Norwegian court in connection with a case concerning an alleged raid by some local fascists on the house where Trotsky was staying) was that the confessions were prompted by some hope of clemency. The Norwegian bourgeois judge, being extremely interested in Trotsky's anti-Soviet bourgeois views, allowed him the freedom to talk about a host of matters, the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial included. Dealing with the confessions of Zinoviev and Kamenev, Trotsky offered the following as an 'explanation':

"All the accused, without exception, have declared that Trotsky, from abroad, had addressed to them clandestine appeals to terrorism, had given the terrorists instructions, and had even sent executors [to execute these instructions] into the USSR.

"My participation in terrorism is thus a co-efficient common to all admissions. This is the minimum that the GPU could not renounce. It will only give its victims a chance of their lives on condition that it obtains this minimum."

The meaning of the above remarks is clear. The accused were promised their lives provided they confessed to the charges of terrorism and provided further that they also admitted they were acting on Trotsky's instructions. Having secured 'false' confessions from the accused, the authorities decided to double cross them and have them shot. This 'explanation', it must be remarked incidentally, hardly fits into the description of the accused given by Trotsky on other occasions to the effect that they were real Bolsheviks who found themselves in the dock because of their opposition to the "ruling caste". The 'explanation' implies that the accused were despicable people who, in order to save their lives were even prepared to admit, and did admit, to the most heinous crimes, crimes they had never committed. Hardly a picture of true Bolsheviks fighting against 'Stalinist bureaucracy'!

Moreover this 'explanation' of Trotsky's, although it might have been be-

lieved by the credulous at the time, could no longer explain the confessions of the accused at the second and third trials who, one must presume, had full knowledge of the Kamenev- Zinoviev confessions and, therefore, of the alleged subsequent double-cross of the accused in the first trial. In the light of the confessions of the accused at the second and third trials, the only conclusion we can reach is that Trotsky's 'explanation' does not explain the confessions. The real explanation is that the accused admitted to committing the crimes they were charged with for no other reason than that they had actually committed these crimes and that, faced with the evidence, they could not but accept responsibility for what they had done.

Criticism number four

The fourth criticism is to assert that the trials were 'a judicial play'. This accusation, too, was levelled by Trotsky who, having in the American press characterised one of the Moscow trials as a "judicial play", went on to say:

"The roles were written in advance. The accused only appear on the scene after a series of rehearsals which give the director the advance assurance that they will not overstep the limits of their roles."

Before going on to give the most fitting answer to this charge of the trials being a "judicial play", we must remark that the actors (the accused) must have known in advance that death was the only reward they could hope to gain from their skillful, brilliant and successful acting. The best refutation of this absurd charge is to be found in the following paragraph taken from a book on the second Moscow trial written by the famous British barrister Mr Dudley Collard who was present at that trial:

"If the story told by the defendants was untrue, someone must have invented it. Unless one makes the fantastic assumption that the seventeen defendants, instead of conspiring together to overthrow the State, conspired together to write their parts in the intervals between being tortured, someone other than the defendants must have written a seven days' play (to play eight hours a day) and assigned appropriate roles to the seventeen defendants, the five witnesses, the judge and the Public Prosecutor. It would have taken a Soviet Shakespeare to write such a lifelike drama as was played during those seven days, but no matter. Thereupon the defendants must have spent the period since their arrest not in being interrogated, but in rehearsing together until they were word perfect (in company with Vyshinsky, the judges and witnesses). It is also necessary to assume that all the accused were such brilliant actors

that, in spite of the pressure brought to bear on them to make them play their parts, they were able to play their parts without one slip and without once being prompted during seven days in such a way as to deceive all those who were present into thinking the play was real." (Soviet Justice and the Trial of Radek and Others).

Criticism number five

The fifth criticism is that there were *"no documents, no material evidence"* upon which the convictions could be based. This accusation was levelled by Schachtman, an American Trotskyite and a translator of Trotsky's. At the time Schachtman wrote in denunciation of the trials up to the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial in the following terms:

"All trials of political opponents, real and alleged, that is, all trials held in public, have been monotonously identical under the reign of Stalin. No documents, no material evidence, nothing written adduced, all the evidence confined to the spontaneous and 'voluntary' confessions of the invariably penitent accused. This has been the case from the Shakhty trial to the Zinoviev trial."

It is not true to say that there were no written documents, that there was no evidence other than that contained in the confessions of the accused. There were witnesses whose evidence corroborated that of the accused. In the second Moscow trial - the Radek-Pyatakoff trial - for example, there was the evidence of the five accomplices, Bukhartsev, Romm, Loginov, Stein and Tamm. Then there was the expert evidence of a committee of experts which demonstrated scientifically that certain explosions could not have taken place accidentally and were, therefore, the result of planned and deliberate sabotage. Add to this the diary of the accused Stroilov produced in court. This diary contained the telephone number of agents of the German secret service who had, by blackmail, caused Stroilov to do espionage and sabotage work for them. These numbers were carefully checked. The photographs of these German secret service agents were produced in the court for identity purposes, and Stroilov picked the right photographs from a multitude of others. The movements of these German agents confirmed official records produced at the trial. Letters received from the Japanese agents by Knyazev, a prominent railway official involved in wrecking, were found among his belongings. Knyazev had failed to destroy these letters and he identified them at the trial.

Thus it is clear that the allegation of *"no documents, no material evi-*

dence" is false and collapses in the face of the facts. Moreover, we might add, before Trotsky as a result of his divorce from the working class went over to terrorism, it never occurred to him or to any of his henchmen to doubt the validity of trials such as the Shakhty trial. In fact, as has already been pointed out, Trotsky at the time regarded the Shakhty and Menshevik trials as *"giving an extremely striking picture of the relationships of force of the classes and parties in the USSR"* (Trotsky, *Problems of the Development of the USSR*).

In the same pamphlet, which was incidentally translated by Schachtman, Trotsky says:

"It was irrefutably established by the Court that during the years 1923-28 the bourgeois specialists, in close alliance with foreign centres of the bourgeoisie, successfully carried through an artificial slackening of industrialisation, counting upon the re-establishment of capitalist relationships" (p. 26).

No doubt is expressed here as to the validity of the trials. The trials are not 'Stalinist frame-ups'. Not yet. The Soviet courts are "irrefutably" establishing the connections between specialist wrecking *"in close alliance with foreign centres of the bourgeoisie"* and the *"artificial slackening down of industrialisation counting upon the re-establishment of capitalist relationships"*. But all this was before Trotskyism joined its forerunners, the bourgeois specialists, in the work of sabotage, wrecking, diversion, *"artificial slackening down of industrialisation, counting upon the re-establishment of capitalist relationships"*. All this was before Trotskyism, in its desperate isolation from the Soviet working class and millions upon millions of working people who were zealously building socialism in defiance and contempt of Trotskyist pessimism, passed over to murder and terrorism *"in close alliance with the foreign centres of the bourgeoisie"*. And when it did pass over to these methods, with this change, it ceased to be just an erroneous, anti-Leninist tendency within the working class and became *"a frantic and unprincipled gang of wreckers, diversionists, spies and murderers acting on the instructions of the intelligence services of foreign states"* (Stalin, 1937).

With this change over, Trotskyism was bound to regard the Moscow trials as 'Stalinist frame-ups'. It was bound to declare that in the trials *"the entire conduct of the accused has been dictated from beginning to end, not by their own ideas and interests, but by the interests of the ruling clique. And the pseudo-plot, and the confessions, the theatrical judgment ..., all were arranged by one and the same hand"* (Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*, p.300).

In view of this metamorphosis of Trotskyism, it is not at all surprising that the Dewey Commission set up by the American Committee for the Defence of Leon Trotsky should have declared:

"The Commission finds from the evidence in its possession that the wrecks, delays and damages charged against the accused in the Moscow trials are explicable in terms of haste, inefficiency and over-reaching, and that the charges of sabotage, wrecking and diversion as far as they concern Leon Trotsky stand not proved and not credible."

The baseless charges contained in the above quotations from Trotsky and the Dewey Commission have already been adequately answered and will be dwelt upon no further. These quotations are only produced so that they may be contrasted with Trotsky's earlier writings and to show that with the change in the methods of Trotskyism, with its passing over to murder, sabotage, wrecking and diversion, a change was bound to occur, and did occur, in its evaluation of the trials.

The Moscow trials were basically no different from the Shakhty and Menshevik trials. In all these trials the accused were charged with sabotage, etc. In all of them the accused had been wanting the restoration of capitalism and had been opposed to the building of socialism in the USSR. The only difference between the earlier trials and the Moscow trials is the 'success' achieved by the accused in the Moscow trials in the execution of their crimes. Their 'successes' were due to the important positions they held in the Party and in the Soviet government.

But a change had taken place in Trotskyism. It had earlier hoped that the difficulties of the task of building socialism would cause chaos and lead to the overthrow of the Soviet government, thus making way for a Trotskyist government of capitulation and capitalist restoration. This did not materialise. The Soviet Party, the government and the people solved difficulty after difficulty, and achieved great successes in the task of socialist construction. It became clear even to the blind, even to Trotsky, that the Soviet government could not be overthrown by internal chaos. Trotskyism was thus faced with the option of disbanding its oppositionist activity or of adopting murder, terrorism and wrecking as a means of overthrowing the Soviet government *"in close alliance with the foreign centres of the bourgeoisie."* It, like its predecessors, the Mensheviks and bourgeois specialists, chose the second alternative. Trotskyism became subjectively as well as objectively counter-revolutionary. It became an advanced detachment of the

bourgeoisie.

The change compelled Trotskyism to denounce the trials as 'Stalinist frame-ups' in the *"interests of the ruling clique."*

Criticism number six

The sixth criticism was that it was inconceivable for Marxists (a) to adopt terror as a means of achieving power and (b) to ally with imperialist powers to overthrow the rule of the working class.

Our answer to this is that it is indeed inconceivable for Marxists to do either of these things. We only say that with the adoption of terror and the conclusion of an *"alliance with the foreign centres of the bourgeoisie,"* the accused had ceased to be Marxists. When they stood in the prisoners' dock before the court of revolutionary justice they stood there not as Bolsheviks and revolutionary Marxist-Leninists but as deserters from the camp of Bolshevism, of Marxism-Leninism. They stood there as ex-revolutionaries who, unable to face the problems raised by the revolution, unable to face up to the task of socialist construction in the USSR, fled the camp of socialism, the camp of Marxism-Leninism, and became incorrigible counter-revolutionary degenerates. Not Marxists and Bolsheviks, but deserters from Marxism and deserters from Bolshevism: that is the true description of the accused at the Moscow trials.

People who say that it is inconceivable that the Trotskyites and Rights in the USSR adopted terror as a measure to achieve their ends should tell us what other method was open to the Trotskyites to achieve power, knowing as we do that the Trotskyites were completely divorced from the Soviet working class and could not have mobilised the working class of the USSR behind their programme of capitalist restoration and opposition to the building of socialism? The answer is that there was no other method available to the Trotskyites except terror, murder, sabotage and wrecking, the usual methods of the remnants of the exploiting classes in their struggle against the working class. Some Trotskyites and other bourgeois critics of the trials produce the writings of Trotsky directed against terrorism. But these writings, belonging as they do to the Tsarist period, are of no value in the context under discussion. Let them look at the writings of Trotsky belonging to a later period and let them, then, explain to us the meaning of such phrases as the following:

"The bureaucracy [i.e., the Bolshevik Party] can be compelled to yield

power into the hands of the proletarian vanguard [i.e., Trotskyist capitulators and capitalist- roaders] only by force."

"The first social shock, external or internal, may throw the atomised Soviet society into civil war."

As far as the reference to internal shock is concerned, it is a pointer to nothing but murder, sabotage and plans for a coup d'état. This is confirmed beyond doubt by the Moscow trials. As to the external shock, this is a reference to foreign imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union which the Trotskyites were hoping for, and for which they were making preparations *"in close alliance with the foreign centres of the bourgeoisie,"* i.e., in close alliance with the German fascists. This is also confirmed by the Moscow trials.

Let us deal now with the second half of this criticism: is it possible for socialists to ally with capitalist powers to overthrow the rule of the working class? Though it is true that genuine socialists - Marxist-Leninists - could never commit such a despicable crime, history bears witness that such a crime can most certainly be committed by deserters from socialism and by traitors to socialism and to the cause of the emancipation of the working class. It is well known, for example, that the counter- revolutionary war of intervention against the young Soviet Republic had the support of the 'socialists' in the various imperialist countries whose armies had committed aggression against Soviet Russia for no other purpose than to restore capitalism by overthrowing the rule of the working class. Yet these people, while giving support to their 'own' bourgeoisie against the working class of another country - committing treachery against the proletariat and making a mockery of proletarian internationalism - called themselves socialists. The truth is that they were not socialists: they were social imperialists - socialists in words and imperialists in deeds.

It is equally well known that Karl Kautsky, who had been regarded prior to the outbreak of the first world war as the foremost Marxist theoretician, became after his degeneration³ the foremost advocate of the armed overthrow of the Soviet government. Bolshevism, alleged Kautsky, had degenerated into 'Bonapartism' and he therefore demanded that its armed overthrow should be supported by all socialists. Right up to the time of Hitler's accession to power, Kautsky continued to advocate imperialist armed intervention against the Soviet Union to overthrow Bolshevism. Well, if it was possible for Kautsky, at one time the most outstanding representative of

orthodox Marxism, to degenerate to the point of advocating the armed overthrow of the Soviet government, why then would it be impossible for the author of the *"absurdly left theory of permanent revolution,"* Trotsky, who was all along opposed to the building of socialism in the USSR (since according to him it was impossible to build socialism in a single backward country) to degenerate to the point of concluding an alliance with fascism for the overthrow of the Soviet regime? There is no reason for us to believe it impossible. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe it possible.

Have we not, moreover, been told by Trotsky and his followers on hundreds of occasions that under the leadership of Stalin the whole Party underwent a 'degeneration'? Having declared the degeneration of the entire Bolshevik Party, the Trotskyites and other bourgeois elements go on to declare in the same breath the theoretical impossibility of degeneration of the accused at the trials. How is it possible, they ask, for Bolsheviks such as the accused at the trials to degenerate and work for the restoration of capitalism *"in close alliance with the foreign centres of the bourgeoisie"*? We answer: in just the same way as it is for the entire Party to degenerate. Our position is that just as a revolutionary Marxist, say Kautsky, can degenerate and become a counter-revolutionary, so it is likewise possible for the entire Party to degenerate by adopting and persisting in a wrong policy. As Lenin pointed out: *"Verily it may be said that a small mistake persisted in, learnedly demonstrated and 'carried to its logical conclusion', will grow into a monstrosity."* Thus we do not disagree with Trotskyism on the question of the theoretical possibility of the degeneration of an entire Party. Our disagreement is on the question of whether such degeneration had actually taken place in the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Stalin. We say, in opposition to Trotskyism, and with the confidence that stems from the knowledge and awareness that facts are on our side, that not only had no such degeneration taken place, but also that the Party was healthy enough to take timely action against those sections that had indeed become rotten and degenerate, i.e., the accused at the Moscow trials. The accused became counter-revolutionary degenerates because they persisted 'learnedly' in their incorrect platform, their opposition to the building of socialism, and, as Bukharin said, *"the logic of the struggle led to the logic of ideas and to a change of our psychology, to the counter-revolutionising of our aims."*

From the above it can safely be concluded that it is possible for socialists to degenerate, particularly during times of greatest difficulty for the revolution. When the revolutionary upsurge is high and the revolution is sweep-

ing everything reactionary aside, it is easy for anyone to be a revolutionary. At such times even the most backward and cowardly people are capable of performing miracles. But when the revolution is in difficulties, when it is in retreat (even though the retreat is only a temporary one), it is very difficult indeed to be a revolutionary. Referring to the non-revolutionary behaviour of Trotsky during the period of Brest-Litovsk when the revolution was temporarily in retreat, Comrade Stalin said:

"The proletarian struggle is not, however, an uninterrupted advance, an unbroken chain of victories. The proletarian struggle also has its trials, its defeats. The genuine revolutionary is not one who displays courage in the period of victorious uprising, but one who, while fighting well during the victorious advance of the revolution, also displays courage when the revolution is in retreat, when the proletariat suffers defeat; who does not lose his head and does not funk when the revolution suffers reverses, when the enemy achieves success; who does not become panic-stricken or give way to despair when the revolution is in a period of retreat. The Left Socialist- Revolutionaries did not fight badly in the period of October, and they supported the Bolsheviks. But who does not know that those 'brave' fighters became panic-stricken in the period of Brest, when the advance of German imperialism drove them to despair and hysteria. It is a very sad but indubitable fact that Trotsky, who fought well in the period of October, did not, in the period of Brest, in the period when the revolution suffered temporary reverses, possess the courage to display sufficient staunchness at that difficult moment and to refrain from following in the footsteps of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries. Beyond question, that moment was a difficult one; one had to display exceptional courage and imperturbable coolness, not to be dismayed, to retreat in good time, to accept peace in good time, to withdraw the proletarian army out of range of the blows of German imperialism, to preserve the peasant reserves and, after obtaining a respite in this way, to strike at the enemy with renewed force. Unfortunately Trotsky was found to lack this courage and revolutionary staunchness at that difficult moment.

"In Trotsky's opinion, the principal lesson of the proletarian revolution is 'not to funk' during October. That is wrong, for Trotsky's assertion contains only a particle of the truth about the lessons of the revolution. The whole truth about the lessons of the proletarian revolution is 'not to funk' not only when the revolution is advancing, but also when it is in retreat, when the enemy is gaining the upper hand and the revolution is suffering reverses. The revolution did not end with October. October was only the beginning of the proletarian revolution. It is bad to funk when the tide of insurrection is rising; but it is

worse to funk when the revolution is passing through severe trials after power has been captured. To retain power on the morrow of the revolution is no less important than to capture power." (Stalin, speech delivered at the Plenum of the Communist Group in the AUCCTU, 19 November 1924).

The Trotskyites and Rights funk during the period of Brest- Litovsk, during the period of the resistance of the kulaks to the offensive of socialism, and during the period between the two world wars when the Soviet Union, being the only socialist country, faced capitalist encirclement and lived under constant threat of war and counter-revolutionary intervention. The accused at the Moscow trials were people whose outstanding characteristic was their petty-bourgeois instability - they were people who capitulated in the face of difficulties, who were unable to face and solve the problems raised by the revolution. Add to this their incorrect programme and you have got all the prerequisites for turning anyone into a counter-revolutionary. A few years was all that was required to turn the accused into fully-fledged counter-revolutionaries.

People, such as those accused at the Moscow trials, who have ceased to be revolutionary Bolsheviks - Marxist-Leninists - and have become counter-revolutionary degenerates divorced from the working class, who have committed treachery against the cause of the emancipation of the working class, are quite capable of adopting terrorism as a means of achieving their end of coming to power by overthrowing the Soviet government by a campaign of murder and assassination and by a coup d'état.

Criticism number seven

The seventh criticism is that there is a discrepancy between the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial which concentrated on terrorism, and the two subsequent trials which concentrated on the alliance of the Trotskyites with Germany and Japan and the plot to dismember the USSR, and the diversion, wrecking and sabotage in industry. Contrasting the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial with that of Pyatakov- Radek, for example, Trotsky wrote:

"Why then did they [Zinoviev, Kamenev and the other accused at the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial] not say a word about the most important thing, the alliance of the Trotskyites with Germany and Japan and the plot to dismember the USSR? Could they have forgotten such 'details' of the plot? Could they themselves, the leaders of the so-called centre, not have known what was known by the accused in the last trial [the Pyatakov-Radek trial], people of

secondary category? The enigma is easily explained; the new amalgam was constructed after the execution of the sixteen, during the course of the last five months, as an answer to unfavourable echoes in the world press" (Trotsky, The Revolution Betrayed, pp. 295-6).

The 'enigma', comrades *'is easily explained'* by the fact that Zinoviev and Kamenev only revealed what was already known from other sources, they only admitted what could not be denied in the face of established facts. This is consistent with their behaviour throughout. In December 1934, Sergei Kirov, one of the most prominent and beloved leaders of the CPSU(B) was murdered. The shots were fired by Nikolayev. The investigation into Kirov's murder uncovered a part of the Zinoviev-Kamenev organisation, to which Nikolayev belonged. The investigation established a connection between some members of this organisation on the one hand and Kamenev and Zinoviev on the other. As a result Kamenev and Zinoviev accepted *"moral responsibility"* for the assassination of Kirov. They maintained that they had not instructed Nikolayev to murder Kirov, but that they were morally responsible for Kirov's murder because they had created such hatred in the minds of their followers for the Party leaders that it had led to the assassination of Kirov. This explanation was accepted and they were sentenced accordingly. Only later, as a result of the uncovering of some other terrorist groups, was the complete participation of Kamenev and Zinoviev in the organisation of assassination and terror fully disclosed. It was only then that they found themselves once again in the dock for their crimes. The whole history of Kamenev and Zinoviev shows that they only admitted to as much as was already known to the investigation authority; no more. They knew that they were going to die for their crimes. They nevertheless wanted to leave behind them the conspiratorial organisation intact so that the remaining conspirators could accomplish their purpose. That is why they *"did not say a single word about the most important thing, the alliance of the Trotskyites with Germany and Japan and the plot to dismember the USSR"*. That is how *"the enigma is easily explained."* Surely all this is in conformity with the existence of a conspiracy, the full breadth of which was uncovered only step by step as a result of most careful and painstaking investigation. Had it been a case of a plot fabricated by the OGPU, there would have been nothing to prevent it from adding in the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial the charge of allying with Germany and Japan. No such charge was levelled at the accused in the first trial because there was no evidence at that time which suggested such an alliance. Only later did the existence of

this alliance become evident. Hence this charge at the second and third trials.

Criticism number eight

The eighth criticism suggests that there are three 'flaws' in the Moscow trials which 'discredit' the whole evidence produced there. The existence of these 'flaws' was alleged by Trotsky. Let us examine them.

(a) Holtzman, one of the accused in the Zinoviev-Kamenev trial, made a confession that he had a long meeting with Trotsky in the Hotel Bristol in Copenhagen. Trotsky clutches at this confession as a drowning man clutches at a straw and exclaims that the trials are a fake. Why? Because "*it so happens*," says Trotsky, "*that the Hotel Bristol was razed to its foundations in 1917. In 1932 this hotel existed only as a fond memory.*" In other words, the OGPU (which Trotsky claimed had dictated to the accused in the minutest detail the content of their confessions) was so clumsy that it made Holtzman confess to meeting Trotsky in a hotel that did not exist. What nonsense! The facts are as follows:-

Opposite the railway station there was no Hotel Bristol at the time of the meeting. Instead there stood at that time the Grand Central Hotel. In the same building of which the Grand Central Hotel formed part there was the Bristol Café. At that time it was also possible to gain entrance to the hotel through the Bristol Café. It is therefore very likely that Holtzman confused the Bristol Café with the Grand Central Hotel.

Furthermore, in view of Trotsky's insistence that the confessions were dictated to the accused by the OGPU, the following remark of his is odd to say the least:

"Holtzman apparently knew the Hotel Bristol through memories of his emigration long ago, that is why he named it."

In other words, when obliging the OGPU with a voluntary false confession, Holtzman was mistaken as to the name. In other words, the confessions were not dictated by the OGPU.

If the OGPU were engaged in a frame-up, it would not have been at all difficult for it to find out the existence and name of the hotel. So, the only conclusion that we can draw is that Holtzman did have a meeting with Trotsky in the Grand Central Hotel, the name of which he confused with the Bristol Café.

(b) The second 'flaw' relates to Pyatakov's journey to see Trotsky in Oslo in 1935, in a special plane provided by the German government. It is alleged that this could not have taken place at all because not a single foreign plane landed at Oslo airport in December 1935. It is more likely that the fascists, who were able to get hundreds of planes into northern Spain despite the control exercised by the non-intervention committee, should have been able to hide the landing and taking off of a single foreign plane, than that Pyatakov and Bukharistev (the Berlin correspondent of *Isvestia*, who appeared as a witness at the trial and gave detailed circumstantial evidence of this journey) should take upon themselves a false accusation.

(c) The third and last 'flaw' refers to the evidence of one of the witnesses at the trial, Romm, another *Isvestia* correspondent, who had carried correspondence between Trotsky and Radek. Romm stated that he had met Trotsky at the end of July 1933 for 25 minutes in the Bois de Boulogne (Paris). Trotsky sought to discredit the trials by saying that during the month of July he was staying at Royan, and that during his stay at Royan he met two members of the British Independent Labour Party, John Paton and C.A. Smith, who both of course confirmed that they had seen Trotsky at Royan during July. There is no need for us to cast any doubt on Trotsky's claim that during July 1933 he was staying at Royan and that he was met there by Paton and Smith. All we ask is: were there no trains or any other means of transportation which could enable Trotsky to travel from Royan to the Bois de Boulogne? Trotsky could well be staying during July 1933 at Royan and yet could still have met, as in fact he did meet, Romm (a witness whose evidence we have no reason at all to doubt) in the Bois de Boulogne.

Thus it can be seen that on actual examination, the three 'flaws' disappear. The attempts by the Trotskyites and other bourgeois critics to discredit the trials by latching on to these 'flaws' fail miserably.

Criticism number nine

The final criticism is that Trotsky, who in his public pronouncements frequently denounced the accused at the Moscow trials, could not possibly have cooperated with them at the same time, as he was alleged to have done.

There are two points to cover in this criticism, one of which is of a historical and the other of a tactical nature. As regards the tactical side of it, a

sudden moratorium of all criticism of the accused by Trotsky would have made the Soviet authorities suspicious; it was therefore necessary for Trotsky to continue with his public criticism of the accused while in practice co-operating with them. It was necessary for him to do so in order to distract and divert the attention of the Soviet authorities and to cause them to believe that there could not possibly be an alliance between Trotsky and the accused.

To turn to the historical side of the point under discussion. Trotsky was notorious for forming blocs with all kinds of people whom he had often denounced in the periods immediately preceding the formation of such blocs⁴. Take the case of Trotsky's denunciation of Radek and the subsequent formation by Trotsky of a bloc with him. Trotsky, giving an estimation of Radek in 1918, told the Dewey Commission:

"He [Radek] was active for a certain time [in 1918] in the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, but the diplomats claimed it was impossible to say anything in his presence, because tomorrow it was known by all the city. We removed him immediately ..."

This is what Trotsky thought of Radek in 1918. Yet this estimation of Radek did not prevent Trotsky from working in close cooperation with Radek from 1925 to 1928. Why should such close cooperation between the two be declared an impossibility after 1931?

Take another example: Trotsky's denunciation of Zinoviev and Kamenev and his subsequent formation of a bloc with them. It has already been remarked that in 1924, in his *Lessons of October*, Trotsky denounced Zinoviev and Kamenev as dangerous Right-wingers who had been guilty of vacillation and instability on the eve of the October Revolution. But this did not prevent him from forming a close alliance with them a little later. Why, then, should Trotsky's denunciation of Zinoviev and Kamenev in 1928 be presented as an insurmountable hurdle to the formation at a later date of a close alliance between Trotsky on the one hand and Zinoviev and Kamenev on the other? And what applies to Radek, Kamenev and Zinoviev applies with equal force to Bukharin and Rykov. Trotsky's differences with the latter disappeared when he took a position on collectivisation which was no different from theirs. So once again they all united in frenzied opposition to the Bolshevik Party.

Trotsky always ended up forming alliances and blocs with people whom he had denounced in the immediate past. These alliances were always

necessitated by Trotsky's frenzied opposition to the Bolshevik Party. He was, therefore, bound to end up by forming blocs with people who were themselves engaged in an equally frenzied opposition to the Bolshevik Party, even though in the past he had denounced them. The frenzied opposition of all these people, including Trotsky, was the determining factor which brought them together, despite all the differences among themselves, that caused them to cast aside their differences. The whole history of Trotskyism from the time of the August bloc, and earlier, provides eloquent confirmation of this truth.

BOURGEOIS 'EXPLANATIONS' OF THE TRIALS

If there was no actual plot, no conspiracy against the Soviet regime, as is asserted by the Trotskyites and other bourgeois critics of the trials, why then were these trials held at all? Here, as could only be expected, the 'explanations' put forward by the Trotskyites and other bourgeois defenders of Trotsky are varied:

First 'explanation'

Trotsky's 'explanation' of the trials was that they were held in order to discredit him 'personally' and the 'Fourth International'. In other words, there was no conspiracy against the Soviet regime, there was no opposition in the USSR, Trotsky had made no alliance with the fascists nor did he have any connection with the accused. The accused were never involved in wrecking, diversion, terror and murder, but were doing their jobs as good communists; and yet the Soviet government decided to arrest people in high official positions - Vice-Commissars of Industry, Prime Ministers of National Republics, diplomats, etc. and put them on trial. What for? Just to 'combat' Trotsky and discredit the 'Fourth International'. As J.R. Campbell justly remarks:

"One might as well argue that the trials were held to discredit the Rugby Union and the Southern League. Was there ever such a crying disproportion between means and ends? The Bolshevik steam-roller is set in motion to crack a peanut." (Soviet Policy and its Critics, p.269).

Second 'explanation'

It has also been asserted by the Trotskyites and other bourgeois slan-

derers of Stalin that Stalin had assured the world bourgeoisie that he would restore capitalism in the USSR and that he staged the Moscow trials to give proof of his sincerity to the imperialist bourgeoisie.

One has only to reflect for a second to realise the absurdity of this 'explanation', to realise that this 'explanation' can only have been put forward by way of a malicious slander. For what assurance could the world bourgeoisie get from the trial and subsequent execution (in most cases) of those who never believed in the possibility of building socialism, who opposed socialist construction in the USSR? What assurance could the trial of the accused, on charges of an alliance with fascism for the purpose of dismantling the Soviet Union and overthrowing the Soviet regime to make way for the restoration of capitalism, give the world bourgeoisie? One has only to raise these questions to realise the utter absurdity of this 'explanation' and the extreme stupidity of those who put it forward.

Third 'explanation'

It has also been asserted that the trials were staged in order to divert the attention of the Soviet people from the economic difficulties facing the Soviet government and to explain these difficulties. This 'explanation' was put forward by the Dewey Commission in the following terms:

"The Commission finds that the conclusion appears to be inevitable that the indictments and the confessions in the series of widely publicised trials against the regime, were governed in each case by the current internal difficulties, economic and political ... of the Soviet Union. In other words, the trials have not really been criminal but political."

The Commission took no evidence as to the economic conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union in the years 1936-38. These were years of tremendous economic growth (despite wrecking and sabotage) and of prosperity the like of which the Soviet people had never experienced. Collectivisation had been successfully accomplished by 1936. The entire country had been transformed from being an agrarian into an industrial country. Living standards and working conditions had become far better than at any time before in the entire history of Russia. Unemployment had been eliminated and everyone was granted (in the Stalin Constitution) the right to work. The culture of the entire Soviet people had been raised. These are the facts. By completely ignoring these facts, the Dewey Commission only asserted its bold ignorance when it alluded to the alleged economic difficulties

facing the Soviet regime. What in fact this ignorant assertion amounted to was that just at a time when the Soviet government was telling the Soviet people of the proud achievements of socialist construction, it was at the same time staging "political" trials of 'innocent' people in order to explain the *"current internal difficulties economic and political"* that were facing it. This is plain gibberish.

Fourth 'explanation'

This 'explanation' is that the trials *"also served the purpose of the bureaucracy in distracting the attention of the Soviet proletariat and workers in the capitalist lands from the base betrayal of the Spanish working class by the Stalinist apparatus."* (Schachtman, *The American Trotskyist*).

Schachtman penned this lie on 1 November 1936, i.e., after the announcement by the USSR that she was no longer bound by the non-intervention agreements, and after it was clear to everyone that the Soviet Union was rendering whole-hearted support⁵ to the struggle of the Spanish people against fascism.

Lack of time prevents me from discussing now the Spanish question, to which I shall return another time when I will be able to show not only the real assistance rendered by the Soviet Union to the struggling and heroic people of Spain, but also expose the 'assistance' rendered by Trotskyism.⁶ For the moment let it suffice to say that while the Soviet Union was engaged in giving the Spanish people generous and unforgettable fraternal assistance, both material and political, the Trotskyites were busy launching frenzied attacks against the Soviet Union, against socialism in the Soviet Union, and were thus truly undermining the support of *"the workers in the capitalist lands"* for the Soviet Union, i.e., for socialism.

Fifth 'explanation'

The last 'explanation' is that *"all revolutions devour their children"*. Rakovsky in his concluding speech delivered a death blow to this pseudo-historical explanation put forward by bourgeois intellectuals (intelligentsia, more correctly). I would like to conclude, comrades, by quoting Rakovsky's remarks on this 'explanation', for not only do they deliver a death blow to this spurious 'explanation', but they also constitute a real explanation of the Moscow trials. Here is what Rakovsky said:

"It is a ridiculous, groundless analogy. Bourgeois revolutions did indeed finish - excuse me if I cite here some theoretical arguments which, however, are of significance for the present moment - bourgeois revolutions did indeed finish by devouring their own children because after they had triumphed they had to suppress their allies from among the people, their revolutionary allies of the Left.

"But the proletarian revolution, the revolution of the class which is revolutionary to the end, when it applies what Marx called 'plebeian methods of retaliation', it applies them not to the advanced elements, it applies them to those who stand in the way of this revolution, or to those who, as ourselves, were with this revolution, marched along with it for a certain time, and then stabbed it in the back." (Trial of the Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites, p. 760).

There is no need to add any more to what has been said. That is all I wish to say, comrades.

NOTES

1. Here is yet another crucial piece of evidence, provided by another American engineer, John Scott, who worked for several years at Magnitogorsk. Scott was not a communist. In fact he was a critic of Bolshevism and said so. This only gives added weight to his account, given in his book *Beyond the Urals*. Scott's account of what he lived through while working at this gigantic enterprise of such enormous significance, the Magnitogorsk complex, enables one to understand the huge magnitude of the task of socialist construction in the face of opposition from hostile and alien class elements, as well as downright counter-revolutionary wreckers and saboteurs who infiltrated the Soviet system by means of skill, intelligence, dynamism and hard work, passing themselves off as proletarians - thus managing to occupy high positions of responsibility and authority in the Party, government and economic administration.

Scott's account also reveals that the majority of these counter-revolutionaries were potential spies for the various imperialist powers. It was at times difficult - such were the prevailing conditions - to distinguish between conscious counter-revolutionaries, on the one hand, and corrupt bureaucrats and yesmen, on the other. Here is what John Scott has to say about Magnitogorsk:

"Schevchenko was the director in 1936 of the gas factories with their 2,000 industrial workers. He was a surly man, extremely energetic and proud, often rude and vulgar. Nevertheless, Schevchenko was not a bad director. The workers respected him and hurried to obey his orders. Schevchenko came from a small Ukrainian village. In 1920, when Denikin's white army was occupying the area, young Schevchenko - he was 19 at the time - was enrolled as a militiaman. Later on, Denikin was pushed back and the Red Army took back the area. Schevchenko was guided by his instinct for self-preservation to deny his part and to emigrate to another part of the country, where he took a job in a factory. Thanks to his

energy, the former militiaman and instigator of pogroms, quickly underwent an extraordinary transformation into a trade-union official with promising qualities. Putting on a show of great proletarian enthusiasm, he worked well and never hesitated to take advantage of any means to advance his career, at the expense of his comrades where necessary. Then he joined the Party, the Institute of Red Directors, obtained various important positions at the head of trade unions and was finally sent to Magnitogorsk in 1931 as assistant to the construction director.

"In 1935 a worker arrived from some Ukrainian village and started giving out information about the activities of Schevchenko in 1920. Schevchenko greased his palm and got him a good position. But the stories had taken root.

"One evening, Schevchenko organised an unprecedented feast at Magnitogorsk. The master of the house and his companions ate and partied all night and for a good part of the following night as well.

"One fine day, Schevchenko was dismissed, along with half a dozen of his immediate subordinates. 15 months later, Schevchenko went on trial and was sentenced to 10 years hard labour.

"Schevchenko was a semi-bandit, a dishonest opportunist lacking the slightest scruple. His ideals had nothing to do with those of the founders of socialism. Nevertheless, he was certainly not a spy in the service of Japan as his judges claimed. He had no terrorist intentions towards the government and the leaders of the party. Finally, he did not cause the explosion. [The reference here is to an explosion which occurred in 1935 and killed four workers].

"Some 20 people made up the Schevchenko clique. They all incurred heavy penalties. Some of them were also opportunists and captains of industry. Others really were counter-revolutionaries seeking deliberately to do everything possible to bring down Soviet power. But others were simply unlucky enough to work under the orders of a boss who would come to attract the attention of the NKVD. Nicholas Michaelovich Udline, one of Schevchenko's colleagues, was the eldest of a Ukrainian family. He felt that the Ukraine had been conquered and that its new masters were leading it to ruin. He thought that the capitalist system was better than socialism. He was a man who might have helped the Germans 'liberate' Ukraine in 1941. He too was condemned to 10 years of hard labour". (Scott, retranslated from the Swiss French edition entitled *Au delà de l'Oural*, ed. Marguerat, Lausanne, 1945, as the original is not currently available to us, pp. 170-5).

Further: "Numerous were the bureaucrats who shook in their shoes at the time of the purges. Officials, directors, people who had never previously turned up for work before 10 a.m., arrived there at 4.30 a.m. Formerly they had never bothered about mistakes, complaints or difficulties. Now, from the early hours until nightfall they were at their posts. With sincere zeal they forced themselves to take care to fulfil the Plan, to effect savings, to promote the well-being of their workers." (Ibid. p. 189).

"Alexis Ivanovich Pushnov, the NKVD chief in Magnitogorsk in 1937, was himself arrested in 1939. He was accused of excessive ardour in purging the village population ... " (Ibid. p.189).

Scott makes the further point that, far from having a 'negative effect', as one is made to understand by imperialist propaganda, the purges represented a great political mobilisation of the masses in their millions, which strengthened the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist consciousness of the working class; which compelled bureaucrats to improve their work; and which con-

tributed to improved efficiency and increased productivity. In fact, it is evident from Scott's account that the purges were an integral part of the in-depth preparation of the masses for resistance during the then impending war - which refutes the assertion made by Khrushchev, the Trotskyites and countless other buffoons that Stalin had not prepared the country for the coming war. Here is Scott:

"Production in general increased between 1938 and 1941. At the end of 1938 the adverse effects of the purges had practically disappeared. The industries of Magnitogorsk were producing more than their capacity. In all the factories every worker was conscious of the tension that had, since Munich, been reigning throughout the USSR. The capitalist attack against the Soviet Union which has been in preparation for years will be unleashed at any moment', repeated the radio, the press, the teachers, the orators, the Party, the Unions. Every year the national defence budget was doubled. Enormous reserves of armaments, machines, fuel and food were stored. The Red Army grew from 2 million men in 1938 to 6 or 7 million in the spring of 1941. The factories producing rolling stock and mechanical constructions of the Urals, of Central Asia and of Siberia worked more intensely. All this absorbed the small amount of excess production from which the workers had begun to benefit between 1935 and 1938 in the form of bicycles, watches, radio sets, and better food. (*Ibid.* p. 242).

"In 1942 the industrial region of the Urals became the heart of Soviet resistance. Its mines, its factories, its depots, its field and its forests supplied the Red Army with enormous quantities of military matériel as well as all the products necessary for maintaining Stalin's motorised divisions. At the very centre of immense Russia, an area of 800 square kilometres contained enormous wealth in iron, coal, copper, aluminium, lead, asbestos, manganese, potassium, gold, silver, platinum, zinc and oil. Before 1930 these treasures were barely exploited. During the ten years that followed, factories were built. They quickly started up their activities. All this was due to the political sagacity of Joseph Stalin, to his perseverance and determination. He has overcome all resistance in order to realise his programme despite fantastic expenditure and extraordinary difficulties. He wanted, above all, to create a powerful heavy industry. He situated it in the Urals and in Siberia, thousands of kilometres away from the nearest frontier, out of reach of any enemy. Moreover, Russia would never again be beholden to any foreign power for practically all its rubber, chemicals, tools, tractors, etc. It would produce all these things itself, thus securing its technical and military independence.

"Bukharin and many other former Bolsheviks were not of the same opinion. Before launching this daring industrialisation programme, they wanted to secure supplies for the people. One after the other, these dissidents were reduced to silence. Stalin's views carried the day. In 1932, 56% of Russian national income was put into reserves to meet these great expenditures. It was an extraordinary financial effort. In the United States, 70 years earlier, they had only invested 12% of their annual national income in the great industrial enterprises. Furthermore, most of the capital had been provided by Europe, while China, Ireland, Poland, etc. exported labour. Soviet industry was created practically without any foreign capital." (*Ibid.*, pp. 244-5).

Here is another piece of evidence revealing the infiltration into the Soviet apparatus at the highest level by counter-revolutionaries who, while occupying responsible positions in the Party and the administration, were connected with various underground opposition groups working for the overthrow of the Soviet government.

In 1948 Colonel Tokaev, an outstanding and brilliant aeronautical engineer, highly placed in

the Soviet regime, defected to the West. He wrote a book entitled *Comrade X* - the name he uses in this book to shield the identity of the prominent Party member who organised an underground opposition to the Soviet regime, and for which Tokaev worked from the outset of his career in the mid-thirties. In 1946, after the defeat of Nazi Germany, Tokaev became Zhukov's scientific deputy in Germany and was, according to him, given the task of enlisting German scientists for work on very long-range guided missiles in the USSR - a task which he frustrated before fleeing to the West. Of course, not everything in Tokaev's book is credit-worthy. What cannot be denied, however, is his account of the existence of an underground counter-revolutionary opposition (which, as one would expect, Tokaev refers to as the 'revolutionary democrats'), which managed to infiltrate the Party and government apparatus at all levels and do considerable damage to the economy. What also comes through Tokaev's account is the affinity of the various counter-revolutionary shades - from bourgeois nationalists to Bukharinites and Trotskyites.

Tokaev tells us of a secret meeting held in a Crimean town by his group soon after the publication of the Stalin Constitution. This meeting, says Tokaev, made the following analysis of the differences between Stalin and Bukharin:

"Stalin aimed at one party dictatorship and complete centralisation. Bukharin envisaged several parties and even nationalist parties, and stood for the maximum of decentralisation. He was also in favour of vesting authority in the various constituent republics and thought that the more important of these should even control their own foreign relations. By 1936, Bukharin was approaching the social democratic standpoint of the left-wing socialists of the West. However, we were still deeply divided from him on many questions." (p.4).

Tokaev vividly describes the "lurid atmosphere" and the "ultra-conspiratorial manner" in which the counter-revolutionary oppositionists in the USSR had to work. To keep intact their cover and high positions, they had publicly to mouth support for the Party's policies, including the suppression of the counter-revolutionary opposition, while at the same time organising the underground opposition aimed at overthrowing the Soviet regime. At a Party meeting, Tokaev was obliged to support "Vyshinsky's decision to investigate the activity of Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and Uglanov" and to say that the "peoples of the Soviet Union and our Party had the right to know about the two-faced intrigues of Bukharin and Rykov ...". Yet, before the month had ended, Tokaev "presented a lengthy underground report on the political situation and the prospects of continuing the fight in the South, particularly in the Black Sea Fleet and the Sevastopol military and naval base. It was a very close conference, under the very noses of Yezhov and Malenkov, and Comrade X was in the chair ..." (p.61).

Continues Tokaev: "After the close of the meeting, Comrade X informed me that Bukharin knew not only about my speech against him at the Party assembly, he had also been informed of Demokratov's work in the Crimea. A few days later, on September 4th, I also learned that before he was dismissed from the commission drafting the Constitution, Bukharin had studied the alternative draft prepared by Demokratov [this is the pseudonym of one of the leaders of Tokaev's counter-revolutionary group] and that among the documents were now included a number of important observations based on our work." (p.61).

Tokaev informs us that by 1938, "circles close to Comrade X had been almost completely wiped out. Most of them had been arrested in connection with the 'Right-wing deviation'. In fact, Comrade X's group were not Right-wing deviationists, but a military Right-wing opposition, which was not at all the same thing." (p.84).

It may not be the same thing. What matters is that all the diverse counter-revolutionary shades, tendencies and groups were united in their hatred of the Bolshevik regime, organised underground activities aimed at overthrowing it, and in these activities collaborated with each other at various levels.

According to Tokaev, Bukharin's group managed to publish the main programme in 1928. These were as follows:

"(1) Not to end NEP but to continue it for at least ten years;

"(2) To limit the compulsory sale of farm produce to the State and allow free market prices;

"(3) To curtail the State monopoly of trade;

"(4) While pursuing industrialisation, to remember that the Revolution was made for the ordinary man, and that, therefore, far more energy must be given to light industry - socialism is made by happy, well-fed men, not starving beggars;

"(5) To halt the compulsory collectivisation of agriculture and the destruction of the kulaks." (p.86).

He goes on:

"The UNDERGROUND opposition to which I belonged had resumed active work in 1938 ... Contacts inside the Kremlin were essential to us ... Gardinashvili [Beria's assistant] helped me to become a frequent visitor at private parties where I was able to get a fair idea of what the leaders of the oligarchy knew and thought ... " (Chapter 15).

"In April [1939] we held a congress of underground oppositionist leaders to review the position at home and abroad. Apart from revolutionary democrats there were present two socialists and two Right-wing military oppositionists, one of whom called himself a popular democrat-decentralist. The meeting was conducted by Belinsky, behind whom was Comrade X. We passed a resolution for the first time defining Stalinism as counter-revolutionary fascism, a fascist betrayal of the working class. I wonder if the reader can understand the gravity of the charge, the heart-searching or the hatred which decided us to make it.

"The resolution was immediately communicated to prominent personalities of both Party and Government and similar conferences were organised in other centres ... " (p.156).

And: "Our purpose this time was not only to hold discussions. We had moved a decisive step further: we went to assess the chances of an armed uprising against Stalin in the immediate future." (Ibid.).

After the above 'Congress', Tokaev was sent by his counter-revolutionary group to Leningrad, where he stayed in the Red Army hotel and "met a high-ranking officer whose underground name was Smolinisky." (p.156).

During this meeting, Tokaev suggested that Zhdanov be assassinated as Kirov had been in 1934:

"... [D]o you think that in our present conditions we ought to remove certain tyrants? What if the shot of 1934 were repeated in 1939?" (p.157).

Tokaev informs us that, as terrorism was not part of his group's programme, his suggestion, as he would have us believe, made in the heat of the moment, was rejected. What is interesting, however, is that he makes the admission that "... there have been many successful and unsuccessful acts of terrorism against the Stalin regime," adding, not very convincingly, "not one of them has been the work of the men grouped round Comrade X" (p.157).

The Soviet victory in the Second World War brought the prestige of the CPSU and of Stalin to soaring heights, which of course created a near impossible situation for the counter-revolutionaries opposed to the regime:

"By 1945 the danger of being misunderstood was to be so great that I found myself saying that we anti-Stalinists had better once again lie low and wait for better times.

"In short, as the war drew to its close, those of us who were still anti-Stalinists and had kept our sense of the objective facts, found ourselves more and more isolated. The Air Force officers who in 1941 had tried to get me to join them in an anti-Stalin coup tried as passionately in 1944 to convince me that there could now be no reason to object to Stalin's rule ... In 1943 and 1944 I do not think that there was a trace of opposition in the USSR. Men who had been in opposition to Stalin were ashamed of what they had done..." (pp.252-3).

Finally a few quotations from Alexander Zinoviev, who in 1939 was a brilliant secondary school pupil aged 17 years. In his book, published in 1990, he says:

"I was a convinced anti-Stalinist from the age of 17. The idea of assassinating him pervaded my thoughts and feelings. We studied the 'technical' possibilities for an assassination. We went on to make practical preparations." (*Les Confessions d'un Homme de Trop*, ed Olivier Orban, Paris, 1990 - extract translated from the French).

Continues Zinoviev:

"The idea of the assassination of Stalin pervaded my thoughts and feelings. I was already inclined to terrorism ... We studied the possibilities for an assassination: during a parade in Red Square we would provoke an artificial commotion which would allow me, armed with a pistol and with grenades, to get closer to the leaders."

He says: "I considered myself a neo-anarchist" (p.126). He read widely the writings of Bakunin and Kropotkin, and then those of Zheliabov and the populists (pp. 110 and 118). "The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was an ineptitude." (p.115).

"If they had condemned me to death in 1939," adds Zinoviev, "that decision would have been fair. I had conceived the plan to kill Stalin, and this was a crime, was it not?" (p.120).

In 1993, seeing the error of his ways, Zinoviev in an interview made the following remarkable observation:

"While Stalin was still alive, I saw things differently. But now that I have a bird's eye view over the century as a whole, I say: Stalin was the greatest personality of our century, the greatest political genius. Adopting a scientific attitude towards someone is something different from personal attitudes." (*Interview Huma*, 25 February, 1993, pp. 48-49).

2. The history of revolution so far has not produced, nor will it produce, a single case where revolutionaries die calling themselves counter-revolutionaries in order to discredit someone else. Revolutionaries have died in the past, and will die in the future, in order to further the cause they believe in. But in dying for their cause they will die a hero's death and not the death of a criminal. The absurdity put forward by the Quc Faire group is 'worthy' of the serious consideration of a bourgeois psychiatrist and not of serious revolutionaries.

3. It would be out of place to give the reasons for Kautsky's degeneration here. Comrades should read Lenin's *State and Revolution* and *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* in order to acquaint themselves with these reasons.

4. By way of exposing the duality of Trotskyism, Comrade Stalin at the 16th Party Congress in 1930 pointed out that this duality "explains the fact that Trotskyism" (masked capitulation)

"usually crowns its 'furious' attacks upon the Right deviators by entering into a bloc with these capitulators without masks."

The Trotskyites as well as the Rights are capitulators. The Trotskyites are capitulators behind the mask of hysterical, provocative, 'revolutionary' phrases, while the Rights are capitulators without masks.

5. In his message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain addressed to Comrade Jose Díaz, Comrade Stalin said:

"The toilers of the Soviet Union are merely fulfilling their duty in giving all the assistance they can to the revolutionary masses of Spain. They fully realise that the liberation of Spain from the yoke of fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but the common cause of the whole of advanced and progressive humanity."

6. See Part V of the current volume.

Part IV

Two Lines on the Chinese Revolution:

The Line of the Comintern and the Line of the Trotskyist Opposition

"Stalin is the true friend of the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. No attempt to sow dissension, no lies and calumnies, can affect the Chinese people's whole-hearted love and respect for Stalin and our genuine friendship for the Soviet Union."

- Mao Zedong

Chapter 13

TROTSKYISM IN RELATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

There are a number of questions that one could consider under this heading - questions such as, for example, the Chinese Revolution and the line of the Trotskyist opposition and the line of the Communist International (Comintern) in regard to this revolution; the question of the Spanish Civil War; the 'Hitler- Stalin' Pact, etc. These issues have caused furious disputes and confusion in the past, and they still are of tremendous importance and interest in the international working-class movement. These issues are of great importance for the reason that, unless the working-class movement learns its lessons from its past history, it will not be able to avoid and eliminate its own mistakes, and without the elimination of these mistakes it will find difficult, if not impossible, the achievement of further successes. However, I cannot, with justice, deal with all these important questions at one meeting. I have, therefore, decided to concentrate on just one of these issues at this meeting, namely, the question of the Chinese Revolution and the line of the Trotskyist opposition (Trotsky, Zinoviev and Radek) and that of the Comintern in regard to it. This question is of great importance for the purpose of refuting the Trotskyist and other anti-Leninist elements who continue to say that the Comintern and the "*Stalinist bureaucracy*" i.e. the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) (CPSU(B)) sold the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese communists down the river. It is, therefore, of great interest for us to deal with the question of the Chinese Revolution and find out who exactly was it that objectively was selling the interests of the Chinese Revolution down the river.

I think it would be quite of interest to comrades to know that, as far as the Chinese comrades are concerned (and the Chinese comrades made a successful revolution, quite unlike the Trotskyites; Trotskyites have never ever made a successful revolution nor will they ever be able to make a revolution unless and until they shed their Trotskyism, for without shedding

Trotskyism and without adopting Marxism-Leninism no proletarian revolution can be made), they have a tremendous respect for the line of the Communist International and the line of Stalin. On the 60th birthday of Stalin this is what Mao Tse-tung said:

"Stalin is the leader of world revolution. This is of paramount importance. It is a great event that mankind is blessed with Stalin. Since we have him, things can go well. As you all know, Marx is dead and so are Engels and Lenin. Had there been no Stalin, who would be there to give directions? But having him - this is really a blessing. Now there exist in the world a Soviet Union, a Communist Party and also a Stalin. Thus, the affairs of the world can go well. We must hail him, we must support him, and we must learn from him ... We must learn from him in two respects: his theory and his work"(Quoted by Chen Po-Ta in *Stalin on the Chinese Revolution*).

This statement, as far as I am aware, has never been repudiated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the people's democratic revolution as well as the leader of the proletarian revolution in China, and thus it is the stand not only of Comrade Mao Tse-tung but of the Communist Party of China. Therefore, really, when the Trotskyites, who have had nothing to do with the Chinese Revolution except to put forward their various ultra-'left' experiments in the way of objectively sabotaging the struggle of the Chinese people, when THEY say that the Chinese communists were sold down the river by the 'super-bureaucrat' Stalin and by the 'bureaucratic clique' which ruled Soviet Russia, then we must not take their word.

The Trotskyite pronouncements are nothing but lies, nothing but a cover and a camouflage for their own activity which, as we showed at the last meeting by reference to the mass of evidence and the admissions of the 51 accused at the 3 Moscow trials, was counter-revolutionary. The Moscow trials showed that Trotskyism had, because it followed a counter-revolutionary policy, landed up in counter-revolutionary practice, and when it found that its own forces were insufficient it made an alliance with fascist states like Germany and Japan. This has been proved beyond doubt. And therefore when the Trotskyites assert today, as did Trotsky and the rest of the opposition in the CPSU(B) during the twenties and thirties of this century, that the Chinese communists were sold down the river, we ought not to believe them. On the contrary, it is our paramount duty to repudiate them. In order to do just that we have to study Trotskyism, study Marxism-Leninism, study the concrete development of events both in the USSR and in the

world, and then on the basis of this study and investigation specifically prove why Trotskyism was counter-revolutionary. We have proved that Trotskyism was counter-revolutionary in the Soviet Union - now let us prove that Trotskyism was also counter-revolutionary in regard to, for example, the question of the Chinese Revolution.

As far as the question of the Chinese Revolution is concerned - Trotsky and Zinoviev and the rest of the opposition in the CPSU(B) never ever ceased attacking Comrade Stalin, attacking the Central Committee of the CPSU(B), and attacking the Executive Committee of the Communist International for putting forward a policy which they alleged meant support for the national bourgeoisie in China. Actually this allegation of the opposition in the Soviet Union was nothing but an out-and-out fabrication and a slander. In fact the policy of the Communist International, of the CPSU(B), and of Stalin, was that of utilising the national bourgeoisie in China for extending and widening the scope of the revolution. It was a policy of making use of the national bourgeoisie in the anti-imperialist struggle that was then being waged by the Chinese people, and at that particular time the Chinese national bourgeoisie was actually waging a struggle against imperialism. This was the policy of the Communist International and as Comrade Stalin said:

"It is a misfortune of the opposition that it cannot manage without tittle-tattle and distortion".

Yes - indeed it is a misfortune of not only the Trotskyite opposition - it is a misfortune of all dishonest alliances and oppositions. It is a misfortune of all counter-revolutionaries and opportunists that they cannot do without tittle-tattle. We find these in the 'left' movement today - do we not find the present-day Trotskyites indulging in this tittle-tattle? Do we not find the friends of the Trotskyites in the anti-revisionist movement itself?

The Comintern's Analysis of the Chinese Revolution

What was the analysis of the Comintern as regards the Chinese Revolution? The Comintern put forward the following analysis as regards the Chinese Revolution, as regards the character and prospects of the Chinese Revolution. The Comintern held that the main character of the Chinese Revolution was anti-feudal, because feudalism and the survivals of feudalism were the most predominant factor in the Chinese countryside. China, at that time, had a population of roughly 400/450 million people, out of which

350 or 400 million people (depending on what the population was) lived in the countryside. Roughly 90% of the people were peasants who were exploited to the hilt by feudalism and, therefore, the most predominant feature of the Chinese Revolution was the fight against feudalism. In other words, the Chinese Revolution, according to the Comintern analysis, was an agrarian revolution spearheaded against feudalism and against, of course, the entire militarist-bureaucratic structure which rested on this feudal structure. This was the character of the Chinese Revolution.

What is an agrarian revolution? An agrarian revolution is nonsensical to talk about unless it is directed against feudalism. One cannot talk about a revolution being agrarian unless that particular revolution is directed against feudalism. An agrarian revolution is the basis and content of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

A bourgeois-democratic revolution, as it used to be called in the old days, is now called a people's democratic revolution. We call it a people's democratic revolution because it is headed by the proletariat rather than by the bourgeoisie, because only the proletariat in colonial and semi-colonial countries is interested in the thorough-going completion of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and, therefore, it is the only force that can lead a bourgeois-democratic revolution. More than that, the proletariat is the only force that can lead the people from the bourgeois-democratic stage to the socialist stage of the revolution, whereas the bourgeoisie, at some stage or other, compromises with imperialism and also with feudalism. As, in the last analysis, it is the proletariat that leads the struggle for a bourgeois-democratic revolution, we call it a people's democratic revolution.

The revolution in China was of a bourgeois-democratic nature, or what we now call a people's democratic nature, at that particular time. The spearhead of the struggle was directed against feudalism. But the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China was not of the old type - it wasn't a bourgeois-democratic revolution like any previous bourgeois-democratic revolution that had happened, for example, in England.

In England the bourgeois-democratic revolution was of an entirely different type from the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China. Why? - because in China and in any other backward and semi-colonial country, as China was at that particular time, the bourgeois-democratic revolution cannot fail to be also an anti-imperialist revolution. Why? - because it is imperialism that supports the whole structure of feudalism, the whole fabric of

feudalism. It is imperialism that fosters, inspires, supports and preserves feudalism and struggles on the side of feudalism. That is a fact - and therefore if people in any colonial or semi-colonial country (like China was at that particular time) want to fight against feudalism, they cannot but at the same time be involved in a revolutionary fight for the overthrow of imperialism, because the interests of imperialism are inextricably intertwined with the interests of the feudal ruling class. Therefore the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China, according to the Comintern's line, was also an anti-imperialist revolution.

Trotsky's Analysis of the Chinese Revolution

What was the Trotskyite opposition's viewpoint as to the character of the Chinese Revolution? It would be of interest to know the position of Trotsky and hence of the rest of the opposition. Trotsky under-estimated and gave no decisive importance to the strength of feudalism. According to him, feudalism wasn't of any particular importance. He maintained that the main reason for the Chinese Revolution was China's state-customs dependence on the imperialist countries, and that, according to Trotsky, was what made the Chinese Revolution an anti-imperialist revolution. So the Trotskyite position was that the Chinese Revolution was a revolution for state-customs autonomy, a revolution to abolish the state-customs dependence on imperialism. There were various unequal treaties imposed on the Chinese ruling class by imperialism and, according to Trotsky, the Chinese Revolution was anti-imperialist because it was meant to abolish these unequal treaties. This was the position that Trotsky held on the character of the Chinese Revolution.

Trotsky gave no importance whatsoever to the survivals of feudalism, to the fact that the entire military-bureaucratic structure - the warlords and everything else - was built on top of feudalism. Trotsky and the rest of the opposition failed to see that feudalism and feudal survivals were the most predominant feature in the Chinese countryside. Permit me to refer to the thesis which Trotsky submitted in May 1927 to the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) and to the Executive Committee of the Comintern. Here is what Trotsky says in his thesis:

"Fundamentally untenable is Bukharin's attempt to justify his opportunist compromising line by references to the alleged predominating role of 'feudal survivals' in China's economy. Even if Bukharin's estimate of the Chinese

*economy were based upon an economic analysis, and not upon scholastic definitions, all the same, 'feudal survival' could not justify the policy which so manifestly facilitated the April Coup. The Chinese revolution bears a national bourgeois character for the basic reason that the development of the productive forces of Chinese capitalism is being blocked by China's state-customs dependence on the imperialist countries" (Trotsky: *The Chinese Revolution and Stalin's Theses*) (my emphasis - HB).*

One could not ask for, let alone get, clearer evidence as to what Trotsky thought of the Chinese Revolution. He characterises the Chinese Revolution as an anti-'state-customs dependence' revolution, a revolution which is directed against imperialism for just one purpose, that is, to abolish the unequal treaties which made China dependent on various imperialist countries in regard to state-customs.

What we have here in Trotsky's theses is a denial of the predominating role of the survivals of feudalism in China. According to Trotsky, the feudal survivals in China are insignificant, they are of no consequence. I keep on reiterating it, because it is the crux of the matter, because unless and until one is able to define the character of a revolution, the successful outcome of the revolution is simply out of the question. Trotsky's theses are an eloquent proof that he failed to realise that in the Chinese countryside the war-lords, the various military governors, fleeced the people, exploited the people to the hilt; that the sale of women and girls was still practised in China - and yet to Trotsky feudal survivals did not matter in the Chinese countryside. Such was Trotsky's viewpoint on the character of the Chinese revolution.

Stalin was absolutely right in characterising this viewpoint as *"that of a state counsellor of 'His Highness' Chang Tso- lin"*. That is absolutely correct, because Trotsky had indeed slid over to the viewpoint of the officials of 'His Highness' Chang Tso-lin. Why? - because even the most rabid reactionaries like Chang Tso-lin and Chiang Kai-shek actually did put forward the demand that the unequal treaties imposed by imperialism on China should be abolished. Surely the proletariat must be able to go farther than that.

Here we have the ultra-'left' phrasemonger, Trotsky himself, saying that the only thing about the Chinese Revolution is the abolition of the state-customs treaties. As Stalin put it:

"If Trotsky's viewpoint is correct, then it must be admitted that Chang Tso-lin and Chiang Kai-shek are right in not desiring either an agrarian or a workers' revolution and in striving only for the abolition of the unequal treaties

and the establishment of customs autonomy for China" (Stalin's emphasis).

And further, by way of comparison and summing up the line of the Comintern and of Trotsky, continues Stalin:

"Thus we have two basic lines:

"(a) the line of the Comintern, which takes into account the existence of feudal survivals in China, as the predominant form of oppression, the decisive importance of the powerful agrarian movement, the connection of the feudal survivals with imperialism, and the bourgeois-democratic character of the Chinese revolution with its struggle spearheaded against imperialism;

"(b) the line of Trotsky, which denies the predominant importance of feudal-militarist oppression, fails to appreciate the decisive importance of the agrarian revolutionary movement in China, and attributes the anti-imperialist character of the Chinese revolution solely to the interests of Chinese capitalism, which is demanding customs independence for China.

*"The basic error of Trotsky (and hence of the opposition) is that he underestimates the agrarian revolution in China, does not understand the bourgeois-democratic character of that revolution, denies the existence of the preconditions for an agrarian movement in China, embracing many millions, and underestimates the role of the peasantry in the Chinese revolution" (Stalin: *Revolution in China and the Tasks of the Comintern*, speech delivered at the 10th sitting of the 8th plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI), May 24, 1927).*

But most of you will know that this particular viewpoint of Trotsky, his pooh-poohing the influence of feudalism in Chinese society, his pooh-poohing the influence of the survivals of feudalism in the Chinese countryside, is not new to Trotsky. The whole theory of 'permanent revolution' is a denial of the role of the peasantry. In fact, one of the characteristic features of Trotskyism throughout its fight against Bolshevism - against Leninism - has been its underestimation, its denial, of the role of the peasantry. This underestimation, this denial of the role of the peasantry lies at the heart of the theory of 'permanent revolution'. It is the theory of 'permanent revolution'. It is the theory of 'permanent revolution', with its underestimation, its denial, of the role of the peasantry, which alone can explain the degeneration of Trotskyism which ended up by making an alliance with fascism. The theory of 'permanent revolution' could not but cause Trotsky to deny the role of the peasantry. It was not the first time that Trotsky was denying the role of the peasantry when he failed to see the feudal survivals in China. Trotsky

had done the same in 1905. He repeated his 'original' error just before the February revolution of 1917 in Russia. Trotsky asserted that because of the continued differentiation among the peasantry, the domination of imperialism, and because the proletariat was pitted against the bourgeoisie (since *"imperialism pits, not the bourgeois nation against the old regime, but the proletariat against the bourgeois nation"*: Trotsky), the role of the Russian peasantry would decline - that the Russian peasantry would no longer play the important role assigned to it formerly - and that consequently the agrarian revolution would no longer have the importance hitherto attributed to it.

Allow me, comrades, to quote Lenin's reply to these absurdly 'left' assertions of Trotsky's. In an article written in 1915, this is what Lenin had to say on the role of the peasantry in the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia:

"This original theory of Trotsky's [referring to Trotsky's 'permanent revolution'] borrows from the Bolsheviks their call for a resolute revolutionary struggle by the proletariat and for the conquest of political power by the latter, and from the Mensheviks the 'denial' of the role of the peasantry. The peasantry, he says, has split up into strata, has become differentiated; its potential revolutionary role has steadily declined; a 'national' revolution is impossible in Russia; 'We are living in the era of imperialism' and 'imperialism pits, not the bourgeois nation against the old regime, but the proletariat against the bourgeois nation'.

"Here we have an amusing example of 'word juggling': imperialism! If, in Russia, the proletariat is already pitted against the 'bourgeois nation', then that means that Russia is directly facing a socialist revolution !! Then the slogan, 'confiscation of the landlords' land' (which Trotsky, after the Conference of January, 1912, put forward again in 1915) is untrue, and we must speak not of a 'revolutionary workers' government, but of a workers' 'socialist' government !! To what lengths Trotsky's confusion goes may be seen from his phrase that the proletariat would, by its determination, carry along with it the 'non-proletarian (!) popular masses' (No 217) !! Trotsky has not stopped to think that if the proletariat carries along with it the non-proletarian masses of the countryside for confiscation of the landlords' land and overthrows the monarchy, that will be completion of the 'national bourgeois revolution' in Russia, that will be the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

"The whole decade - the great decade - 1905-1915 - has demonstrated that

there are two, and only two, class lines for the Russian revolution. The differentiation of the peasantry has intensified the class struggle within it, has awakened very many politically dormant elements, has brought the rural proletariat closer to the urban proletariat (the Bolsheviks have been insisting on the separate organisation of the former since 1906, and introduced this demand in the resolution of the Stockholm, Menshevik Congress). But the antagonism between the 'peasantry' and the Markovs-Romanovs-Khvostovs has become stronger, more developed, more acute. This truth is so obvious that even thousands of phrases in scores of Trotsky's Paris articles cannot 'refute' it. Trotsky is in fact helping the liberal labour politicians in Russia who understand 'denial' of the role of the peasantry to mean refusal to rouse the peasants to revolution! And that just now is the crux of the matter" (Lenin)

As Stalin said:

"It is this peculiarity of Trotsky's scheme - the fact that he sees the bourgeoisie and sees the proletariat, but does not notice the peasantry and does not understand its role in the bourgeois-democratic revolution - it is precisely this peculiarity that constitutes the opposition's principal error on the Chinese question.

"It is just this that constitutes the 'semi-Menshevism' of Trotsky and of the opposition in the question of the character of the Chinese revolution.

"From this principal error stem all the other errors of the opposition, all the confusion in its theses on the Chinese question" (Stalin: Revolution in China and the Tasks of the Comintern, speech delivered on 24th May 1927).

Comrade Stalin's characterisation of the position of the Trotskyite opposition on the question of the character of the Chinese Revolution is absolutely correct. In a country where peasant masses constituted, as they did in China in 1927, 90% of the population, where feudal survivals were the most predominant factor, anyone who denied the role of feudal survivals, anyone who denied that the nature of the revolution in China was anti-feudal, was actually meaning to demobilise the peasantry, was helping (whether he wished that or not) Chiang Kai-shek and 'His Highness' Chang Tso-lin and his officials. He was actually saying that, since the Chinese Revolution was not anti-feudal, the masses of the people, the peasant millions, could not be roused to revolution in this agrarian revolution which was directed against feudalism and against imperialism. What did Trotsky's assertion that the anti-imperialist character of the Chinese Revolution was solely attributable to the interests of Chinese capitalism, which was then demanding the aboli-

tion of unequal treaties, that is, demanding customs independence, amount to? This assertion amounted to saying that the bourgeois revolution could not, and would not, pass into a socialist revolution. Why? Because it was only the Chinese bourgeoisie, only the Chiang Kai-sheks and Chang Tso-lins, who were really interested in the abolition of the unequal treaties imposed by imperialism, and in the establishment of customs autonomy. Why should the proletariat and the broad masses of peasantry be particularly interested in a revolution whose sole aim was the establishment of customs autonomy for China? Therefore, whosoever asserted that the real purpose of the revolution was to achieve customs independence, that this was the main content of the Chinese Revolution, that the Chinese Revolution was anti-imperialist only because of the issue of the unequal treaties imposed on the Chinese capitalists, then, surely, he was rendering direct support to the Chinese Chang Tso-lins, to the Chinese Chiang Kai-sheks, because he was thereby disorganising, demobilising, or, refusing to mobilise, the peasantry in the agrarian revolution and also ensuring that the leadership of the revolution remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie, since only the latter were interested in customs autonomy. This is exactly how matters stand, comrades. This was the chief error of the Trotskyist opposition in the Soviet Union on the question of the Chinese Revolution. And from this chief error, from their wrong analysis of the Chinese Revolution, flow the other errors and confusion, all the misfortunes of the opposition.

Other Errors of the Trotskyist Opposition

What were the other errors, the other misfortunes of the opposition? What were the other wrong conclusions that it came to? Because of its wrong analysis of the character of the Chinese Revolution, the opposition always advocated an erroneous policy. Let us deal with some of the important errors of the opposition.

Error 1: Trotsky's "logical incongruity" towards Wuhan

In the period of the all-national united front (the Canton period), particularly the period between 1925 and 12th April 1927, for some time Trotsky and the rest of the opposition demanded that the communists should withdraw from the Kuomintang.

First, a few words about the Kuomintang in this period: it was a bloc of several oppressed classes - it was a bloc of the national bourgeoisie, of the

urban poor, of the peasantry, of the petty- bourgeois intelligentsia, and of the proletariat. It was a bloc of basically four classes. Between 1925 and April 12th, 1927, the national bourgeoisie played a progressive role (of this more later on).

Trotsky demanded that the proletariat, the Communist Party of China (CPC), should withdraw from the Kuomintang. Why? - because, according to him, the bourgeoisie was always counter- revolutionary. Trotsky obviously had the Russian revolution as the model (Trotsky had proved himself to be wrong as regards the Russian revolution, but anyway once the Russian revolution was successful, following Lenin's thesis, Trotsky then takes the Russian revolution as the model for every other country) failing to realise that Russia was an imperialist country, whereas China was an oppressed country at that particular time; that the bourgeoisie of an imperialist country, which is counter- revolutionary through and through, could not be compared with the bourgeoisie of an oppressed country, which has its own grudges and grouses against imperialism. It also has reason and cause to fight against imperialism, and therefore, for a certain period of time under specific particular conditions, the bourgeoisie can actually become an ally of the proletariat. Nobody is saying that a temporary alliance between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie demands that the proletariat should merge with the bourgeoisie. No, comrades. This is not a communist concept of such an alliance. Our concept of an alliance with the bourgeoisie is that the proletariat at no time must be hindered in its work of organising independently, organising the proletariat, organising the peasantry, organising the broad masses of the people under its own independent programme. And as long as the CPC was in the Kuomintang, not only was it not hindered in the work of independently organising the broad masses of people for revolution, but, in fact, by the very fact of belonging to the Kuomintang its actual ability to organise independently and lead the masses was enhanced (and I will come to that later on).

In April 1927 the national bourgeoisie deserted the revolution when on 12th April 1927 it launched its coup. The right-wing of the Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek started massacring the communists. The national bourgeoisie set up its counter- revolutionary centre in Nanking. So the national bourgeoisie from 12th April 1927 no longer was on the side of the Chinese Revolution - it had sided with counter-revolution and imperialism. What was it that caused the desertion of the national bourgeoisie? It was the fear of the agrarian revolution, and, secondly, the pressure put on the Chiang

Kai-shek clique by imperialism in Shanghai.

After the desertion of the revolution by the national bourgeoisie, the left wing of the Kuomintang set up its revolutionary centre in Wuhan. Wuhan became the base for the maximum development of the agrarian revolution, which was led by the Communist Party. How did the Trotskyist opposition characterise Wuhan, and what was its attitude to Wuhan? Trotsky described Wuhan as a "fiction". Though Trotsky describes Wuhan as a "fiction", he does not advocate the withdrawal from this "fiction", of the CPC, which was at that time allied with the left wing of the Kuomintang in Wuhan.

Permit me to quote a passage from Stalin's speech, which aptly describes Trotsky's attitude - "this 'logical' incongruity" - towards Wuhan. Here is what Stalin said:

"Let us assume that Wuhan is a fiction. But if Wuhan is a fiction, why does Trotsky not insist on a determined struggle against Wuhan? Since when have communists been supporting fictions, participating in fictions, standing at the head of fictions, and so on? Is it not a fact that the communists are duty bound to fight against fictions? Is it not a fact that if communists refrained from fighting against fictions, it would mean deceiving the proletariat and the peasantry? Why, then, does Trotsky not propose that the communists should fight against this fiction, if only by immediate withdrawal from the Wuhan Kuomintang and the Wuhan Government? Why does Trotsky propose that they should remain within this fiction, and not withdraw from it? Where is the logic in this?"

"Is not this 'logical' incongruity to be explained by the fact that Trotsky took up a swaggering attitude towards Wuhan and called it a fiction, and then got cold feet and shrank from drawing the appropriate conclusion from his theses?"

Such is the position of Trotsky on the question of Wuhan.

Let us now deal with Zinoviev's position which was even more peculiar. Zinoviev described the Wuhan government as a Kemalist government; a government of the 1920 period in Turkey, led by Kemal. This description of the Wuhan government as a Kemalist government arose directly from the fact that the opposition (Zinoviev, Radek and Trotsky) at one time confused the Chinese Revolution with the Kemalist revolution in Turkey.

What is a Kemalist revolution? It is a revolution of the upper stratum, of the merchant bourgeoisie against imperialism, which from its very beginning

is directed against the workers and peasants. It is a revolution that gets stuck at its very first stage and the question of it passing into a socialist revolution simply does not arise. A Kemalist government, therefore, is a government that does not fight against feudalism. Such a government fights against workers and peasants and, therefore, there is no place for communists in such a government. If one really believed that the Wuhan government was a Kemalist government; then, one could arrive only at the conclusion that a determined struggle against Wuhan - the overthrow of the Wuhan Government - was absolutely necessary. As Stalin said:

"But that is what ordinary people, with ordinary human logic, might think."

That is not how Zinoviev thought. He characterised the Wuhan government as a Kemalist government. The conclusion to be drawn from it: a determined struggle against Wuhan, the overthrow of the Wuhan government. But Zinoviev not only does not advocate the overthrow of the Wuhan government. He actually demands that most energetic support be given to it. Here is what Zinoviev said in his thesis, distributed at the plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU in April 1927:

"It is necessary to render the most energetic and all round assistance to Hankow¹ and to organise resistance from there against the Cavaignacs. In the immediate future efforts should be concentrated precisely on facilitating organisation and consolidation in Hankow."

Stalin's comment on this peculiar stand of Zinoviev was:

"Understand that if you can!"

Yes, comrades, understand that if you can!

Trotsky said that Wuhan was a "fiction", that "so far it [Wuhan] is nothing, or practically nothing". The conclusion to be drawn from this: a determined struggle against Wuhan, the overthrow of the Wuhan government, a determined struggle against this "fiction" and the withdrawal of the communists from this "fiction". But Trotsky did not advocate such a struggle against this "fiction".

Zinoviev characterised the Wuhan government as a Kemalist government. The conclusion to be drawn from this: the immediate withdrawal of the communists from this Kemalist government and an "energetic" struggle against this government for its overthrow. But this is not the conclusion, which could only be arrived at "by ordinary people with ordinary human logic", that Zinoviev arrived at. He, arrived at the conclusion that this gov-

ernment must be rendered *"the most energetic and all round assistance"*.

Understand that, comrades, if you can!

Trotsky and Zinoviev, having described the Wuhan government as a *"fiction"* and a Kemalist government, did not advocate a determined struggle against this *"fiction"*, against this Kemalist set up. Having described the Wuhan government in the above terms, Trotsky and Zinoviev began to have cold feet, and did not draw the only possible conclusion from their own characterisation of the Wuhan government as a *"fiction"* and a Kemalist government; namely, that it was necessary to wage a determined struggle against this *"fiction"* and Kemalist set-up. Instead they wanted the Chinese communists to participate in the Wuhan government and said that *"the most energetic and all round assistance"* should be given to this *"fiction"*, this Kemalist government. Such is the confusion in which the Trotskyist opposition found itself. Such is the phrasemongering to which the Trotskyist opposition was bound to resort, because it had made a wrong analysis of the character and prospects of the Chinese Revolution, because the starting point of the opposition was the *"absurdly left"* theory of 'permanent revolution', from which theory stem all the misfortunes and tragedies, all the errors - major and minor - of the opposition.

This is how Stalin sums up the confusion of the opposition on the point under discussion:

"What does all this show? It shows that the opposition has got entangled in contradictions. It has lost the capacity to think logically, it has lost all sense of perspective."

"Confusion of mind and loss of all sense of perspective on the Wuhan question - such is the position of Trotsky and the opposition, if confusion can be described as a position at all".

Let us now pass on to the second error of the opposition, an error which also resulted from the wrong analysis of the opposition on the question of the Chinese Revolution.

Error 2: The opposition's demand for the establishment of the Soviets while the communists participated in the Wuhan government.

At the very time that the opposition was demanding that the Wuhan government be *"energetically"* supported (see Zinoviev's thesis above) it also de-

manded the immediate establishment of the Soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies in China.

What does the creation of Soviets mean? The special thesis of the 2nd Congress of the Comintern in regard to the question of Soviets says quite categorically that:

"Without a proletarian revolution Soviets inevitably turn into a travesty of Soviets" (Special Thesis of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International: When and in what circumstances Soviets of workers' and deputies may be formed).

What, then, is the significance of forming Soviets? What is their purpose? The purpose of the Soviets is to bring into existence the organs of revolutionary struggle for a determined struggle against the existing government, a determined struggle for the overthrow of the existing system - the existing power. If the Soviets are not in existence for that purpose, if they are not the organisational centres for the revolution, if in fact (and this is a most important aspect of Soviets) they are not the organs of an uprising against the existing state system, then, they are bound to degenerate and become empty chat-shops, empty playthings.

Here is what Lenin said on the question of the formation of Soviets of workers' deputies:

"Soviets of workers' deputies are organs of direct struggle of the masses.... It was not some kind of theory, not appeals on somebody's part, not tactics of somebody's invention, not a party doctrine, but the logic of facts that faced these non-Party, mass organs with the necessity of an uprising, and made them organs of an uprising. And to establish such organs at the present time would mean creating organs of an uprising and to call for their establishment would mean calling for an uprising. To forget this, or to veil it from the eyes of the broad mass of the people would be the most unpardonable shortsightedness and the worst of policies".

And further:

"The whole experience of both revolutions, that of 1905 and that of 1917, and all the decisions of the Bolshevik Party, all its political statements for many years past, boil down to this - that a Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies is practicable only as the organ of an uprising, only as an organ of revolutionary power. If this is not their purpose, Soviets become empty playthings that are bound to lead to apathy, indifference and disillusionment among the

masses, who quite naturally become fed up with the endless repetition of resolutions and protests".

This being so, the call for the formation of the Soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies in the spring of 1927 in the area of the Wuhan government would have meant calling for an uprising against the power of the left Kuomintang, which at that time was revolutionary, and in whose area the movement was developing rapidly. Would such a call have been expedient? It scarcely needs proof that it would not. Such a call would have been tantamount to 'skipping' the Kuomintang phase of the revolution, endangering the revolution and thus rendering the greatest assistance to Chiang Kai-shek. This is exactly what the Trotskyist opposition was doing. It was trying subjectively to 'skip' the Kuomintang phase of the revolution. Guided, as the opposition was, by the theory of 'permanent revolution', with its underestimation of the role of the peasantry, it was bound to want to skip the Kuomintang phase of the revolution. Desire for skipping phases of the revolution is a necessary effect of anyone's belief in the theory of 'permanent revolution'. This being the case, is it surprising that the present-day Trotskyites are always heaping abuse on the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Viet Nam for not having a "*socialist programme*"; that they are always accusing the Palestinians of not achieving socialism before they have regained their lost homes and their country, Palestine? No, it is not.

The second point about the Soviets is that we cannot call for the establishment of the Soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies and yet maintain that we shall participate in the government which these Soviets are intended to overthrow. we cannot call for an uprising against a government and yet participate in such a government. It would be tantamount to calling for our own overthrow. It scarcely needs saying that such a 'clever' scheme could only be described as sheer lunacy. Yet it was this sheer lunacy which the Trotskyist opposition advocated in regard to the formation of Soviets in China. The opposition demanded that the Chinese communists should support the Wuhan government, that the Communist Party must not withdraw its support from the Wuhan government, and that the communists must carry on their work within the Wuhan government. But the opposition also demanded of the CPC the immediate establishment of Soviets; that it should create dual power; create organs of uprising against the very government that it was a member of. Understand that if you can!

The creation of Soviets means the creation of dual power, and once dual

power has been created, the question of who is to possess the whole power, who is to have state power, cannot but be raised in a most sharp manner. To call for the establishment of Soviets is to call for the establishment of the organs of uprising" *and to call for their establishment would mean calling for an uprising*". Only light-minded and flippant people like Trotsky, people who have broken with Marxism-Leninism, can say that Soviets should be created and at the same time demand that the communists should participate in the very governments which these Soviets are intended to overthrow. When Soviets came into existence in Russia in 1917², it could not have even entered the minds of the Bolsheviks to advocate Bolshevik participation in the provisional government.

So, the Trotskyist opposition in the CPSU got itself hopelessly entangled in contradiction for the simple reasons that:

Firstly, it confused the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China with a proletarian revolution. The question of the formation of Soviets can only be raised when the complete victory of the people's democratic (bourgeois-democratic in the old terminology) revolution approaches, and the paths of transition to the proletarian revolution become clear;

Secondly, it confused the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China with the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917 in Russia, that is, it confused the bourgeois-democratic revolution in a semi-colonial country, oppressed and exploited by imperialism, with the bourgeois-democratic revolution in an imperialist country. It was this confusion that rendered the opposition blind to the distinction between the bourgeoisie of an oppressed, semi-colonial country, which can, for a limited period, play, and did play, a progressive anti-imperialist role, and the bourgeoisie of an imperialist country like Russia (before the revolution) which could not, and did not, play a progressive role. It was because of this confusion that the opposition got itself into a hopeless mess.

Summing Up: the line of the Comintern and the line of the Trotskyist opposition

To sum up the two lines, the line of the Comintern and the line of the Trotskyist opposition, on the Chinese Revolution, allow me to quote a few passages from Comrade Stalin's speech. These passages are remarkable not only for containing, as they do, an apt summary of the two lines on the Chinese Revolution, but also for a brilliant characterisation of the typical

confusion and phrasemongering so characteristic of Trotskyism. Here is what Stalin said:

"And so, we have before us two entirely different lines on the Chinese question - the line of the Comintern and the line of Trotsky and Zinoviev.

"The line of the Comintern

"Feudal survivals, and the bureaucratic-militarist superstructure which rests upon them and which receives every support from the imperialists of all countries, are the basic fact of Chinese life today.

"China at the present moment is passing through an agrarian revolution directed both against the feudal survivals and against imperialism.

"The agrarian revolution constitutes the basis and content of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China.

"The Kuomintang in Wuhan and the Wuhan government are the centre of the bourgeois-democratic revolutionary movement.

"Nanking and the Nanking government are the centre of national counter-revolution.

"The policy of supporting Wuhan is at the same time a policy of developing the bourgeois-democratic revolution, with all the consequences resulting from that. Hence the participation of the Communists in the Wuhan Kuomintang and in the Wuhan revolutionary government, a participation which does not exclude, but rather presupposes strenuous criticism by the Communists of the halfheartedness and vacillation of their allies in the Kuomintang.

"The Communists must utilise this participation to facilitate the proletariat's role of hegemon in the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution, and to hasten the moment of transition to the proletarian revolution.

"When the moment of the complete victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution approaches, and when, in the course of the bourgeois revolution, the paths of transition to the proletarian revolution become clear, the time will have arrived when it is necessary to set up Soviets of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies, as elements of a dual power, as organs of struggle for a new power, as organs of a new power, Soviet power.

"When that time comes the Communists must replace the bloc within the Kuomintang by a bloc outside the Kuomintang, and the Communist Party must become the sole leader of the new revolution in China.

"To propose now, as Trotsky and Zinoviev do, the immediate formation of

Soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies and the immediate establishment of dual power now, when the bourgeois- democratic revolution is still in the initial phase of its development, and when the Kuomintang represents the form of organisation of the national-democratic revolution best adapted and most closely corresponding to the specific features of China, would be to disorganise the revolutionary movement, weaken Wuhan, facilitate its downfall, and render assistance to Chang Tso-lin and Chiang Kai-shek.

"The line of Trotsky and Zinoviev.

"Feudal survivals in China are a figment of Bukharin's imagination. They either do not exist at all in China, or are so insignificant that they cannot have any serious importance.

"There does appear to be an agrarian revolution in China at this moment. But where it comes from, the devil only knows (laughter).

"But since there is this agrarian revolution, it must, of course, be supported somehow.

"The chief thing just now is not the agrarian revolution, but a revolution for the customs independence of China, an anti- customs revolution, so to speak.

"The Wuhan Kuomintang and the Wuhan government are either a 'fiction' (Trotsky) or Kemalism (Zinoviev).

"On the one hand, dual power must be established for overthrowing the Wuhan government through the immediate formation of Soviets (Trotsky). On the other hand, the Wuhan government must be strengthened, it must be given energetic and all round assistance, also, it appears, through the immediate formation of Soviets (Zinoviev).

"By rights, the Communists ought to withdraw immediately from this 'fiction', i.e. in the wuhan government and the Wuhan Kuomintang. Why they should remain in Wuhan if Wuhan is a 'fiction'? That, it seems, God alone knows. And whoever does not agree with this, is a betrayer and a traitor [my emphasis - HB]

"Such is the so-called line of Trotsky and Zinoviev.

"Anything more grotesque and confused than this so-called line it would be hard to imagine.

"One gets the impression that one is dealing not with Marxists but with some sort of bureaucrats who are completely divorced from real life - or, still more, with 'revolutionary' tourists, who have been busy touring about Sukhum

and Kislovodsk and such-like places, overlooked the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, which defined the basic attitude towards the Chinese revolution and then, having learned from the newspapers that some sort of a revolution - whether agrarian or anti-customs, they were not quite clear - was really taking place in China, they decided that it was necessary to compile a whole heap of theses - one set in April, another in the early part of May, a third in the latter part of May - and having done so, they bombard the Executive Committee of the Comintern with them, apparently believing that a plethora of confused and contradictory theses is the best means of saving the Chinese revolution [my emphasis - HB].

"Such, comrades, are the lines on the question of the Chinese revolution.

"You will have to choose between them".

Such were the two lines on the Chinese Revolution. It would be hard to find a better description of Trotskyist bureaucrats and "revolutionary" tourists than that which is given above by Comrade Stalin. One has to have only a bare acquaintance with the political line and attitudes of the present-day Trotskyists to realise that one is not dealing with Marxist-Leninists, but with bureaucrats who are divorced from real life, to realise that one is dealing with flippant people - 'revolutionary' tourists; who have decided to bombard the Marxist-Leninist movement with a plethora of anti-communist contradictory theses, full of slanders and lies, believing this to be the best means of 'saving' the 'world(!) revolution'.

Trotskyism chooses "inappropriate moments" to launch attacks on the communist movement

Comrade Stalin ended his speech with the following words:

"I must say, comrades, that Trotsky has chosen an inappropriate moment for his attacks on the Party and the Comintern. I have just received information that the British Conservative government has decided to break off relations with the USSR. There is no need to prove that this will be followed by a universal campaign against the Communists. This campaign has already begun. Some are threatening the CPSU(B) with war and intervention. Others threaten it with split. Something like a united front from Chamberlain to Trotsky is being formed" [my emphasis - HB].

"It is possible that they want to frighten us. But it scarcely needs proof that Bolsheviks are not the sort to be frightened. The history of Bolshevism knows

plenty of such 'fronts'. The history of Bolshevism shows that such 'fronts' have invariably been smashed by the revolutionary determination and supreme courage of the Bolsheviks.

"You need have no doubt that we shall succeed in smashing this new 'front' too" (Applause).

This is typical of Trotskyism. Trotskyism always manages to choose an *"inappropriate moment"* for launching attacks on the communist movement.

Attacks Against Leninism: It launched its most vicious attacks against Leninism, against Bolshevism, subsequent to the defeat of the Russian revolution of 1905, when the movement was passing through the most difficult trials. Trotskyism did as much as it could to help the Liquidators. During the period of Brest Litovsk, when the fate of the revolution was rather precarious, Trotskyism decided to launch a vicious campaign against Leninism. It did the same during the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP). In the 20s and 30s, when there was danger of imperialist intervention, Trotskyism not only launched attacks on the Party and the Comintern, but actually went over to wrecking, diversion, sabotage, murder and terror, and finally made an alliance with fascism.

Attacks Against the Vietnamese liberation movement: Our present day Trotskyists do just the same. During the period of the Johnson administration, when US Imperialism was escalating its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people and the other Indo-Chinese peoples, precisely at that time the Trotskyist bureaucrats, our 'revolutionary' tourists, decided to launch a campaign of lies and slanders against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, against the Programme of the NLF in South Viet Nam, and against the great leader of the Vietnamese people, Comrade Ho Chi Minh. *"Ho Chi Minh is a Stalinist bureaucrat. The Programme of the NLF is bourgeois"*, shrieked the super 'revolutionary' tourist Tariq Ali (now of the anti-communist, anti-China, Trotskyist International Marxist Group). *"When victory is won [it is not clear by whom] in Viet Nam the first job of the revolution [which revolution, is not clear again] will be to overthrow the bureaucracy in Hanoi"* howled another Trotskyist counter-revolutionary. It was precisely by these attacks of theirs, and by their successful disruption of the big October 1968 Viet Nam mobilisation, their refusal to demonstrate against the embassy of US Imperialism, instead taking 60 thousand people on a picnic to Hyde Park, that they were able to disorganise the anti-Viet Nam war movement in Britain, thus rendering most timely and much

needed assistance to US Imperialism. No amount of ultra-'left' phrasemongering can hide these truths, gentlemen Trotskyites!

Attacks against the Indo-Chinese people: Now, once again, when the Vietnamese people's struggle has reached a critical juncture, when US Imperialism, while pretending to withdraw from Viet Nam, has more than ever escalated its war of aggression against the people of Viet Nam and all the peoples of Indo-China, has more than ever intensified its fascist policy of wanton destruction, the Trotskyists have decided to create a diversion by launching a campaign of lies and slanders against the People's Republic of China. The Trotskyites have decided to bring much needed relief to US Imperialism by launching attacks on the People's Republic of China, thus drawing the attention of the youth, which is justly indignant over the barbarous aggression of US Imperialism against the Indo-Chinese peoples, away from the criminal acts and banditry of US Imperialism. Such is the essence of all the Trotskyist 'support' for the "*Vietnamese revolution*". Such is the essence of all their ultra-'left' phrasemongering. Ultra-'left' phrasemongering to cover ultra-reactionary, counter-revolutionary practice - such is the essence of Trotskyism.

It appears that something like a united front between Trotskyism and US Imperialism has been formed. But *'you need have no doubt that we shall succeed in smashing this new 'front' too'*.

NOTES

1. Wuhan: the triple city of Wuchang-Hankow-Hanyang

2. Soviets also came into existence in 1905, but they disappeared with the defeat of that revolution.

Chapter 14

WHY DID THE TROTSKYIST OPPOSITION IN THE SOVIET UNION COMMIT THE KIND OF MISTAKES THAT IT DID COMMIT IN REGARD TO THE CHINESE REVOLUTION?

I have already given you one major reason - a reason of a programmatic nature, i.e. the erroneous analysis of the opposition on the character of the Chinese Revolution. I have already shown that Trotsky could not understand the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist nature of the Chinese Revolution; that the opposition led by Trotsky did not attach sufficient significance and importance to the anti-feudal nature, to the agrarian nature, of the Chinese Revolution. I have also shown that the opposition didn't understand the anti-feudal nature of the Chinese Revolution precisely because of its adherence to the theory of 'permanent revolution', for this adherence caused it to fail to perceive the significant role that the peasantry was bound to play in the Chinese Revolution.

But it is not only on matters of programme, on matters of theory, that Trotskyism has proved itself to be completely wrong. On matters of tactics also Trotskyism has proved itself to be equally bankrupt.

Three Tactical Principles of Leninism: The Adherence to these principles by the Comintern, and the Violation of these principles by the Trotskyist Opposition.

Permit me to refer to the three basic principles of Leninism in the matter of tactics. Without keeping these three tactical principles of Leninism, the task of directing a revolution is impossible.

These three principles are:

ONE: That the nationally peculiar, nationally specific features in each country must be taken unfailingly into account by the revolutionaries in that country, and by anyone (including a body like the Communist International) charged with the task of drawing up general directives for the working-class movement of the country concerned. Now if the Communist International or the Chinese communists failed to take into account the nationally peculiar features of China, a successful revolution in China would simply have been out of the question;

TWO: That the Communist Party of each country must unfailingly avail itself of the smallest possible opportunity that is presented to it to gain for itself a mass ally for the proletariat, even if that mass ally is vacillating, weak, temporary and an unreliable one. That is the second principle. The proletariat needs allies: the question of allies is a most important question which has a direct bearing on the outcome of the revolution. For the proletariat it is absolutely necessary at different stages to find the allies that are necessary for the further extension and development of the revolution;

THREE: That the communists unfailingly must pay regard to the truth that propaganda and agitation alone are not enough (from this no one should conclude, as the revisionists do, that propaganda is of no consequence and, therefore, pay no regard to the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism: that must not be done either); unfailingly pay regard to the truth that for the political education of the masses what is required is that this political agitation must be accompanied by the experience of the masses themselves.

Anyone who departs from these rules is not a real proletarian leader, but a pseudo-leader. Such type of pseudo-leaders were the oppositionists, the members of the opposition in the CPSU, people like Trotsky, Zinoviev and Radek. As Stalin said, the members of the opposition were the kind of leaders who believed that they could direct the Chinese Revolution "by telegraph". They called Stalin a "bureaucrat", but it is the Trotskyites who wanted to run the Chinese Revolution by methods of post and telegraph. And to quote Stalin again:

"What, in fact, distinguishes these 'leaders' from real leaders is that they always have in their pockets two or three ready-made formulas, 'suitable' for all countries and 'obligatory' under all conditions. ... They do not understand that the chief task of leadership ... is to discover, to grasp, nationally peculiar fea-

tures of the movement in each country and skillfully co-ordinate them with the Comintern's principles, in order to facilitate and make feasible the basic aims of the communist movement" (my emphasis - HB).

Such type of pseudo-leaders indeed were the members of the Trotskyist opposition. Most of the errors and hopeless confusion of these pseudo-leaders, who always had two or three ready-made formulas in their pockets, stem from their complete disregard of the three tactical principles of Leninism. Let us now deal with the errors of the opposition on the Chinese Revolution in the light of each of these three tactical principles.

**The first tactical principle of Leninism:
Consider the nationally peculiar features of a given country**

The first tactical principle of Leninism is taking the nationally peculiar and specific features of a given country - China, in this case - for which the Communist International was drawing up directives. The Communist International did just that, it took into account the nationally peculiar features of Chinese society, its habits, its customs, the economic side of Chinese society, the fact that imperialism was oppressing it, the existence of the war-lords, the survivals of feudalism and so on and so forth. All this had to be taken into account and the Communist International did take them into account, and precisely for this reason its line was correct.

But what did the opposition do? The opposition had somehow heard that the revolution taking place in China was of a bourgeois-democratic nature. The opposition also remembered that a bourgeois-democratic revolution had taken place in Russia in February, 1917. The opposition knew that in Russia the bourgeois-democratic revolution had taken place against the bourgeoisie, without the alliance between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. There, the opposition came up with the ready-made formula - no alliance with the Chinese national bourgeoisie, down with the bourgeoisie. That was the position of the opposition. This was the slogan that the opposition put forward in April 1926. But the opposition forgot and failed to understand that the bourgeoisie of an oppressed country for a specific period of time, for a limited period of time, under certain conditions, may be able to play a revolutionary role. And this is exactly what happened. In the Canton period the national bourgeoisie of China did play a revolutionary role, and the result was that the national army reached Yang Tse, thus extending the revolutionary area enormously. The result of these victories was a re-

treat of the opposition, its renunciation of the old formula and the adoption of a 'new' one, that is, the communists must not withdraw from the Kuomintang. Hence the opposition's attempt to hitch on to the line of the Comintern. As Stalin said:

"That was the first punishment that befell the opposition for failing to take into account the national peculiarities of the Chinese Revolution."

Take another example. The opposition in the Soviet Union had heard that the Peking Government was actually squabbling with the imperialist states about the unequal treaties imposed by imperialism, that is, it was striving for customs autonomy for China. Therefore, the opposition rushed to the conclusion, and came up with the ready-made formula, that the Chinese Revolution was anti-imperialist because its aim was to abolish these unequal treaties. That it was a revolution for the state customs independence of China. But the opposition failed to realise that the strength of imperialism in China lay, not in the customs restrictions on China, but in the fact that imperialism owned and controlled the major threads of the Chinese economy - banks, mines, railways, factories, etc. The opposition did not understand that the Chinese Revolution was anti-imperialist due, first and foremost, to the fact that imperialism was the force that inspired, that preserved, that supported the immediate exploiters of the Chinese people, i.e. the feudal lords; that the Chinese people could not but fight against imperialism if they wanted to prevent feudalism from exploiting them, that the Chinese people could not really put an end to feudalism in China, unless at the same time they waged a revolutionary war against imperialism. The opposition failed to realise that it was precisely this circumstance that made possible the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China into a socialist revolution. And when millions of peasants, tens of millions of peasants became involved in the mass agrarian movement which was directed against feudalism and imperialism, the opposition was once again forced to admit that it had been wrong. Hence the retreat of the opposition from its old formula regarding customs autonomy and its attempts to adopt the line of the Comintern. As Stalin said:

"This was the second punishment that befell the opposition for refusing to make a serious study of the national peculiarities of the Chinese Revolution".

Take yet another example. The opposition in the Soviet Union had heard that, in the Chinese countryside, the merchant bourgeoisie had penetrated and was buying land and leasing it to the Chinese peasantry. The op-

position knew that the merchant was not a feudal lord. It, therefore, comes out with the ready-made formula that feudalism and feudal survivals were of no consequence, that the Chinese Revolution was not an agrarian revolution directed, first and foremost, against feudalism, but a revolution for customs autonomy. But the opposition forgot that it was feudalism that exploited the Chinese people, that the entire military- bureaucratic structure rested on the domination of feudal survivals. Again, when tens of millions of peasants joined the mass agrarian movement directed against feudalism and against imperialism, it could not but be clear to anyone that the Chinese Revolution was of an anti-feudal character and, therefore, of an anti-imperialist nature, because imperialism was the force that actually supported feudalism in China. Hence, yet again the retreat of the opposition from its old formula that feudal survivals were of no significance and its surreptitious attempts to hitch onto the policy of the Communist International. As Stalin said:

"That was the third punishment" that befell the opposition "for its unwillingness to take into account the national peculiarities of China's economy".

Continued Stalin:

"Disharmony between formulas and reality - such is the lot of the oppositionist pseudo-leaders" (my emphasis - HB).

This exactly was the position of the Trotskyist opposition in the CPSU, and this exactly is the position of Trotskyism everywhere today. And why is there such a disharmony between the formulas of Trotskyism and reality? Exactly because Trotskyism, because the opposition in the Soviet Union discarded and paid no heed to the first tactical principle of Leninism that I have just been talking about, i.e., taking into account the specific and the nationally peculiar features of any given country in drawing up directives for the revolution in that country. This is how Lenin formulated the first tactical principle:

"The whole point now is that the Communists of every country should quite consciously take into account both the main fundamental tasks of the struggle against opportunism and 'left' doctrinarism and the specific features which this struggle assumes and inevitably must assume in each separate country in conformity with the peculiar features of its economics, politics, culture, national composition (Ireland, etc.), its colonies, religious divisions, and so on and so forth. Everywhere it is felt that dissatisfaction with the Second International is spreading and growing, both because of its opportunism and because of its inability, or incapacity, to create a really centralised, really leading,

centre, capable of directing the international tactics of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for a world of Soviet republic. We must clearly realise that such a leading centre cannot under any circumstances be built up on a stereotyped, mechanically equalised and identical tactical rules of struggle. As long as national and state differences exist among peoples and countries - and these differences will continue to exist for a very long time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world scale - the unity of international tactics of the communist working-class movement of all countries demands, not the abolition of national differences (that is a foolish dream at the present moment), but such an application of the fundamental principles of communism (Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat) as would correctly modify these principles in certain particulars, correctly adapt and apply them to national and national-state differences. Investigate, study, seek, divine, grasp that which is nationally peculiar, nationally specific in the concrete manner in which each country approaches the fulfilment of the single international task, in which it approaches the victory over opportunism and left doctrinairism within the working-class movement, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and the establishment of a Soviet republic and a proletarian dictatorship - such is the main task of the historical period through which the advanced countries (and not only the advanced countries) are now passing" (Lenin: 'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder) (my emphasis - HB).

In fact, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has summarised in a single sentence this first tactical principle of Leninism by writing an inscription for a visiting Japanese delegation. The inscription reads that:

"The Japanese revolution will surely be successful when the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism are integrated with the concrete practice of the Japanese revolution".

In other words, it is not good enough to know two or three ready-made formulas; it isn't good enough to dish them out to everybody and say that these are obligatory for all time; tactics can only be dependent on the given specific circumstances, upon the given specific national features and circumstances of any given country. Therefore, to demand that what happened in China is obligatory for Persia; what happened in Russia is obligatory for China, is nothing but an indication that those who make such a demand have actually made a final break with Marxism-Leninism. This is how matters stand with regard to the first tactical principle of Leninism, comrades.

The Second Tactical Principle of Leninism: The question of allies

Now, let us take the second principle of Leninism, namely the question of allies. The proletariat cannot do without allies. The proletariat must have its allies; without allies the proletariat cannot succeed. But one thing which must be seen to in regard to the allies is that these allies must be mass allies and they must be allies of such a nature who would not prevent the proletariat from organising itself independently, who would not prevent the Communist Party from organising the proletariat and the broad masses of peasants, and rousing them to revolution, who would not in any way restrict its propaganda. Provided the above conditions are satisfied, the proletariat must avail itself of every opportunity presented to it of securing for itself a mass ally, even though this mass ally is a temporary, weak, vacillating, an unstable and an unreliable ally. Such is the essence of the second tactical principle of Leninism.

Did the Chinese proletariat have allies? The answer is - YES - it did have allies. In the first stage of the revolution the allies of the Chinese proletariat were the national bourgeoisie (this is the first period, the Canton period, when the revolution was at the stage of an all-nation United Front), the urban poor, the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, and the peasantry. Was the Kuomintang at that time a mass organisation, was it a revolutionary force? I think it was, and only blind people can deny that Canton at that time was the centre of revolutionary struggle; that Canton at that particular time was leading the revolutionary movement against imperialism.

What were the achievements of this period? The achievements of this period were:

(1) The extension of the territory of the revolution: the revolutionary troops reached as far as the Yangtse;

(2) The Chinese proletariat got a chance of openly organising itself. The CPC gained the possibility of openly organising the proletariat in trade unions, strike-committees, etc;

(3) The Chinese communists were able to form themselves from different groups into a mass party of five or six thousand people;

(4) The Chinese proletariat was able to create the first nuclei of the peasants' organisations, the peasants' associations; and

(5) The CPC was able to penetrate into the Army.

Can it be denied that these were significant gains at that particular time, when the communists and the proletariat were an 'insignificant force'? No, it cannot. These gains could only have been achieved by working with the Kuomintang, firstly, because the Kuomintang was a revolutionary force in the Canton Period, and secondly, because it did not prevent the communists from organising the proletariat as an independent force.

Then on 12th April 1927, the national bourgeoisie deserted the revolution, and it established a centre of counter-revolution in Nanking. At that time the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia sided with the revolution, and a revolutionary centre was set up in Wuhan. Wuhan at that time became the centre of the revolutionary movement. At the first stage of the revolution it would have been wrong for the communists to have withdrawn from the Kuomintang, because the Kuomintang at that time was leading the struggle of the people, and secondly, it had not yet discredited and disgraced itself in the eyes of the broad masses of the Chinese people. This is very important, because for us communists it is easy to realise and understand the reactionary nature of people like Chiang Kai-shek, the basically reactionary and compromising nature of the bourgeoisie. It isn't difficult for a competent political worker to realise that so-and-so is a reactionary, that the bourgeoisie is bound to desert the proletariat. But that is not good enough. The masses of the people have to learn by their own experience, they have to realise what the bourgeoisie is up to and what tricks it plays. And the Chinese masses gained this experience when Chiang Kai-shek staged his coup and the national bourgeoisie deserted the revolution, set up a centre of counter-revolution on the side of imperialism, and started repressing and massacring the militant workers and peasants.

In the second stage of the revolution, when the national bourgeoisie had already deserted the revolution, and when the centre of revolution had shifted from Canton to Wuhan, who, in this period were the allies of the proletariat? The allies of the proletariat in this period were the peasantry, the urban poor and the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia. Was it correct for the communists in China, in the second stage of the revolution, to participate in the Wuhan Kuomintang, and was it correct for the Communist International to advise the Communist Party of China (CPC) to side with the revolutionary centre in Wuhan? It certainly was. At that time it would have been wrong for the Communist Party to have withdrawn from the Wuhan Kuo-

mintang because Wuhan at that time was the centre of the revolution, and because Wuhan Kuomintang was a mass organisation. Only lunatics and blind people can deny that Wuhan was the centre of revolution at that particular time, and that the Wuhan Kuomintang was a revolutionary mass organisation. And, what is more important, the Communist Party might have realised that the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia was going to desert the revolution, the Chinese people had not, because at that time these people, the left-wing Kuomintang - the Kuomintang leftists - had not yet disgraced and sufficiently discredited themselves.

What, then, were the achievements of this second stage of the revolution? What were the achievements of the Wuhan period?

(1) The Communist Party, from being an insignificant party of 5,000 to 6,000 members became a party comprising 50,000 or 60,000 members;

(2) Trade unions grew into a tremendous force and they came to include 3 million members;

(3) Peasants' organisations expanded to include several tens of millions of peasants in them;

(4) The Communist Party gained the possibility of openly organising the revolution;

(5) The Communist Party and the proletariat began to change from just being an insignificant factor into the hegemon of the Chinese Revolution. It became the most important factor of the revolution, rallying around itself the masses of the Chinese people.

Such were the achievements of this period.

A correct policy cannot by itself guarantee victory

When the Wuhan Kuomintang, when the left Kuomintang, deserted the revolution, the Trotskyist opposition started saying that this was because the Communist International had followed a wrong policy. But, comrades, a correct policy cannot by itself guarantee victory. What is required for success to be achieved is not only a correct policy, but also a favourable balance of class forces. If the forces of reaction are stronger, the revolution may be defeated even though it is guided by a correct policy. One thing, however, is certain: for success to be achieved, in addition to a favourable balance of class forces, a correct policy, a correct programme and tactics, are necessary. But a correct policy by itself cannot lead to the victory of the

revolution unless a favourable balance of class forces also exists. So, it would be true to say that though success cannot be achieved without a correct policy, a failure by itself is not indicative of a wrong policy, for even a correct policy, unless the balance of forces is on the side of revolution, may lead to a defeat.

Take, for example, the 1905 Russian Revolution. Is it a fact that the 1905 Revolution failed in Russia? Yes, it is. Are we to conclude from that, that the tactics of the Bolsheviks were wrong? In fact, at that particular time the Mensheviks attributed the defeat of the bourgeois revolution of 1905 to the "extremist" tactics of the Bolsheviks in general and Lenin in particular. Were the tactics of the Bolsheviks correct? Yes, they were. Why then did the 1905 Revolution fail? Because the feudal survivals and autocracy proved to be stronger than the revolutionary forces.

After the February Revolution, during the July days in 1917, the Bolsheviks were defeated and they were driven underground. Are we to say that the Bolshevik tactics were wrong? No, the Bolshevik tactics were not wrong. What, then, accounts for the defeat of the Bolsheviks in July, 1917? The defeat of the Bolsheviks is explained by one fact alone, that is, that Russian imperialism proved to be stronger than the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. As Comrade Stalin said:

"The opposition ascribes the temporary defeat of the revolution[in China - HB] to the Comintern's policy." But "only people who have broken with Marxism can say that. Only people who have broken with Marxism can demand that a correct policy should always and necessarily lead to immediate victory over the enemy" (Stalin: Notes on Contemporary Themes - China, Pravda, July 28th 1927)

And further:

"A correct policy is by no means bound to lead always and without fail to direct victory over the enemy. Direct victory over the enemy is not determined by correct policy alone: it is determined first and foremost by the correlation of the class forces, by a marked preponderance of strength on the side of the revolution, by disintegration in the enemy's camp, by a favourable international situation.

"Only given those conditions can a correct policy of the proletariat lead to direct victory.

"But there is one obligatory requirement which a correct policy must satisfy

always and under all conditions. That requirement is that the party's policy must enhance the fighting capacity of the proletariat, multiply its ties with the labouring masses, increase its prestige among these masses, and convert the proletariat into the hegemon of the revolution.

"Can it be affirmed that this past period has presented the maximum favourable conditions for the direct victory of the revolution in China? Clearly, it cannot.

"Can it be affirmed that Communist policy in China has not enhanced the fighting capacity of the proletariat, has not multiplied its ties with the broad masses, and has not increased its prestige among these masses? Clearly, it cannot.

"Only the blind could fail to see that the Chinese proletariat has succeeded in this period in severing the broad masses of the peasantry both from the national bourgeoisie and from the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, so as to rally them around its own standard" (Stalin, *ibid*; my emphasis - HB).

The fighting capacity of the Chinese proletariat, its ties with the broad masses and its prestige among these masses increased in proportion as it pursued the correct policy of the Comintern. It was only by following a policy which happened to be correct that the Chinese proletariat was able to achieve the kind of results that I have outlined above. Even the opposition, during the second stage of the Chinese Revolution (April 1927), declared that it was correct to pursue the policy of a revolutionary bloc with the Wuhan Kuomintang. But as soon as the Wuhan Kuomintang deserted the revolution, and because of this desertion, the opposition started asserting that the policy of a bloc with the Wuhan Kuomintang was incorrect and sought to attribute the temporary defeat of the Chinese Revolution to the policy of the Comintern.

The attempts of the Trotskyist opposition in the CPSU to ascribe the temporary defeats of the Chinese Revolution to the Comintern's policy were indicative of the spinelessness of the opposition, of the fact that the opposition had broken with Marxism, that it had lost the last remnants of Marxism, and above all, that it had departed from the second tactical principle of Leninism, namely, the need for the proletariat to secure for itself mass allies. This is how Lenin formulated this second tactical principle:

"The more powerful enemy can be vanquished only by exerting the utmost effort, and by making, without fail, the most thorough, careful, attentive and skillful use both of every, even the smallest, 'rift' among the enemies, every an-

tagonism of interest among the bourgeoisie of the various countries and among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie within individual countries, as well as of every, even the smallest, opportunity of gaining a mass ally, even though a temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable and conditional ally. He who has not understood this has not understood even a particle of Marxism, or of scientific, modern socialism in general. He who has not proved by deeds over a considerable period of time, and in fairly varied political situations, his ability to apply this truth in practice has not yet learned to assist the revolutionary class in its struggle to emancipate all toiling humanity from the exploiters. And this applies equally to the period before and after the proletariat has conquered political power" (Lenin: 'Left-wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder).

This is how matters stand, in regard to the second tactical principle of Leninism.

The Third Tactical principle: The question of educating the masses

Let us now pass over to the third and the last tactical principle of Leninism, that is, the question of educating the masses. The question is how a slogan for the Party can become a slogan for the masses. How must the communists lead the masses to revolutionary positions, so that they (the masses) become convinced by their own political experience of the correctness of the Party's slogan? How must the Communist Party lead the masses in order to turn a formula, a perspective for the immediate future, into a formula as a slogan of the day? How must the communists really act? This is of particular importance.

Trotskyites will always tell you *'we were the first to tell you that the national bourgeoisie will desert'*. Comrades, it isn't a question of playing a game, it is not a question at all of who was the first one to tell us that the national bourgeoisie will desert. That is absolutely stupid. The question is what policy you advocate at a given particular time - a policy which is suited to the situation, and which neither runs too far ahead of the masses, nor lags behind them. If you are issuing a slogan long before the masses will accept it then it isn't good enough for you at a later date to say that you were the first one to issue that particular slogan.

Let us assume that tomorrow Trotskyites in Britain issue the slogan of an immediate uprising. Three Trotskyites in response to this slogan take part in an 'uprising' which is immediately quelled by a single policeman. For the

Trotskyites who gave this call for an uprising, it would be absurd at a later date, when a successful uprising has already been carried out by the British proletariat, to assert that they were correct because they were the first to issue the slogan of uprising against the British bourgeoisie. The most important thing is not to be the first to issue a slogan. The most important thing is to issue a slogan at an appropriate time.

There was a group of Bolsheviks in Petrograd (as Leninigrad then used to be called) headed by a Bolshevik called Bagdatayev. In April 1917, this group issued prematurely the slogan *"Down with the Provisional Government, and All Power to the Soviets"*. At that particular time, the provisional government was still supported by the workers. It was still supported by the overwhelming majority of the people in Russia. It had not yet discredited itself, which it would do during the July days by drowning the workers' demonstrations in blood, which it would do later by its shameless imperialist offensive at the front later on. But at that time it hadn't yet discredited itself. Therefore, when Bagdatayev followed by a few Bolsheviks in Petrograd issued this slogan *"Down with the Provisional Government, All Power to the Soviets"*, Lenin came up with a very severe denunciation of Bagdatayev and called the tactics of Petrograd Bolsheviks, headed by Bagdatayev, adventurist. Why did Lenin do so? Was it that Lenin was opposed to proletarian revolution? If he was, and if the Trotskyites believe that, why don't they say so? Why, then, did Lenin denounce Bagdatayev? Because at that particular time Bagdatayev was issuing a slogan prematurely, because he was running dangerously far, too far ahead of the masses, because he was indulging in adventurism. Could not Bagdatayev and his followers have claimed, when six months later the proletarian revolution had already taken place, that they were cleverer than Lenin because they were the first to raise the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because they had raised the question of *"All Power to the Soviets"* in April 1917? Is it not clear that the Trotskyites, by arguing in this manner, are following in the wake of Bagdatayev and not that of Lenin?

Why do the Trotskyites do it? The Trotskyites do it because they have really forgotten the third tactical principle of Leninism that I have been talking about up to now: the principle of how to turn a formula which is a perspective for the immediate future into a slogan of the day. It is not difficult for a competent political worker, for a communist, to realise which way he should be going. It is right and proper that the Communist Party should be ahead of the masses. That is exactly the function of the Communist Party.

If it was at the same level as the masses, each Communist Party in every country would be left with only one alternative, that is, to pass a resolution making itself redundant. There is no use having a Communist Party if the Communist Party cannot see further than the masses. But at the same time the Communist Party must not run too far ahead of the masses. If the Communist Party follows the tactics, as Stalin used to say, of perpetually overshooting or undershooting, then such tactics cannot be called long-range tactics. The Trotskyist opposition in the USSR called its tactics, 'long-range' tactics. Stalin said:

"You are wrong, my dear sirs, absolutely wrong! That is not 'long-range' tactics; it is haphazard tactics, the tactics of perpetually overshooting and undershooting the mark" (Notes on Contemporary Themes, Pravda, July 28, 1927).

It was undershooting tactics when the opposition described the Chinese Revolution to be only a state-customs revolution and not an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution. It was overshooting tactics when in April, 1926, the opposition demanded the immediate withdrawal of the communists from the Kuomintang. It was overshooting tactics when, in April 1927, the opposition demanded the immediate formation of Soviets, when the communists were actually participating in the Wuhan Government. Such indeed were the haphazard tactics of the Trotskyist opposition in the USSR.

These were the tactics of always overshooting and undershooting, and never shooting at the mark. These cannot be called 'long-range' tactics. While the Communist Party must be able to see ahead of the masses, it must never at any given time substitute the consciousness of a competent political worker - a communist - for the consciousness of the masses. To do so would be to obliterate the difference between the communists and the masses, and between the Communist Party and the masses; and it would lead to subjectivist evaluation of the situation, it would lead to subjectivist, idealistic and 'left' adventurist mistakes and 'left' adventurist experiments which cannot fail to cause untold harm to the party, as well as to the revolutionary movement.

The Trotskyist opposition advocated, on the Chinese question, as indeed on any other question, an adventurist policy based on a subjectivist evaluation of the situation, not on reality. Had this adventurist policy been followed by the CPC there would have been no revolution in China. Why did the opposition advocate this adventurist policy? Because it forgot, because it departed from, the third tactical principle of Leninism. Here is how Lenin

formulated this third tactical principle:

"Victory cannot be won with the vanguard alone. To throw the vanguard alone into the decisive battle, before the whole class, before the broad masses have taken up a position either of direct support of the vanguard or at least of benevolent neutrality towards it, and one in which they cannot possibly support the enemy, would be not merely folly, but a crime. And in order that actually the whole class, that actually the broad masses of working people and those oppressed by capital may take up such a position, propaganda and agitation alone are not enough. For this the masses must have their own political experience. Such is the fundamental law of all great revolutions, now confirmed with astonishing force and vividness not only in Russia, but also in Germany. Not only the uncultured, often illiterate, masses of Russia, but the highly cultured, entirely literate masses of Germany had to realise through their own painful experience the absolute impotence and spinelessness, the absolute helplessness and servility to the bourgeoisie, the utter vileness, of the government of the knights of the Second International, the absolute inevitability of a dictatorship of the extreme reactionaries (Kornilov in Russia, Kapp and Co in Germany) as the only alternative to a dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to turn resolutely towards communism. The immediate task that confronts the class-conscious vanguard of the international labour movement, i.e., the communist parties, groups and trends, is to be able to lead the broad masses (as yet, for the most part, slumbering, apathetic, bound by routine, inert and dormant) to their new position, or, rather to be able to lead not only their own party, but also these masses, in their approach, their transition to the new position" ('Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder, my emphasis - HB).

In the light of the above formulation of the third tactical principle (given by Lenin) it is clear that the Trotskyist opposition did not understand the importance of this principle, that it consistently violated this principle in regard to the Chinese Revolution. The opposition violated this principle when, in April 1926, it demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Communist Party from the Kuomintang; it violated this principle when, in April 1927 (when the Communists were still participating in the Wuhan Kuomintang and when the Kuomintang phase of the revolution had not yet been exhausted), it demanded the immediate formation of the Soviets.

Before passing on to the next, and the last, part of the subject under discussion, I would like to give just one more example of the brilliant application of the third tactical principle of Leninism, namely, the need for the

masses by their own experience to become convinced of the correctness of the Party's slogans.

It is well known that Leninism is opposed to bourgeois parliamentarism. Yet the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin, did not boycott the Constituent Assembly; they took part in the elections both before the proletariat conquered power and after its victory. Why, then, it may be asked, did the Bolsheviks take part in the elections to the Constituent Assembly, even though such an assembly was incompatible with Soviet power? The Bolsheviks took part in the elections to the Constituent Assembly in order to enable the masses of the Russian people to realise by their own experience the reactionary nature of this Assembly, to win them away from this reactionary body and to the side of Soviet power, and thus create the necessary conditions for the successful dispersal of this counter-revolutionary bourgeois parliament. Only by adopting such tactics, by giving full play to the third tactical principle of Leninism, were the Bolsheviks able to *"make bourgeois parliamentarism politically obsolete"*.

Here is what Lenin said on the Bolshevik participation in the elections to the Constituent Assembly:

"We took part in the elections to the Russian bourgeois parliament, the Constituent Assembly, in September-November 1917. Were our tactics correct or not?... Did not we, the Russian Bolsheviks, have more right in September-November 1917 than any Western communists to consider that parliamentarism was politically obsolete in Russia? Of course we did, for the point is not whether bourgeois parliaments have existed for a long time or a short time, but how far the broad masses of the working people are prepared (ideologically, politically and practically) to accept the Soviet system and to disperse the bourgeois-democratic parliament (or allow it to be dispersed). That in Russia in September-November 1917, owing to a number of special conditions, the urban working class and the soldiers and peasants were exceptionally well prepared to accept the Soviet system and to disperse the most democratic of bourgeois parliaments, is an absolutely incontestable and fully established historical fact. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks did not boycott the Constituent Assembly, but took part in the elections both before the proletariat conquered political power and after..."

"The conclusion which follows from this is absolutely incontrovertible: it has been proved that participation in a bourgeois-democratic parliament even a few weeks before the victory of a Soviet Republic, and even after such a vic-

tory, not only does not harm the revolutionary proletariat, but actually helps it to prove to the backward masses why such parliaments deserve to be dispersed; it helps their successful dispersal and helps to make bourgeois parliamentarism 'politically obsolete' (‘Left-wing’ Communism, an Infantile Disorder).

Such was the brilliant application by the Bolsheviks of the third tactical principle of Leninism.

In the light of the discussion of the three tactical principles of Leninism, we can now say that the Trotskyist opposition landed itself in such a mess precisely because it violated these three principles, because it departed from these principles.

This is how matters stand with the Trotskyist opposition in the light of the three tactical principles of Leninism.

Chapter 15

THE CONCEPTION OF THE UNITED FRONT THAT THE COMINTERN IMPRESSED ON THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Now I must come to the final part of my talk, namely, the conception of the United Front that the Comintern impressed on the Chinese Party.

As I have already pointed out, a united front of the proletariat with the bourgeois and with the petty bourgeois can be useful only if the party of the proletariat is actually given the opportunity to organise the proletariat as an independent force, is given the opportunity to organise the broad masses of the peasants, and is able to rouse the masses of people to revolution. Despite the contrary accusations of the Trotskyist opposition, the universally-known documents fully prove that it was this conception of a united front that the Communist International impressed upon the Chinese Communist Party (CPC).

Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Radek never ceased to make reference to a single telegram that was sent by the Communist International in October 1926. This telegram advised the CPC: *"Until Shanghai is captured, the agrarian movement should not be intensified"*. This telegram was wrong and Stalin admitted that this telegram was wrong. Within five weeks of this telegram having been sent, the Communist International cancelled this telegram by a number of documents which laid down the Comintern's line, and which were really characteristic of the Comintern leadership. Let the Trotskyites and other 'radical' bourgeois intelligentsia, who are inclined to refer with malicious glee to the above-mentioned (and wrong) telegram, note the following two facts in regard to this telegram:

ONE It was the Communist International and Comrade Stalin who were responsible for cancelling this telegram and not the opposition;

TWO The first time the opposition ever raised this matter of the telegram, was 9 months after this telegram had actually been cancelled.

This telegram was actually an isolated, episodic telegram which was completely uncharacteristic of the line that was impressed upon the CPC by the Communist International. The line that was impressed upon the CPC by the Communist International is contained in a number of well known documents which are conveniently ignored by the Trotskyites. Precisely for this reason, I have no option but to quote at length from these documents, to refute the Trotskyite slanders.

Here is an excerpt from the resolution (a document which really defines the line of the Comintern) of the Seventh Plenum of the Comintern, in November 1926, that is a month after the above- mentioned telegram:

"The peculiar feature of the present situation is its transitional character, the fact that the proletariat must choose between the prospect of a bloc with considerable sections of the bourgeoisie and the prospect of further consolidating its alliance with the peasantry. If the proletariat fails to put forward a radical agrarian programme, it will be unable to draw the peasantry into revolutionary struggle and will forfeit its hegemony in the national liberation movement" (Resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International) (my emphasis - HB).

And further:

"The Canton People's Government will not be able to retain power in the revolution, will not be able to achieve complete victory over foreign imperialism and native reaction until the cause of national liberation is identified with the agrarian revolution" (my emphasis - HB).

It can clearly be seen from the above document that the Comintern not only clearly put the choice facing the Chinese proletariat, viz the choice of either a bloc with the bourgeoisie or of "*consolidating its alliance with the peasantry*", but also advised the Chinese proletariat to "*put forward a radical agrarian programme*" and to identify itself "*with the agrarian revolution*".

Allow me to quote some passages from the speech that Stalin made in November of the same year - 1926. Stalin's speech was published under the heading *The prospects of the revolution in China*. It is this speech, and not the above telegram, which is characteristic of the line of Stalin and that of the Comintern on the Chinese Revolution. Here is what Stalin said in his speech:

"I know that there are Kuomintangists and even Chinese communists who do not consider it possible to unleash revolution in the countryside, since they

fear that if the peasantry were drawn into the revolution it would disrupt the united anti-imperialist front. That is a profound error, comrades. The more quickly and thoroughly the Chinese peasantry is drawn into the revolution, the stronger and more powerful the anti-imperialist front in China will be."

And further:

"I know that among the Chinese communists there are comrades who do not approve of workers going on strike for an improvement of their material conditions and legal status, and who try to dissuade the workers from striking. (A voice: 'That happened in Canton and Shanghai') That is a great mistake, comrades. It is a very serious underestimation of the role and importance of the Chinese proletariat. This fact should be noted in the theses as something decidedly objectionable. It would be a great mistake if the Chinese communists failed to take advantage of the present favourable situation to assist the workers to improve their material conditions and legal status, even through strikes. Otherwise, what purpose does the revolution in China serve?" (Stalin: The Prospects of the Revolution in China).

Here is a third document of December 1926 which was sent to the CPC by the Communist International:

"A general policy of retreat in the towns and of curtailing the workers' struggle to improve their conditions would be wrong. The struggle in the countryside must be extended, but at the same time advantage must be taken of the favourable situation to improve the material conditions and legal status of the workers, while striving in every way to lend the workers' struggle an organised character, which precludes excesses or running too far ahead. Special efforts must be exerted to direct the struggle in the towns against the big bourgeoisie and, above all, against the imperialists, so as to keep the Chinese petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie as far as possible within the framework of the united front against the common enemy. We regard the system of conciliation boards, arbitration courts, etc., as expedient, provided a correct working-class policy is ensured in these institutions. At the same time we think it necessary to utter the warning that decrees directed against the right to strike, against workers' freedom of assembly, etc., are absolutely impermissible".

Here is a fourth document issued six weeks before Chiang Kai-shek's coup:

"The work of the Kuomintang and the Communists units in the army must be intensified; they must be organised wherever they do not now exist and it is possible to organise them; where it is not possible to organise communist units,

intensified work must be conducted with the help of concealed communists.

"It is necessary to adopt the course of arming the workers and peasants and converting the peasant committees in the localities into actual organs of governmental authority equipped with armed self-defence, etc.

"The Communist Party must everywhere come forward as such; a policy of voluntary semi-legality is impermissible; the Communist Party must not come forward as a brake on the mass movement; the Communist Party should not cover up the treacherous and reactionary policy of the Kuomintang Rights, and should mobilise the masses around the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party on the basis of exposing the Rights.

*"The attention of all political workers who are loyal to the revolution must be drawn to the fact that at the present time, in connection with the regrouping of class forces and concentration of the imperialist armies, the Chinese revolution is passing through a critical period, and that it can achieve further victories only by resolutely adopting the course of developing the mass movement. Otherwise a tremendous danger threatens the revolution. The fulfilment of directives is therefore most necessary than ever before" (Stalin: *About China, the International Situation and the Defence of the USSR*, 1927, CW Vol X)*

In fact, as early as April 1926, a year before the coup staged by the Kuomintang Rights and Chiang Kai-shek, the Comintern had warned the Chinese Communist Party, and pointed out that it was necessary to work for the *"resignation or expulsion of the Rights from the Kuomintang"*.

The above documents are proof enough of how the Comintern understood the tactics of a united front against imperialism in the first stage of the Chinese Revolution - that of an all- national united front, the Canton period - when the revolution was striking its blows chiefly at foreign imperialism, and when the national bourgeoisie found itself in the revolutionary camp and supported the revolutionary movement.

These documents fully prove that the single telegram (mentioned above) that was sent by the Comintern, and which was cancelled by the Comintern and not by the opposition, within four weeks of having been sent, was only episodic, was uncharacteristic of the line that the Communist International impressed upon the Chinese Communist Party. This was a telegram that was isolated; it was not characteristic of the line of the Communist International. On the other hand, these documents prove that the line advocated by the Comintern was a line that required the Chinese Communist Party not to become a hindrance to the extension of the revolution, but to promote the

revolution by intensifying its work in the army, by isolating the Rights in the Kuomintang, and working for their resignation or expulsion.

All these documents were known to the opposition, but it carefully avoided mentioning them. As Comrade Stalin said:

"Why does it [the opposition] say nothing about them [the above documents]? Because its aim is to raise a squabble, not to bring out the truth".

Continues Comrade Stalin:

"And yet there was a time when the present leaders of the opposition, especially Zinoviev and Kamenev, did understand something about Leninism and, in the main, advocated the same policy for the Chinese revolutionary movement as was pursued by the Comintern, and which Comrade Lenin outlined for us in his theses¹, I have in mind the Sixth Plenum of the Communist International, held in February-March 1926, when Zinoviev was Chairman of the Comintern, when he was still a Leninist and had not yet migrated to Trotsky's camp. I mention the Sixth Plenum of the Communist International because there is a resolution adopted unanimously in February-March 1926, and which gives approximately the same estimate of the first stage of the Chinese revolution, of the Canton Kuomintang and of the Canton government, as is given by the Comintern and by the CPSU(B), but which the opposition is now repudiating. I mention this resolution because Zinoviev voted for it at that time, and not a single member of the Central Committee, not even Trotsky, Kamenev or the other leaders of the present opposition, objected to it.

"Permit me to quote a few passages from that resolution.

"Here is what is said in the resolution about the Kuomintang:

"The Shanghai and Hong Kong political strikes of the Chinese workers (June-September, 1925) marked a turning point in the struggle of the Chinese people for liberation from the foreign imperialists. ... The political action of the proletariat gave a powerful impetus to the further development and consolidation of all the revolutionary-democratic organisations in the country, especially of the people's revolutionary party, the Kuomintang, and the revolutionary government in Canton. The Kuomintang Party, the main body of which acted in alliance with the Chinese Communists, is a revolutionary bloc of workers, peasants, intellectuals and the urban democracy, based on the common class interest of these strata in the struggle against the foreign imperialists and against the whole military-feudal way of life, for the independence of the country and for a single revolutionary democratic government' (Resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International) (Stalin's emphases).

"Thus, the Canton Kuomintang is an alliance of four 'classes'. As you see, this is almost 'Martynovism' ² sanctified by none other than the then Chairman of the Comintern, Zinoviev.

"About the Canton Kuomintang government:

The revolutionary government created by the Kuomintang Party in Canton has already succeeded in establishing contact with the widest masses of the workers, peasants, and urban democracy, and, basing itself on them, has smashed the counter-revolutionary bands supported by the imperialists (and is working for the radical democratisation of the whole political life of the Kwangtung Province). Thus, being the vanguard in the struggle of Chinese people for independence, the Canton government serves as a model for the future revolutionary-democratic development of the country' (*ibid*) (Stalin's emphases).

"It turns out that the Canton Kuomintang government, being a bloc of four 'classes', was a revolutionary government, and not only revolutionary, but even a model for the future revolutionary-democratic government in China.

"About the united front of workers, peasants and the bourgeoisie:

*"In face of the new dangers, the Chinese Communist party and the Kuomintang must develop the most wide-spread political activity, organising mass action in support of the struggle of the people's armies, taking advantage of the contradictions within the camp of the imperialists and opposing to them a united national revolutionary front of the broadest strata of the population (workers, peasants and the bourgeoisie) under the leadership of the revolutionary-democratic organisations' (*ibid*) (Stalin's emphases).*

"It follows that temporary blocs and agreements with the bourgeoisie in colonial countries at a certain stage of the colonial revolution are not only permissible, but positively essential.

"Is it not true that this is very similar to what Lenin tells us in his well-known directives for the tactics of communists in colonial and dependent countries? It is a pity, however, that Zinoviev has already managed to forget that.

"The question of withdrawal from the Kuomintang:

'Certain sections of the Chinese big bourgeoisie, which had temporarily grouped themselves around the Kuomintang Party, withdrew from it during the past year, which resulted in the formation on the Right wing of the Kuomintang of a small group that openly opposed a close alliance between the Kuomintang and the masses of the working people, demanded the expulsion of the Communists from the Kuomintang and opposed the revolutionary policy of the Canton government. The condemnation of this Right wing at the Second Congress of the Kuomintang (January, 1926) and the endorsement of the necessity for a militant al-

iance between the Kuomintang and the Communists confirm the revolutionary trend of the activities of the Kuomintang and the Canton government and ensure for the Kuomintang the revolutionary support of the proletariat (ibid) (Stalin's emphasis).

"It is seen that withdrawal of the Communists from the Kuomintang at the first stage of the Chinese revolution would have been a serious mistake. It is a pity, however, that Zinoviev, who voted for this resolution, had already managed to forget it in about a month; for it was not later than April 1926 (within a month) that Zinoviev demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Communists from the Kuomintang.

"About the deviations within the Chinese Communist Party and the impermissibility of skipping over the Kuomintang phase of the revolution:

'The political self-determination of the Chinese Communists will develop in the struggle against two equally harmful deviations: against Right Liquidationism, which ignores the independent class tasks of the Chinese proletariat and leads to a formless merging with the general democratic national movement; and against the extreme Left sentiments in favour of skipping over the revolutionary-democratic stage of the movement to come immediately to the tasks of proletarian dictatorship and Soviet power, forgetting about the peasantry, that basic and decisive factor in the Chinese movement for national emancipation' (ibid) (Stalin's emphases).

"As you see, here are all the grounds for convicting the opposition now of wanting to skip over the Kuomintang phase of development in China, of underestimating the peasant movement, and of dashing post-haste towards Soviets. It hits the nail right on the head.

"Do Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky know about this resolution?

*"We must assume that they do. At any rate Zinoviev must know about it, for it was under his chairmanship that this resolution was adopted at the Sixth Plenum of the Comintern, and he himself voted for it. Why are the leaders of the opposition now avoiding this resolution of the highest body of the world communist movement? Why are they keeping silent about it? Because it turns against them on all questions concerning the Chinese revolution. Because it refutes the whole of the present Trotskyist standpoint of the opposition. Because they have deserted the Comintern, deserted Leninism and now, fearing their past, fearing their own shadows, are obliged cravenly to avoid the resolution of the Sixth Plenum of the Comintern" (Stalin: *About China, the International Situation and the Defence of the USSR*, speech delivered at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU, August 1st 1927) (Stalin's emphases).*

This is how matters stand with regard to the first stage of the Chinese Revolution and the line of the Comintern.

Let us now pass on to the second stage of the Chinese Revolution.

The Second Stage of the Chinese Revolution

In regard to the second stage of the Chinese Revolution, when the centre of the revolution had moved to Wuhan in opposition to the centre of counter-revolution in Nanking, the opposition, in its usual slanderous way, asserted that the Comintern had failed to warn the Communist Party of China of the possible collapse of the Wuhan Kuomintang, i.e. of the desertion of the Left Kuomintang to the side of counter-revolution. This malicious slander is repeated these days not only by the Trotskyites, but also by some 'anti-revisionists' in Britain. To refute this slander, allow me, to quote some documents relating to the second period of the Chinese Revolution.

Document 1: May 1927

"The most important thing now in the internal policy of the Kuomintang is to develop the agrarian revolution systematically in all provinces, particularly in Kwangtung, under the slogan 'All power to the peasant associations and committees in the countryside'. This is the basis for the success of the revolution and of the Kuomintang. This is the basis for creating in China a big and powerful political and military army against imperialism and its agents. Practically, the slogan of confiscating the land is quite timely for the provinces in which there is a strong agrarian movement, such as Hunan, Kwangtung, etc. Without this the extension of the agrarian revolution is impossible...

"It is necessary to start at once to organise eight or ten divisions of revolutionary peasants and workers with absolutely reliable officers. This will be a Wuhan guards force both at the front and in the rear for disarming unreliable units. This must not be delayed.

"Disintegrating activities must be intensified in the rear and in Chiang Kai-shek's units, and assistance must be given to the insurgent peasants in Kwangtung where the rule of the landlords is particularly unbearable" (Stalin's speech of August 1st, 1927) (Stalin's emphases).

Document 2: May 1927

"Without an agrarian revolution, victory is impossible. Without it the Cen-

tral Committee of the Kuomintang will be converted into a wretched plaything of unreliable generals. Excesses must be combated not, however, by means of troops, but through the peasant associations. We are decidedly in favour of the actual seizure of the land by the masses. Apprehensions concerning Tang Ping-shan's mission are not devoid of foundation. You must not sever yourselves from the working-class and peasant movement, but must assist it in every way. Otherwise you will ruin the work

"Some of the old leaders of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang are frightened by events, they are vacillating and compromising. An increased number of new peasant and working-class leaders must be drawn from the masses into the Central Committee of the Kuomintang. Their bold voices will either stiffen the backs of the old leaders or result in their removal. The present structure of the Kuomintang must be changed. The top leadership of the Kuomintang must certainly be refreshed and reinforced with new leaders who have come to the fore in the agrarian revolution. While the local organisations must be broadened from the millions of members in workers' and peasants' associations. If this is not done the Kuomintang will run the risk of becoming divorced from life and of losing all prestige.

"Dependence upon unreliable generals must be eliminated. Mobilise about 20,000 communists, and about 50,000 revolutionary workers and peasants from Hunan and Hupeh, form several new army corps, use the students at the officers' school as commanders and organise your own reliable army before it is too late. If this is not done there is no guarantee against failure. It is a difficult matter, but there is no alternative.

"Organise a Revolutionary Military Tribunal headed by prominent non-communist Kuomintangists. Punish officers who maintain contact with Chiang Kai-shek or who incite the soldiers against the people, the workers and peasants. Persuasion is not enough. It is time to act. Scoundrels must be punished. If the Kuomintangists do not learn to be revolutionary Jacobins they will perish so far as the people and the revolution are concerned" (ibid) (Stalin's emphases).

So, it can clearly be seen that the Comintern not only foresaw the events, but it also gave a timely warning of the dangers ahead to the CPC. The Comintern pointed out that the systematic development of the "agrarian revolution" was "the basis for the success of the revolution and of the Kuomintang"; that a fight must be waged against "some of the old leaders of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang" who "are frightened by events, ... are vacillating

and compromising"; and, above, all, the Comintern drew the attention of the CPC to the following important task "organise your own reliable army before it is too late", and by way of warning, the Comintern added: "if this is not done there is no guarantee against failure". Thus, it is clear as daylight that the Trotskyite allegations regarding the "failure" of the Comintern and of Stalin to warn the Chinese Communists about a possible collapse of the Kuomintang have never been anything other than bourgeois slanders pure and simple. It is clear that the Comintern, as well as Stalin, gave timely warning to the Chinese Communists that the Kuomintang will "perish" unless measures of the type suggested in the above-quoted documents were urgently taken.

Some Conclusions

From what has already been said, it is not at all difficult to realise that the policy advocated by the Comintern and by Stalin was a correct and revolutionary policy which in a thoroughgoing and truly scientific manner integrated the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution; whereas the policy advocated by the Trotskyist opposition was an anti-Leninist policy based, not on a scientific analysis of the concrete problems of the Chinese Revolution but, on some ready-made formulae, which formulae the opposition held to be obligatory for all times and all places. The policy advocated by the opposition was based on an 'analysis' which took no account of the fact that the Chinese Revolution was both an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in character. Therefore, the Trotskyist opposition, ignoring reality and in opposition to reality, pursued, on the question of the Chinese Revolution, a policy which was subjectivist and counter-revolutionary, which pleased the hearts of the enemies of the Chinese Revolution, the Chiang Kai-sheks and the various imperialist powers. At this stage, it would be extremely useful to sum up the errors of the Trotskyist opposition on the question of the Chinese Revolution, in the words of Comrade Stalin:

"The chief mistakes of the opposition are:

"(1) The opposition does not understand the character and prospects of the Chinese Revolution;

"(2) The opposition sees no difference between the revolution in China and the revolution in Russia, between revolution in colonial countries and revolution in imperialist countries;

"(3) The opposition is departing from Leninist tactics, on the question of the attitude to the national bourgeoisie in colonial countries at the first stage of the revolution;

"(4) The opposition does not understand the question of the Communists' participation in the Kuomintang

"(5) The opposition is violating the principles of Leninist tactics on the question of the relations between the vanguard (the party) and the rearguard (the vast masses of the working people);

"(6) The opposition is departing from the resolutions of the Sixth and Seventh Plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist International".

Continues Stalin:

"The opposition noisily brags about its policy on the Chinese question and asserts that if that policy had been adopted the situation in China today [i.e. August 1st, 1927 - HB] would be better than it is. It scarcely needs proof that, considering the gross mistakes committed by the opposition, the Chinese Communist Party would have landed in a complete impasse had it adopted the anti-Leninist and adventurist policy of the opposition [my emphasis - HB].

"The fact that the Communist Party of China has in a short period grown from a small group of five or six thousand into a mass party of 60,000 members; the fact that the CPC has succeeded in organising nearly 3,000,000 proletarians in trade unions during the period; the fact that the CPC has succeeded in rousing the many millions of the peasantry from their torpor and in drawing tens of millions of peasants into the revolutionary peasant associations; the fact that the CPC has succeeded during this period in winning over whole regiments and divisions of national troops; the fact that the CPC has succeeded during this period in converting the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat from an aspiration into a reality - the fact that the CPC has succeeded in a short period in achieving all these gains is due, among other things, to its having followed the path outlined by Lenin, the path indicated by the Comintern.

"Needless to say, if the policy of the opposition, with its mistakes and anti-Leninist line on questions of colonial revolution, had been followed, these gains of the Chinese revolution would either not have been achieved at all, or would have been extremely insignificant.

"Only 'ultra-left' renegades and adventurers can doubt this" (ibid) (my emphasis - HB).

Comrade Stalin was absolutely correct in saying that the gains of the Chinese Communist Party (CPC) were attributable, among other things, *"to its having followed the path outlined by Lenin, the path indicated by the Comintern"*. He was also right in saying that if the anti-Leninist policy of the opposition on the Chinese Revolution had been followed by the CPC, the above-mentioned gains would not have been achieved at all.

Defeats of 1927 mainly due to opportunism of the Chen Tu-hsiu clique

In fact, a study of the Chinese Revolution (both up to the end of 1927 and afterwards) shows that the successes and the failures of the revolution are closely related to whether the CPC successfully carried out the Leninist policy indicated by the Comintern or not. In the period when the CPC carried out the policy of the Comintern, the gains of the revolution were enormous. But, in proportion as the CPC failed to carry out the policy indicated by the Comintern and by Stalin, it suffered defeats. In fact, the defeats of 1927 of the Chinese Revolution were due, in no small measure, to the fact that the CPC failed to adhere to the line of the Comintern and of Stalin. It is not at all surprising that at that time the CPC was headed by the notorious opportunist, Chen Tu-hsiu. Under his leadership the CPC failed to deepen the agrarian revolution and to conduct a thorough exposure of the Kuomintang Rights. Soon after the defeats of 1927, Chen Tu-hsiu was defeated in the Party. After this defeat he made an unsuccessful attempt to launch a Trotskyist movement in China, and on December 10th, 1929, made a statement that it was necessary to *"work undeviatingly on the side of the international opposition led by Comrade Trotsky"*. In regard to the defeats of 1927, which were due, in no small measure, to the failure of the CPC, under the leadership of Chen Tu-hsiu, to implement the policy advocated by the Comintern and by Stalin, Chen Tu-hsiu tried to whitewash his own opportunist role and blame Stalin for his opportunism with the following statement which is full of malicious slander and lies:

"I [Chen Tu-hsiu - HB], whose understanding was not sufficiently clear, whose opinion was not sufficiently resolute, deeply mired in the atmosphere of opportunism, sincerely supported the opportunist policy of the Third International. I unconsciously became an instrument of the narrow Stalin faction; I did not have an opportunity to develop; I could not save the party; I could not save the revolution..."

That the above statement of Chen Tu-hsiu is full of malicious lies is shown not only by the subsequent victorious path traversed by the Chinese Revolution under the brilliant, correct and Leninist leadership of Mao Tse-tung, but also by the following statement which the Executive Committee of the CPC issued on August 7th, 1927, by way of self-criticism:

"The Communist International has repeatedly instructed the CPC to fight for the improvement of the material conditions of the working masses. ... At the same time, the Communist International points out that it is necessary to arm the workers speedily, boldly and resolutely, especially those elements which are most class-conscious and best organised. ... But the leading organ of our Party has developed a different course. It has simply hindered and minimised the class struggle and the revolutionary actions of the workers. Instead of spreading and promoting strike movements, the Central Committee, together with the leaders of the Kuomintang, decided on an arbitrary method of mediation and ruled that the final authority belonged to the government. Under the government of a coalition of classes, led at this first stage by the bourgeoisie, this kind of policy actually served merely to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie and greatly obstructed the workers' movement. ...

"The agrarian revolution is the crux of the bourgeois- democratic revolution in China. The Communist International has repeatedly explained itself concerning this question.

"The relation between the Party and the Communist International was also not in accordance with accepted organisational procedure. There has never been a case in the history of the Communist International where the instructions and resolutions were actually rejected in such a critical situation. This was no longer merely a simple breach of discipline, but a criminal act against the Chinese and International Communist movement. ... The Chinese Communist Party not only carried out an erroneous policy, a policy that brought the revolution to defeat, that voluntarily liquidated the revolution and capitulated to the enemy, but also would not admit its errors and obey the instructions of the Communist International..." (my emphasis - HB)

The truth contained in the above statement of the CPC is further corroborated by the following extract borrowed from the pamphlet, *Stalin and the Chinese Revolution*, by Chen Po-ta:

"The Chen Tu-hsiu opportunism of 1927 was precisely opposed to this dialectical analysis [of the character of the Chinese Revolution, according to which the Chinese Revolution was of an anti-feudal as well as an anti-imper-

ialist nature - HB] by Stalin. *The Chen Tu-hsiu opportunism later merged with counter-revolutionary Trotskyism. This is well known and will not be dwelt on further.*"

Thus it can be seen that the defeats suffered by the Chinese Revolution in 1927 were due, mainly, to the opportunism of the Chen Tu-hsiu clique, who, rejecting the policy advocated by Stalin and the Comintern, failed to deepen the agrarian revolution. The rejection by the Chen Tu-hsiu clique of the policy of the Comintern was entirely due to the fact that this clique did not accept, and was *"opposed to the dialectical analysis by Stalin"*. The opportunists in the CPC went so far as to suppress Stalin's writings on the Chinese Revolution. *"Both in 1927 when Chen Tu-hsiu was in power and afterwards, the opportunists either intentionally or unintentionally obstructed the dissemination inside the Chinese Party of Stalin's many works on the Chinese question"* (Chen Po-ta, *ibid*).

Events subsequent to the defeats of 1927, leading to the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, have amply proved that violations of the dialectical and Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Chinese Revolution made by Stalin unfailingly brought setbacks to the Chinese Revolution, to the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. Close adherence to the dialectical teachings of Stalin just as unfailingly caused the Chinese Revolution to make gigantic strides forward. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has stressed this truth again and again.

To quote Chen Po-ta:

"It should be pointed out in this connection that during the twenty-odd years since 1927³, the errors of both Right and 'Left' opportunism which occurred within our party were usually, in the first place, violations of this dialectical analysis by Stalin regarding the nature of the revolution, by overlooking either the anti-imperialist or the anti-feudal aspect"(*ibid*).

That is why during the ten-year civil war period, the 'left' opportunists, ignoring the anti-imperialist aspect of the Chinese Revolution, forgetting that *"the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China is characterised by the sharpening of the struggle against imperialism"*⁴, opposed the policy of forming an anti-imperialist front. They also prematurely advanced the policy of carrying out *"the transformation into a socialist revolution"*.

However, during the War of Resistance to Japanese aggression, these 'left' opportunists transformed themselves, as was to be expected, into Right opportunists. Ignoring the anti-feudal aspect of the Chinese Revolution,

they came to hold views akin to those held by the opportunist Chen Tu-hsiu.

They failed to realise the decisive significance of deepening the agrarian movement. They neatly fitted into the category of those Chinese Communists that Stalin had in mind when he said:

"I know that there are ... even Chinese communists who do not consider it possible to unleash revolution in the countryside, since they fear that if the peasantry were drawn into the revolution it would disrupt the united anti-imperialist front".

The Right opportunists forgot the Leninist teaching of Stalin that *"the anti-imperialist front in China will become stronger and more powerful, the sooner and more solidly the Chinese peasantry is drawn into the revolution"*. From their standpoint of ignoring the anti-feudal aspect of the Chinese Revolution, the Right opportunists, in the period of the War of Resistance to Japanese aggression, went on to advocate, just as had been done by the Chen Tu-hsiu clique, giving up the leadership of the proletariat. They *"saw only the bourgeoisie"* and failed to see a future for the victory of the people's democratic revolution and for socialism. They forgot the Leninist teaching of Stalin and of the Comintern on the Chinese Revolution that *"the role of the initiator and leader of the Chinese Revolution, the role of the leader of the Chinese peasantry must inevitably fall to the Chinese proletariat and its party"*.

Mao Tse-tung applied the Comintern line to China

It is indeed the great merit of Comrade Mao Tse-tung that he fought courageously against the 'Left' and Right opportunist deviations within the CPC; that he fought for the implementation of the Leninist policy advocated by the Comintern and by Stalin; that he delivered crushing blows at the dogmatists and the Rightists in the Chinese Party; and above all, that, he, in a most creative way applied the Comintern line to the situation in China and in so doing further developed it to a still higher stage. It was this skillful integration, by the CPC, under the brilliant leadership of Mao Tse-tung, of the line of the Comintern with the concrete practice of the Chinese Revolution which, among other things, led to the success of the Chinese Revolution.

Under the brilliant leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the CPC never for a moment ignored either the anti-imperialist or the anti-feudal aspect of the Chinese Revolution. While carrying out its task of leading the peasantry in the agrarian revolution, it never missed an opportunity of

broadening the anti-imperialist front of the Chinese Revolution by forming a national united front, thereby also overcoming the isolation of the agrarian revolution. The formation in 1937 of the anti-imperialist front at the insistence of the CPC was a culmination of the brilliant tactics of the CPC under the wise leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The fact that the Chiang Kai-shek bandits were forced to agree to a united front with the Communist Party in order to wage the War of Resistance of the Chinese people against Japanese aggression was a brilliant victory for the line of Mao Tse-tung, for the line of Stalin and that of the Comintern. It was at the same time a refutation of the counter-revolutionary nonsense of the Trotskyites.

It is also the great merit of Mao Tse-tung that under his leadership, the CPC avoided the mistakes of the 1927 period and firmly upheld the principle of the independence of the Communist Party within the Anti-Japanese United Front as well as the principle of rousing the peasantry to revolution. The CPC, under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung, fought against the dogmatists when they opposed the formation of the United Front and advocated "overthrowing everybody". Comrade Mao Tse-tung addressed the dogmatists thus:

"You cannot overthrow those in power, so you want to overthrow those who are not in power. They are already out of power, yet, you will want to overthrow them".

The CPC also fought against the dogmatists when, during the War of Resistance against Japan, the latter swung over to advocating "unity with everybody".

So, it was by following the correct Marxist-Leninist line in regard to the nature of the Chinese Revolution and in the matter of tactics that the CPC, under the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, was able to lead the Chinese people successfully to achieve the People's Democratic Revolution and then pass over to achieve socialism in China.

Had the counter-revolutionary jumble, advocated by the Trotskyite opposition, been followed by the CPC, it would certainly have meant either the victory of imperialism or the establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in China. It could on no account result in the establishment of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry under the leadership of the proletariat, leading in course of time to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Perhaps, Trotsky wanted

the establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie? This seems to have been the case, for, in his *'Prospects and Tasks in the East'* of 1924, Trotsky says:

"There is no doubt whatever that if the Kuomintang in China succeeds in uniting China under a national-democratic regime, the capitalist development in China will make enormous strides forward. And all this leads to the mobilisation of countless proletarian masses which will immediately emerge from a prehistoric, semi-barbarian state..."

Such is the essence of all the ultra-'left' phrasemongering of the author of the 'permanent revolution'!

Had the CPC followed the line of the Trotskyist opposition, we would not today have the People's Republic of China.

To those who sow dissension between the lines of Mao Tse-tung and of Stalin

There are many Trotskyites, as well as those who are not Trotskyites, who assert that there were fundamental differences between Comrade Stalin and Comrade Mao Tse-tung; that Stalin did not render any assistance to the Chinese Revolution and that he tried his best to betray the cause of the liberation of the Chinese people. In view of these persistent slanders and misrepresentations, I find it necessary to conclude my speech this evening with a few remarks that Comrade Mao Tse-tung made in a speech delivered by him on December 20th, 1939, on the occasion of the 60th birthday of Stalin. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

"However, there are friends of another kind, friends who have real sympathy with us and regard us as brothers. Who are they? They are the Soviet people and Stalin.

"No other country has renounced its privileges in China; the Soviet Union alone has done so.

"All the imperialists opposed us during our First Great Revolution; the Soviet Union alone helped us.

"No government of any imperialist country has given us real help since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan; the Soviet Union alone has helped China with its aviation and supplies.

"Is not the point clear enough?

"Only the land of socialism, its leaders and people, and socialist thinkers, statesmen and workers can give real help to the cause of liberation of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people, and without their help our cause cannot win final victory.

"Stalin is the true friend of the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. No attempt to sow dissension, no lies and calumnies, can affect the Chinese people's whole-hearted love and respect for Stalin and our genuine friendship for the Soviet Union". (Mao Tse-tung: Selected Works).

No comment is necessary. These remarks of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the victorious Chinese Revolution, are more than sufficient to refute the campaign of lies of the open, and hidden, Trotskyites, who have been doing their best to "sow dissension" and cause confusion, who have been trying their best to represent the revolutionary line of Mao Tse-tung as being different from the revolutionary line of Stalin; these remarks are more than sufficient to refute the slanderous propaganda, of 'friends' and enemies alike, against Stalin.

I have reproduced the above quotation of Mao Tse-tung to refute not only the Trotskyites, but also organisations such as the Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) (CFB) who, following in the wake of Trotskyism, accuse Stalin of narrow nationalism⁵ and who are using the name of Mao Tse-tung to attack Stalin.

Just as it is necessary to counter this trend in the movement which, under the pretence of praising Mao Tse-tung, is attacking Stalin, so it is necessary to counter the opposite trend, which uses Stalin as a shield from behind which to attack Mao Tse-tung and the People's Republic of China.

It is a sheer waste of time to discuss which of these two trends (the one that uses the name of Mao Tse-tung to attack Stalin, and the other that hides behind Stalin to attack Mao Tse-tung and the CPC) is more harmful. They are both equally dangerous. It is, therefore, our bounden communist duty to fight against both.

Finally

What I have stated tonight is only a brief introduction to the subject under discussion. It is my hope that it will arouse sufficient interest in the communist movement and will lead to further study and investigation, clarification of the issues involved, and a refutation of the bourgeois lies. May I

add that there is no better way of studying the question of the Chinese Revolution than an intelligent study of the writings of Mao Tse-tung, and those of Stalin on the Chinese Revolution.

NOTES

1. Lenin: *Preliminary Draft of Theses on the National and Colonial Questions*.
2. In an article on the development of the Chinese revolution 1925-27, A Martynov (a former Menshevik, who was admitted to membership of the RCP(B) by the Twelfth Party Congress) advanced the thesis that the revolution in China could peacefully evolve from a bourgeois-democratic revolution into a proletarian revolution. The Trotsky-Zinoviev anti-Soviet bloc tried to thrust responsibility for Martynov's mistaken thesis upon the leadership of the Comintern and of the CPSU.
3. This part of Chen Po-ta's pamphlet was written in 1949.
4. Stalin: *The Chinese Revolution and the Tasks of the Communist International*.
5. See *The Origin and Development of Revisionism in the Soviet Union*, in the *Marxist-Leninist Quarterly*, No 2, Summer 1972.

Part V

The Spanish Civil War

"The toilers of the Soviet Union only fulfil their duty when they give aid to the Spanish revolutionary masses. They are aware that the liberation of Spain from the persecution of Fascist reactionaries is not a private cause of Spaniards, but a universal cause of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind."

- Stalin

Chapter 16

Background to the Spanish Civil War

Condition of the Spanish workers and peasants

For over two centuries the Spanish people had been straining against the stranglehold of feudal landlordism to bring Spain into the modern world, but in one way or another the feudal landlords had been able to retard the rise of the bourgeoisie, the development of capitalism, and hence the development of the working class. In this way, the Spanish economy grew more and more backward in relation to the modern world and more and more helpless in the face of competition from countries where the bourgeois revolution had been completed. As a result the condition of the Spanish people deteriorated steadily both relatively and absolutely. This is how Frank Jellinek described the situation in the 1930s:

"Spain is a country of hunger: mainly of sheer physical hunger, but also of hunger for land.

"A population of which nearly 70% lives on the land possesses almost none of it. 65% of the population held 6.3% of the land, while 4% of the population held 60% ...

"... The Duke of Medinaceli owned 79,146 hectares, two and a half million Galician peasants owned 2.9 million," (p.33).

"In this land, which the Moors considered the earthly Paradise and treated with the utmost care ... the cultivated surface totals 22 million hectares, the uncultivated 24 million...

"The causes of this monstrous wastage can be found in the political and economic history of the Spanish ruling classes. Deforestation, the conversion of arable land into steppe and of agricultural soil into grazing grounds, enclosures, absentee landlordism, the lack of a strong internal market owing to the incredibly low wages paid, the struggle first between agricultural and stock-breeding interests, then between agrarianism and industry, combined to ruin the country." (ibid. p.34).

By the 1930s the question of the Spanish bourgeois revolution was the al-

most universal agenda for the Spanish people, but it had powerful enemies. Foremost among these, of course, were the big powerful aristocratic land-owners, which included the Catholic Church - especially the Jesuits. The aristocracy could secure any election result they wanted through the power they wielded over the peasantry (this influence being known as *caciquismo*) and could thereby ensure firm control over the machinery of state, and the Church controlled virtually all education of children and exerted a powerful ideological influence over Spanish people.

"The struggle between wheat-cattle [agrarianism] and textiles-steel [industry] had profound social and political effects. A decrease in agricultural prices and a rise in wages would favour industry by strengthening the internal market. Simultaneously it would strengthen the petty-bourgeois and proletarian movements which grew up within the industrial drive to power and used the victories of the big bourgeoisie to open up for themselves new possibilities for expansion. Thus it was necessary for the feudal agrarians to keep the country as impoverished as possible, and in this they were entirely successful", (ibid. p.35).

"With almost entire control of Spanish politics, the agrarians could fight of the threat from industry almost as easily as they had crushed commerce in the 16th century," (ibid. p.36).

Various foreign imperialist countries had acquired interests in Spanish concerns, such as mining and even the national telephone service, and they too had an interest in maintaining Spain in a relatively backward state so that there would be no threat to their investments. Frank Jellinek points out (p.278):

"The development of native Spanish industry must necessarily have brought not only competition with the foreign interests but also, as the Governing Board of Rio Tinto [an English company] repeatedly complained to its shareholders, a revolutionary atmosphere. It was essential, therefore, to see that the plus-value should be neutralised by exportation of capital". Suffice it to say that is exactly what was done.

For those who desperately longed for progress - above all the working class and the peasant masses who bore the brunt of Spain's backwardness in the squalor and poverty that made up their everyday lives, but also the more energetic and daring elements of the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, especially those concentrated in the industrially-developed regions of the Basque country and Catalonia, there seemed to be little hope of breaking loose from these iron shackles. Many had tried and failed. But in

the early 20th century at last signs began to appear that things might change.

Clearly Spanish workers and peasants could not but fight back against those whom they saw as responsible for the harshness of their lives. The Spanish national bourgeoisie too, in a typically indecisive manner, also sought to create the conditions for its own further development. Ideologically, however, until the 1930s the working class was numerically weak and tended to imbibe the petty-bourgeois anarchist concepts that were so prevalent in Spain, as described and explained by Engels in *The Bakuninists at Work*. In the late 1920s and 1930s, however, under the influence of the world communist movement whose impact was so enhanced by the Soviet Union's October Revolution, the Spanish working class began in a modest way to develop its independent working-class party and its independent working-class line. From modest beginnings, Spanish communism had by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War become a force to be reckoned with, and throughout the war its strength grew to become the dominant force in Republican politics. Hence the growth and the political maturation of the Spanish working class became an important impulse for social change.

At the same time the hopeless economic decadence and corruption of Spanish society ensured that the working class received a good schooling for revolution as is clear from the following description by Raymond Carr of the situation following the first world war:

"Whereas the Second World War entailed privation that hid faults in the social structure in a common misery, the war of 1914-18 brought a prosperity that exposed them. As a neutral power, Spain, from 1915 to 1918, experienced boom profits and a spectacular rise in prices. Catalan [textile] mills supplied French soldiers, the disappearance of cheap Welsh coal stimulated feverish activity in the Asturian coalfields ...

"Certainly much of this activity represented quick profits rather than sound expansion ... The real secret of Spain's wartime prosperity was the reversal of the terms of trade for primary products and the high prices her textiles could command ... it was reflected, therefore, in the price of the peseta rather than in an industrial break-through. These conditions made possible a repatriation of the national and railway debt and fostered the growth of the power of the great banks.

"The war boom and the dramatic price rise unsettled all labour relations. Wages rose rapidly, especially in the Asturian mines and among unskilled workers in Catalonia and the industrial North ... but some workers experienced no

gain in real wages ... and this at a time when employers, it was assumed, were making vast 'speculative' profits. These conditions favoured a rapid growth of organised labour at a moment when the war was making Spain ungovernable by parliamentary methods," (p.497-499).

If the war and rising prices had led to unrest, the end of the war intensified contradictions a thousand-fold:

"The post-war contraction of the European market brought crisis to Spain. The marginal Asturian mines closed down. The end of a war which had supported an enormous increase in shipping brought correspondingly enormous losses as freight rates fell. Many companies found themselves crippled by the expense of ships built in the boom; the ships were laid up and the Bilbao yards lay idle; the new steel mills found no demand for their products. Landowners, who had brought marginal land into cultivation, allowed it to revert to scrub pasture. Thus agricultural under-employment aggravated unemployment in towns.

"Falling prices and unemployment, therefore, lay behind the revolutionary strikes of 1919-23 ... Employers argued that unless they broke the unions, the unions would break them by demands which, if satisfied, would drive them out of business," (p.509).

Troops were sent to suppress strikes bloodily and mercilessly. From 1919-25 there ensued what Carr terms a Labour War, which was characterised not only by major strikes and by street fighting in Barcelona between workers and police, but also by assassinations of political leaders on both sides. As electors grew more and more angry at the situation in which they found themselves, the ability of *caciquismo* to guarantee a 'safe' election result seemed doubtful. The ruling classes felt that parliamentary democracy had to be suspended, and it was suspended in 1923, by means of a military coup (at which the 'constitutional' monarch of Spain, Alfonso XIII, connived) that installed a military dictatorship under General Antonio Primo de Rivera.

The installation of a military regime did not, needless to say, improve matters. The military were entirely in the pockets of the feudal aristocracy, whose ideology permeated every pore of the officer corps. General Primo de Rivera was no more enlightened than one could in those circumstances expect from a military appointee. He took measures to suppress the masses which were quite mindlessly and unnecessarily reactionary: these measures included suppression of the petty-bourgeois Catalan nationalist movement,

suppression of all democratic rights such as the right to trial by jury and the freedom of the press, and the wholesale persecution, imprisonment and exile of workers' and peasants' leaders. As conflict became ever more acute the ruling classes saw that military dictatorship was making things worse rather than better and decided to make Primo de Rivera into a scapegoat while they tried to think of some other way of saving their privilege and power. Hence both the army and the king turned against Primo de Rivera, largely in an effort to absolve themselves from blame, and by 29 January 1930 the General was forced to resign. He died in Paris later that year.

His resignation came too late to save the monarchy, which followed Primo de Rivera into exile fifteen months later, in April 1931. This followed municipal elections on 12 April which proved the people to be completely hostile to the monarchy because of its support of the military dictatorship. The ruling classes saw the sacrifice of the monarchy as the only way of buying time in which to try to dissipate or divert the hostility of the masses away from the crumbling feudal edifice.

The Republic

The masses were for the time being diverted. Indeed, they went wild with joy. Then a full general election was held on 28 June 1931, which further confirmed the results of the April municipal elections: 117 Socialists, 93 Radicals, 59 Republican Radical Socialists, 27 Republican Action, 27 Right Republicans, 33 Catalan Nationalists, 16 Galician Nationalists and other anti-Monarchists 28. The Monarchists could only muster 85 seats between them. But in spite of the fact that the government was made up, as a result of these elections, of relatively progressive elements, it proved quite helpless when it came to making any fundamental change in the class nature of the Spanish state.

David Mitchell writes that after the first Prime Minister Alcalá Zamora, was replaced by Manuel Azaña in October 1931, *"he was declared a foe of militarism and the Church. By concentrating on these two issues and making only timid efforts to come to grips with the most urgent problem - land reform - the ill-assorted coalition succeeded over the next two years mainly in exasperating almost every faction. Perhaps only the Catalan nationalists, given autonomy in September 1932, were satisfied with its performance"* (p.16). While what Mitchell says about land reform is true, and is the reason why the masses eventually became disillusioned - and rightly so - with his govern-

ment, it is also true that he did take a number of progressive measures that scared the daylight out of the reactionary ruling classes: he took away from the Catholic Church its status as a state religion, and a Constitution was drawn up which among other things proclaimed total freedom of religion. Rights were given to women - in particular the right to vote, but also the right to divorce. Ironically, giving the vote to women was partly responsible for Azana's eventual downfall, as very many women had in Spain (as one would expect in a feudal society) been kept very politically backward and were, in due course, to cast their newly-won votes in favour of candidates approved by their Father Confessors and respectable Ladies of the Manor.

Thinking to save Spain from 'the anti-clerical dictatorship' of Azaña, General Sanjurjo led a plot to overthrow the government. The attempted rising, in August 1932, was easily suppressed, however, for at this stage the ruling classes knew it would be suicide to support it. They wanted to give the petty-bourgeois republicans more rope to hang themselves with, so that in future elections the masses would revert to voting as their masters directed them, having realised the folly of exerting their independence. So the leaders of Sanjurjo's uprising, including Sanjurjo himself, were arrested and thrown into rather comfortable jails.

To some extent the ruling class strategy succeeded. The main problem with Azana was that he had no economic programme to speak of other than some very mild agrarian reforms that satisfied nobody. Unemployment was rising as the capitalist world spiralled into the economic crisis of the 1930's, and so naturally did the anger of the masses:

"After a series of peasant risings and industrial strikes a frightened government was forced to call in the Army, the Civil Guard, and a newly-created Republican paramilitary force, the Assault Guards, to maintain a semblance of order. Ironically, Spain became more of a police-ridden state than it had been under Primo de Rivera," (ibid p.16).

Hence the army's control over the government was consolidated, while the government itself inevitably split, as minorities refused to toe the line under pressure from their supporters. *"When peasant rebels were uncere- moniously shot down while military rebels like Sanjurjo were merely exiled or comfortably imprisoned, the worst suspicions of the FAI [Anarchists] were confirmed; and under pressure from his supporters, Largo Caballero began to swing the socialist party and the UGT from a moderate reformism to a more revolutionary stance" (ibid. p.16- 17).*

In the meantime the fascist Falange (started up by Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, a son of the former military dictator) and the extreme right-wing CEDA organised for the purpose of reaping the workers' discontent with traditional workers' organisations. This discontent led to considerable abstention by workers from participation in elections held in 1933. The result was that the party which returned the largest number of seats was the CEDA. The ruling classes still knew it would be asking for trouble to let the CEDA take power, so that organisation was not straight away admitted into government. Instead the government was formed by the opportunist Radical Party led by arch-opportunist Alejandro Lerroux. It was, however, CEDA, holding the balance of power, which called the shots. Mitchell continues:

"Though the largest party in the Cortes, the CEDA, did not have an absolute majority. But under pressure from its deputies the government, headed by Alejandro Lerroux, either repealed or ignored the 'subversive' legislation of its predecessor. Grandees' estates were restored, peasants evicted, wages cut. All those involved in Sanjurjo's rising were amnestied..."

"By February 1934 Largo Caballero was saying that 'the only hope of the masses now is in social revolution. It alone can save Spain from fascism'" (p.21).

Other features of the Lerroux regime which infuriated the workers and peasants were:

1. a marked improvement of relations between the state and the church hierarchy. The Lerroux regime did not dare go so far as to allowing the Jesuits to return to resume their old ideological and financial tyranny, but many of the Constitution's disestablishing reforms were slowed down, and efforts to replace church education with secular education were abandoned.
2. the appointment to high military command of a large number of Monarchists;
3. the repeal of Catalonia's autonomy in October 1934, and the halting of plans to give Galicia and the Basque country autonomy;
4. the amnesty given in April 1934 to the Monarchist ex-member of the Primo de Rivera government, Calvo Sotelo, allowing him to return to Spain, and generally the friendly relations that existed between the government and anti-Republican military and political leaders.

All this time CEDA was demanding to be admitted into government, but insisting on doing so without undertaking support for the Republic. To

bring the matter to a head, CEDA called a Conference of Right-wing parties in the thoroughly proletarian town of Covadonga in the mining heartlands of Asturias to discuss its claims. This was equivalent in terms of provocation to the National Front holding a meeting in Southall. It was outrageous and it gave rise to demonstrations throughout September 1934. On the 1st of October, when Parliament returned, CEDA voted against the government, with the result that the government was defeated and had to resign. The President of the Republic asked Lerroux on the 4th of October to form a new government which would include 3 CEDA people in key ministries. This he did and so CEDA acquired the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Agriculture.

Asturias

Foreseeing the kind of treatment they could expect if these fascists continued in government, and remembering the experiences of the Austrian working class under Dollfuss, the immediate response of the Spanish workers was to go on strike. The socialist/communist-dominated union, the UGT, called a general strike on 5th of October and Lerroux declared a state of war!

For various reasons the strike movement only really came to a head in Asturias. In other places the workers were exhausted by strikes or uncertain what to do because of lack of enthusiasm for the struggle displayed by such 'leaders' as the socialist Largo Caballero and certain Anarchists. But in Asturias the Anarchist-dominated union, the CNT, and the UGT united under the name of Union of Proletarian Brothers. The workers of the solidly working-class Asturian cities were united and determined. Not satisfied with going on strike, workers seized control of the area for several days, hoping to force the government to concede their demands. Instead the government mobilised General Franco and his Moorish troops to put down the rebellion. With the collapse in the rest of Spain of the general strike movement, the defeat of the Asturian rebellion was inevitable.

The worst fears of the workers about the brutality of a CEDA-dominated government were about to be realised. Actually even in Spain where bloody savagery in repression of workers and peasants was a norm, the treatment of the Asturian workers by the Lerroux-CEDA government was unexpected in the degree of its horror. David Mitchell writes:

"Of about 2,000 killed or wounded before surrender on 19 October, all but

ten per cent were rebels: almost as many rebels were killed in the merciless repression that followed. Manuel Montequín remembers that 'in some places Moors, legionaries and civil guards didn't spare even dogs, cats, pigs or calves. They slaughtered everything in sight. I saw it with my own eyes when I was fighting in the village of Villafraía. They even cut off the heads of children's dolls.'" (p.24)

30,000 Asturian workers were taken prisoner and had to be confined in concentration camps because there was no more room in the prisons.

Horrific though these events were, it has to be understood that they laid the basis for the growth of the strength of the working-class movement. They steeled the working class:

"The use of Moroccan troops and the horrors of the repression forced the bickering Left towards solidarity as nothing else could have done ... The Communists, who had advocated continuing the hopeless struggle (among them Dolores Ibarruri, an Asturian miner's wife later known as La Pasionaria [the passionflower]), reaped the reward in a surge of popularity and membership ..." (p.24).

Jose Díaz, the General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, in a speech made on 2 June 1935 on the importance of the Asturias uprising, spoke for the working-class movement when he said:

"You all know what happened in October. You know that we rose up all over the country; that Spanish workers, Catalan workers, Basques, Galicians, in short workers from all over Spain took to the streets to halt the advance of fascism by means of a general strike and an insurrectionary struggle. And you also know that the masses fought with admirable courage to overthrow the big bourgeoisie and the landlords and their reactionary and fascist government, and also in order to take power. This last objective was only achieved in Asturias. In Asturias it was achieved through the heroic stance of the proletariat. In Asturias it was achieved because they knew how to march in unity and how to conquer arms. The flag of workers' and peasants' power flew triumphantly over Asturias for fifteen days. The Alliances of Workers and Peasants took power through armed struggle. This glorious action by our Asturian comrades will live forever in the memory of all exploited people. Moreover we must not forget that over there our brothers and sisters, our heroes, fought in unity and that this is why they triumphed: communists, socialists and anarchists fought as one, shoulder to shoulder. For this very same reason, if we want to triumph in the country as a whole, it is essential that the United Front should be a re-

ality, that unity in action should be imposed, that Workers' and Peasants' Alliances should be created and developed in every part of the country, so that they can direct the struggle of the vast masses to smash reaction and fascism. If we do this, I tell you that it won't be long before we see this government, Gil Robles and all those who defend them, run away, fleeing just as ignominiously as did the bourgeois and the civil guards of Asturias when faced with the serried ranks and the armed might of the miners and workers of Asturias." (p.11-12).

From Asturias to victory in the elections of February 1936.

Asturias forced many of the major petty-bourgeois parties to participate in the Popular Front being promoted by the Communists. It became clear to all that there could be no democracy without a popular front. This was finally agreed between the Republicans, Communists and Socialists on 15 January 1936. The demands it proposed to the electorate were:

1. Amnesty for all those convicted of political crimes after November 1933;
2. Reinstatement of government employees who had lost their jobs for political reasons;
3. Compensation for the families of both revolutionary and government forces who had been killed;
4. Restoration of the sovereignty of the constitution;
5. Implementation of the constitution;
6. Improved public security;
7. Reorganisation of criminal justice;
8. Redistribution of responsibilities within the army and the police and re-writing of disciplinary rules;
9. Less tax and more credit for peasants;
10. Adoption of policies to counter economic depression in industry;
11. Adoption of a programme of public works;
12. The Bank and the Treasury to be placed at the service of national reconstruction;
13. Amendments to social legislation, including the fixing of a minimum wage;

14. Greater investment in secular schooling provision.

The popular front differed from the united fronts of the 1920s in that the former included social-democratic parties, whereas the latter did not. Hence the programmes had to be broad enough for social-democratic parties to accept, leading to accusations from Trotskyites and others that the programmes were bourgeois. But the reasons for including social-democratic parties in the popular fronts has been well explained by Campbell:

"The lessons of the 1917 revolution, and of the subsequent revolutionary period in Europe, belong to the basic capital of the working class, and to neglect them is to commit political suicide. But those lessons cannot be applied to the present day unless one takes into account the difference in the situation to-day as compared with that of 1917-20 ..." (p.316).

"In 1917-20 capitalism was defending parliamentary democracy against the drive of the Socialist revolution, seeking to establish Soviet democracy. To-day, capitalism, in order to maintain itself, is seeking to undermine and destroy parliamentary democracy and dissolve the organs of the working class. To defend democracy in 1917-20 was to defend capitalism against the revolution."

J.R. Campbell's analysis of this period is not original, but coincides with the line of the international communist movement, expressed by Comrade Stalin in 1930 in *The Right Deviation in the CPSU(B)* where he stressed *"the task of intensifying the fight against Social-Democracy, and, above all, the 'left' wing, as being the social buttress of capitalism."* And again in his *Report of the Central Committee to the XVI Congress of the CPSU(B)*, Stalin said:

"By developing an uncompromising struggle against Social- Democracy, which is capital's agency in the working class, and by reducing to dust all and sundry deviations from Leninism, which bring grist to the mill of Social-Democracy, the Communist Parties have shown that they are on the right road. They must definitely fortify themselves on this road; for only if they do that can they count on winning over the majority of the working class and successfully prepare the proletariat for the coming class battles. Only if they do that can we count on a further increase in the prestige of the Communist International".

But by 1934, it was in many cases not a question of preparing the proletariat for the coming battles. It was a case of organising the proletariat to win the battles that the bourgeoisie was now forcing on it. This is why Campbell continued by saying that: *"To defend democracy in 1938 is to frustrate the capitalist attack on the working class, and is the starting point of any working-class advance to power."* (ibid. p.318).

Again his analysis is in line with that of Comrade Stalin and with the international communist movement, as is shown by Comrade Stalin's report to the 17th Party Congress in 1934 where he pointed out:

"The masses of the people have not yet reached the stage when they are ready to storm capital, but the idea of storming it is maturing in the minds of the masses - of that there can be hardly any doubt. This is eloquently testified to by facts as, say, the Spanish revolution which overthrew the fascist regime ...

"This, indeed, explains why the ruling classes in the capitalist countries are so zealously destroying or nullifying the last vestiges of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy which might be used by the working class in its struggle against the oppressors ...

"In this connection the victory of fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and a result of the betrayal of the working class by Social-Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a sign of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, a sign that the bourgeoisie is no longer able to rule by the old methods of parliament and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled ... to resort to terrorist methods of rule." (p.299-300).

This is why in August 1935 the 7th Congress of the Communist International resolved:

"Under the conditions of a political crisis, when the governing classes can no longer dominate the powerful development of the movement of the masses, the Communists must emphasise cardinal revolutionary slogans (such as control of production and the banks, dissolution of the police, its substitution by an armed militia, etc.), calculated to shake the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie even more, strengthen the forces of the working class, isolate the conciliatory parties, and lead the masses towards the revolutionary seizure of power. If, in face of such a rise in the movement of the masses, it should be possible and necessary in the interests of the proletariat, to form a government of the united proletarian front or of the popular antifascist front, which will not yet be a government of proletarian dictatorship but will undertake to carry out decisive measures against Fascism and the reaction, the Communist Party must procure the formation of such a government.

"The essential premise for the formation of a united front government constitutes a situation with the following factors: (a) when the bourgeois state apparatus is so far paralysed that the bourgeoisie is not in a position to prevent the formation of such a government; (b) when the broadest working-class

masses are launching themselves massively against Fascism and reaction without yet being ready to fight for Soviet Power; (c) when a considerable part of the organisations of social-democracy and other parties which form part of the united front is demanding the application of relentless measures against the Fascists and other reactionary elements and is ready to fight in conjunction with the Communists in order to carry out these measures.

"In the measure in which the united front government really takes decided measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents and in no way restricts the activities of the Communist Party nor the struggles of the working-class, the Communist Party will support this government in every way. As regards the problem of the participation of the Communists in a united front government, this will be solved according to the concrete situation in each case." (Resolutions, Chap.II. 8.).

And as Jellinek rightly points out (p.208), *"The concrete situation in Spain at the beginning of 1936 contained all three factors which were 'the essential premise for the formation of a united front government'".*

Chapter 17

The formation of the People's Front and the course of the War

People's Front

People's Front tactics were adopted by the international working-class movement in the new conditions of the early Thirties brought about by the victory of fascism in Germany and Italy - in the conditions when monopoly capitalism was driving to fascism as the only means of preserving capitalism by doing away with bourgeois democracy. In these circumstances the tactics of the People's Front were two-fold. First it sought to build an alliance of the working class and the intermediate strata of the population in order to defend democracy, preserve peace and to achieve labour-democratic government as a means to this end. Secondly it sought to enable the revolutionary proletariat to win whole sections of the working class and a considerable section of the middle strata over to the programme of complete socialism. But sensible though this tactic would seem, it was the subject of virulent denunciation by certain sections of the 'left', and in particular by Trotsky and his followers. Such a difficult and complicated line of struggle was not to the liking of Trotskyism, which seeks easy solutions to difficult problems in the comfort of ready-made formulas and dead dogma. For Trotskyism it is class collaboration to prevent the middle strata of the population from falling under the influence of monopoly capitalism; it is class collaboration to seek to isolate monopoly capitalists when the latter attempt to drive to fascism at full speed; and the Spanish Civil War, according to counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, is nothing but a wicked example of class collaboration.

In the course of this article it will be demonstrated beyond doubt that the Trotskyists sabotaged the struggle of the Spanish Republic against fascism, but each time this sabotage was accompanied by the utterance of ultra-left slogans such as the following: *"The bourgeoisie cannot be an ally against fascism"*, *"only the proletarian revolution can be a sufficient mobilising force to rouse the population in Franco's rear"*, *"the proletariat is irreconcilably opposed to bourgeois democracy"*, and so on and so forth. Not the slightest

attention is paid by this nefarious gentry to solving the real problems of a particular revolutionary struggle on the basis of the concrete circumstances and relation of class forces attendant upon such a struggle. Instead every concrete problem of the struggle is buried beneath a cataract of empty phrases, in pursuit of what can only be called 'revolutionary' self-isolation and a political stance in which right-wing cretinism interweaves with left-adventurist nonsense and they become inextricably intertwined. Though it must be said that if Trotskyism failed to appreciate the revolutionary nature of the Popular Front, the Jesuits (who were the big bourgeoisie and land-owners of the Spanish Catholic Church) did not. Their organ *El Debate* declared on the 4th of August 1935, following the Seventh Congress of the ECCI which had adopted popular front tactics):

"Communism now seems to us infinitely more dangerous when it disguises itself with the mask of governmental collaboration and offers this collaboration for something more than mere revolt." (quoted in Jellinek at p. 189).

Circumstances of Formation of the People's Front

Following the defeat of the General Strike and the Asturias rising at the end of 1934, the Spanish working-class movement was driven underground, and 30,000 workers were groaning in Spanish prisons. In these circumstances, on the initiative of the Communist Party of Spain, the workers' front was broadened into a People's Front by an agreement between the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Republicans. The Anarchists would not join the popular front, but in the end urged their supporters to vote for it because of the promise to release political prisoners. The result was that when the growing crisis in the ranks of reaction led to a general election in February 1936, it resulted in a Popular Front victory, leading to a transformation in the opportunities for the working-class movement. At the time, the Spanish Trotskyists were organised in a sectarian counter-revolutionary outfit which had the audacity to call itself 'the Workers' Party of Marxist Unity' (POUM for short), which was led by Joaquín Maurín (who had earlier left the Communist Party on right-wing nationalist grounds) and Andreas Nin, one of Trotsky's closest colleagues in the USSR between 1926-27.

Although the Trotskyites have always denied the Trotskyist nature of the POUM since it was affiliated to Fenner Brockway's International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialism rather than Trotsky's so-called Fourth Interna-

tional, in all essentials it was Trotskyist - for example in its attitude to the USSR, to the Popular Front, and to the problems of the Spanish Revolution. Within the POUM was a group calling itself the 'Bolshevik- Leninists' who stood for every dot and comma in the Revelation of Trotsky. The POUM at first denounced the Popular Front, thus strengthening the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists. But as the idea of the Popular Front "*swept all before it*," to borrow the apt expression of the then Mr (later Lord) Brockway, who could by no means be described as an advocate of the Popular Front, the POUM entered the alliance for electoral purposes and, having benefited, returned afterwards to its 'freedom of action' by denouncing the Popular Front.

Tasks after the February elections.

After the February elections, the Spanish working class was confronted with the tasks of building their organisations within and without the Popular Front and to strive for a government more to the left than the Republican government which emerged from the February elections. And in this regard, on the initiative of the Communist Party, some real advances were made. Red unions under communist influence went into the UGT, the socialist Trade Union Federation; Socialist and Communist youth formed a single organisation; relations between anarchist and socialist trade union federations improved; negotiations were opened up for the unity of the socialist and communist parties. Hence, it became possible to frustrate the strategy of the ruling classes who had hoped that the masses would turn to the right once they experienced the bungling attempts of petty-bourgeois democracy to govern the country. What was actually happening was making the ruling classes more and more frantic, because they began to see that disillusionment with petty-bourgeois democracy was driving the masses to the left rather than to the right, and beginning to create the conditions for working-class hegemony over the republican movement. This is why the feudal remnants and big comprador bourgeoisie used every trick in the book to strangle this development. And, as ever, they were helped in their efforts by the Trotskyites who carried their reactionary outlook into the heart of the working-class and peasant movement under the guise of the most r-r-revolutionary slogans. Trotskyists of the POUM, for instance, did their best in every way to hamper the process of unification of progressive forces. They encouraged every excess on the part of angry workers and peasants. Attempts to organise and discipline this spontaneous movement were dubbed

counter-revolutionary.

Here is how Felix Morrow, the American Trotskyist, expressed approval of such activities as church burning:

*"The hated clergy, rulers of the 'black two years', were also dealt with in the time-honoured manner of oppressed peasants. Especially after it was clear the Government would not touch the clergy, the masses took matters into their own hands. This consisted not only of burning churches, but of ordering the priests to leave the villages under sentence of death if they returned. Out of abject loyalty to the Government, the Stalinists vilified the struggle against the clergy: 'Remember that the setting fire to churches and monasteries brings support to the counter-revolution' (International Press Correspondence, August 1st, 1936). They were listened to no more than was Azaña. In the province of Valencia, where the workers have now smashed the counter-revolution so decisively, there was scarcely a functioning church in June." (Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain*, p.40).*

The efforts of the Communist Party to explain that such activity had nothing in common with revolutionary tactics were spat upon. Yet one of the most urgent problems facing the Spanish workers was to win the religious-minded peasants for the Popular Front. Church burning hindered this task. In fact, so harmful was this activity to the cause of the Spanish revolution that before the rebellion, fascist groups were caught red-handed burning churches with a view to blaming the communists.

Another method of fascist and bourgeois provocation was to exhaust the workers by prolonging strikes after all realisable gains had been made. The Trotskyists participated gleefully in such actions aimed at bleeding the strikers white, and in the course of it attacking the government, attempting to cause divisions between the two union federations, as well as between the socialists and communists.

The employing class sought to reply to the wave of strikes and peasant unrest by encouraging fascist organisations to launch a murder campaign against working-class leaders, similar to that launched by the Italian fascists in 1921-22. But the fascist gangs got the worst of it in their confrontations with the workers. The government suppressed the fascist organisations and proceeded with the cleansing of the police. In the meantime the fascists, having lost their chance of seizing control of the state via an electoral victory, vigorously planned to take power via a military coup, a military coup that this time would have the full backing of Spanish ruling circles and of

foreign imperialism. Plans were hatched as soon as the Popular Front victory was announced. Generals Franco, Varela and Mola met in Madrid to agree a strategy. In each provincial capital the military commander was to declare a state of siege and this takeover would be backed, in case of necessity, by the African army. Though Franco and Varela were posted outside Spain (precisely because the government distrusted them), Mola remained on the mainland at Pamplona, from where he was able to gather up and organise the military conspirators.

The government was soon informed of what was going on, but simply did not believe it. A delegation from the Communist Party leadership went to Casares Quiroga, the Prime Minister, with incontrovertible evidence of the plot. Casares Quiroga, however, dismissed it out of hand, claiming that the Communists saw fascists everywhere.

As the generals had adopted a policy of craven hypocrisy towards the government, the government fell for their flattery hook, line and sinker:

"When Manuel Azaña was elected President of the Republic in May 1936, the first to pay their respects to him and pledge their support were Generals Franco, Goded, Cabanells and Quiapo de Llano, Colonel Aranda and others, all of whom were involved in the plot against the Republic.

"The letter which Franco sent to the Minister of War in the Republican government a few days before the uprising is a model of duplicity and dissimulation: 'Those who say the army is opposed to the Republic are lying', wrote the traitor General. 'You are being deceived by people who invent plots out of their own murky passions ...'

"At the very time when he wrote this, Franco was receiving and transmitting instructions to other generals involved in the plot; he was up to his neck in intrigue and conspiracy." (Sandóval and Azcárate p.24).

Similar subterfuges were adopted by Generals Mola, Capaz, Cabanellas and Colonel Aranda: *"On July 16, Mola gave General Batet his word of honour that he would not rebel. Two days later he rebelled ... , and arrested Batet" (ibid).* He also had Batet executed in due course.

The War

The start of the uprising itself was planned to be executed simultaneously all over Spain at 5 a.m. on July 18th, 1936. As it happened, the first action was triggered prematurely when the fascists' plans were leaked to a military

commander at Melilla (the easternmost city of Spanish Morocco), namely General Romerales. He dispatched troops and police to military headquarters where the rebel officers had already distributed arms. After some to-ing and fro-ing, it was General Romerales who was arrested by the rebels and not the other way round. The rebels declared a state of war, occupied all the public buildings in Melilla in the name of General Franco as commander-in-chief in Morocco ... and arrested the leaders of republican or left-wing groups. As Melilla had jumped the gun, the other two leading cities of Spanish Morocco, Tetuan and Ceuta had to do so also. The mainland uprising began at 5 a.m. on 18 July as planned.

There was only one possible response to the military uprising - as Asturias had shown - namely, armed force. The only force available to the Republicans apart from the one third of the Army and Civil Guard that had remained loyal, was the people. The Popular Front government, however, was a petty-bourgeois government which hesitated in a truly criminal manner before taking this necessary step. According to Sandóval and Azcárate (p. 27), *"It is said that a leading city official in Corunna was heard lamenting in this strain when the rebels were about to attack the local government offices: 'if we arm the people now, who will hold them in check later? And if we don't, what will become of the Republic?' ..."* As might have been expected, both the Prime Minister, Casares Quiroga, and the President, Azaña, objected to the distribution of arms to the people and it was three days before mass demonstrations led by Communists and Socialists were able to force the government to give in on this point. But by then military garrisons had risen up all over Spain and found themselves with no effective opposition as provincial governments would not distribute arms without permission from the Centre to do so. In those three days no fewer than 25 major towns were seized by the fascists, including Seville, Cádiz, Algeciras and Jerez on the 18th of July; Oviedo, Burgos, Zaragoza, Huesca, Jaca, Pamplona, Teruel, Valladolid, Segovia, Salamanca, Avila, Zamora, Palencia, Cáceres, Albacete, Majorca and Ibiza on the 19th of July; Coruña, Vigo, Pontevedra, Leon and Cordoba on the 20th of July. How many of these towns could have been saved if the people had been armed! In fact, where towns were saved (Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid, etc.) it was where arms were made available to the people because sympathetic soldiers had distributed them or because armed local militias had been organised beforehand. Significantly, these towns included all Spain's big and densely-populated industrial centres where the working-class movement was strong.

The defence of Madrid

This is how Sandóval and Azcárate describe the situation in Madrid (p.28-9):

"The greatest fascist danger spot in Madrid was the Montaña Barracks.

"On Sunday July 19, the troops there noticed with anxiety that the barracks was filling up with strangers, young civilian fascists who immediately received uniforms and weapons. At midday the fascist General Fanjul arrived, also in civilian clothing.

"After making a feeble speech, Fanjul issued a proclamation declaring a state of war in Madrid. Nevertheless, he did not dare to send his troops out into the streets, where the Madrid workers were carefully watching every move the military men made.

"Groups of workers ... were posted at corners, in trees and behind low walls. The barracks was besieged. The presence of angry crowds led Fanjul to adopt the prudent tactics of confining his rebellion to the inside of the barracks...

"Meanwhile the people went over to the offensive. Detachments of armed civilians, Assault Guards, Civil Guards and loyal troops, with magnificent audacity and heroism, were capturing the barracks at Getafe, Campamento and Vicalvaro.

"At dawn the next day the attack on the Montaña Barracks began.

"... By noon the gates of the fascist stronghold were broken down. Madrid had stormed her Bastille."

Then came the need to prevent fascists marching on Madrid from outside. Here is how Jellinck describes how this was done (p. 313-4).

"With 10,000 men, the heavy artillery from Segovia and Median and the air squadrons from León and Logroño, General Mola marched into the Sierra Guadarrama towards Madrid. The battalions moved up steadily to the Alto de León, the pass which commands the road from Segovia to Madrid. The rest of the column spread out over the range towards the cement trenches built when Gil Robles was Minister of War.

"Then happened one of the most important events in the whole Civil War. Without officers, with almost no ammunition, with no communication and without orders, the workers streamed out in taxis, commandeered cars, buses, anything, into the Sierra to meet a modern army. The Anarchists advanced

into the hills armed only with sticks of dynamite wrapped in bundles of newspaper. Later they received a share of the rifles found in the Montaña Barracks.

"The Young Socialists rushed towards the Alto de León. Almost all their leaders had actually left for their holidays. The organisation of the first column was carried through entirely by the only member of the Executive Committee in Madrid, a 22-year old girl, Aurora Amaiz.

"With wild enthusiasm - and almost nothing else - the first columns stormed into the Passes and held them all except the Alto de Leon. Even here, the enemy was blocked..."

The Fifth Regiment

It was, of course, now necessary to organise on a more permanent basis to resist fascist advances and to retake the areas that the fascists had seized. This was an awesome task when the government had only a third of its army at its disposal. It was the Communists who took the initiative in setting up a Regiment - the "Fifth" Regiment, which was to become the model on which the People's Republican Army was based. The Fifth Regiment was formed in July 1936 in the courtyard of a Madrid Monastery, the Salesian convent of Francos Rodriguez. The people of Madrid observed for themselves in the course of the spontaneous fighting that took place in defence of Madrid how much more effective and efficient their efforts would have been if properly organised and disciplined. As a result they flooded to the barracks to join the Fifth Regiment. They saw that it was the Communists who were prepared and ready to organise militarily in a professional way, and to train and arm its soldiers properly. Every Fifth Regiment unit had, like the Soviet army, a political commissar. Their function was to forge a new kind of discipline - conscious and voluntary rather than imposed, and therefore all the more effective.

Gradually the organisational methods applied to the Fifth Regiment proved so obviously successful that they were extended to new units (Mixed Brigades) and then to the whole People's Army. The success of Communist methods of organising the army is testified to by the praise of the bourgeois historian E.H. Carr, who was never a great friend of the Communists:

"The first and most important field of Soviet activity was the reorganization of the army. Ever since the outbreak of the war the PCE had campaigned for the fusion of the surviving units of the old regular army with the workers' militia, to form a unified 'people's army'. But little was achieved before the arrival

of the Soviet advisers and the formation of the international brigades at the end of 1936. The formula of unification was found in the creation, on the analogy of the international brigades, of 'mixed brigades' comprising battalions of both the old army and of the militias. The institution of political commissars, introduced into the international brigade, was extended to the mixed brigades, and then to the whole of the new people's army. Since the institution was based on a Soviet model, it was natural that communists should predominate in it. The corps of commissars became a powerful group, whose influence in military affairs was directed to the management of the army and to the establishment of overall Soviet control. The undivided aim of military efficiency was pursued; this, too, coincided with Soviet and Comintern policy at this time. If any ideology was invoked, it was that of patriotism and not of revolution.

"The salutary effect of these measures on the fighting power of the republic is beyond question."

Such was the strength and morale of the Republican People's Army that, without the lifeblood poured by German and Italian fascist governments into supporting Franco, the Republicans would have had an easy victory. Tamames writes (p. 263-4):

"... the battles of the Sierra demonstrated that the republican popular forces, organised in militias, were sufficient to contain the regular army and its auxiliary supporters such as the Falangists and the Carlist militias. But when those same forces were supported by heavier artillery and by Moroccans, Germans and Italians too, that was a different story." As we shall see, Franco's troops and equipment were constantly being replenished by international fascism, while the Republican effort was just as constantly being undermined by British, French and US imperialism in pursuance, inter alia, of their policy of appeasing Hitler.

Fascist advances

The Fascists' first major objective was to bring the African troops up to attack Madrid. Their whole strategy was to capture Madrid as soon as possible, because they thought that once Madrid fell, the war would be over. Getting the African troops to the area of Madrid was a problem, however. They could not be brought over by sea as the Spanish Navy guarding the Straits had remained loyal.

Hugh Thomas describes the means by which navy loyalty was secured (p.

242-3):

"On the eventful dawn of 19 July, the cruisers Libertad and Miguel de Cervantes were sailing south from El Ferrol. They had been dispatched by the government to seek to prevent the Army of Africa from crossing the Straits of Gibraltar. Later, the only seaworthy Spanish battleship, the Jaime I (the España was under repair at El Ferrol), also left Vigo for the south. Upon all these ships, upon the destroyer Churrua which had already landed a cargo of Moors at Cádiz, and upon all the warships at Cartagena, the same revolutionary events occurred as on the three destroyers which had been sent the day before from Melilla: that is, the men, stimulated by radio messages from the admiralty in Madrid addressed to them and not to their commanders, overwhelmed, imprisoned and in many cases shot those officers who seemed disloyal. The most violent battles occurred on the Miguel de Cervantes where the officers, in mid-ocean, resisted the ship's company to the last man. (To the laconic question as to what should be done with the corpses - asked by the committee of the ship's company which took over command - the admiralty replied: 'Lower bodies overboard with respectful solemnity')."

On the 22nd of July 1936 the Spanish fascists begged Hitler and Mussolini for help. Both were more than willing to provide Franco with everything he needed. On the 27th of July 11 Savoia-81 transport planes arrived in Morocco from Italy and on the 28th 20 Junker transport planes arrived from Germany, in the guise of civilian aircraft ordered by a hastily-concocted Spanish-Moroccan transport company. These aeroplanes were used to get 14,000 men, with all their equipment, across the Straits and into mainland Spain.

In a deliberate act of sabotage of the Republican war effort, the US oil companies withheld supplies from the Republican ships which were not allowed to re-fuel. By undermining the Spanish fleet in this way, the Straits were very quickly opened up to the fascists, enabling them to transport the rest of the African troops by sea during the first days of August 1936, in convoys guarded by the German cruiser *Deutschland*. The disembarkation of these troops at Algeciras was facilitated, in turn, by the British whose warships from Gibraltar obstructed Spanish Air Force bombing of the troops' disembarkation.

Once landed the African troops were rushed North. In order to have unobstructed passage for the rest of the war, they had to capture Republican-held territory between the coast and Madrid. They advanced very

rapidly, taking Almendralejo on the 7th of August, Mérida on the 8th and Badajoz on the 15th. At Badajoz they met with fierce resistance and suffered heavy casualties before they were able to capture it and take their revenge by rounding up over 2,000 people in the bullring and slaughtering them - one of the bloodiest atrocities of the whole war.

The fascist army continued its drive north on the 20th of August. Thomas notes (p.375) that: *"All the revolutionary collectives formed after the occupations of farms in March collapsed without much fighting, though the collapse was followed by much killing."* This is worth noting, in view of the belief encouraged by the Trotskyites that if one took care of the revolution, the war would take care of itself. What, however, is the point of making revolutionary gains if you have no means at your disposal of defending them?

Assisted by Italian fighter planes which gave the fascists local air control, the African army took Talavera de la Reina on the 3rd of September, well positioned to mount an attack on Toledo and thence on to Madrid. Toledo had been under Republican siege, but the African forces caused the siege to be lifted on the 27th of September, when the fascists took control of Toledo.

In September 1936 the Republicans went on to the offensive in Aragon. The forces concerned were riding high after consolidation of the whole of Catalonia in the Republican side, in which they had won a number of impressive victories. They seemed irresistible. From Catalonia they advanced into Aragón and were able to recapture half its territory before they were brought to a stop. In the view of Tamames, the reason for the loss of impetus lay in the rearguard *"which did not live up to the efforts demanded of it. In Barcelona, while Madrid was short of food, people were living as though there were not a war on. Production was declining because of Anarchist collectivisation. The CNT-FAI, instead of facilitating the advance on the Aragonese territory, to which they had made an extremely important contribution, dedicated itself to making a revolution, and to undermining republican power by creating entities such as the Consejo de Aragón."*

"The lesson to be learnt from the collapse of the advance in Aragon was clear: to win the war and to carry out a libertarian revolution at the same time was simply impossible." But this the Anarchists, encouraged by the POUM Trotskyists, totally failed to understand.

This fact brought the Communist Party into collision with the Anarchists and Trotskyites since it was clear to the Communist Party that the War against fascism had to be won first as a pre-condition to any other advance.

Hence the Communists called for:

- Full power to the People's Front government;
- The formation of a People's Regular Army under a unified and single command, composed of those officers who had proved themselves in the Civil War.

At the same time the Communist Party went ahead with the building up of the Fifth Regiment as the nucleus of a model army.

This programme was greeted by furious opposition on the part of the POUM, the anarchists and even some left socialists. Yet one of the saddest aspects of the anti-fascist struggle in Spain was the criminal waste of life due to the division of the armed forces of the government into Party militias, whose rivalries and jealousies resulted directly in many an unnecessary military debacle.

This is how a German observer described the situation outside Huesca in the early stages of the Civil War:

"Outside Huesca there were the Catalan militia, some centuries drawn from the Civil Guard, and other from the POUM, battalions of the FAI and next to them to United Socialists.

"In all these groups there were brave fighters. But the various leaders had diametrically opposed notions of the correct tactics. Acting in concert the militia would have swamped Huesca. Each individual group operated separately and was separately defeated.

"The socialist group put forward a joint plan of operations, but the neighbouring battalions said that this was superfluous.

"One of the next few days you will wake up and find black and red flags flying over Huesca." (Peter Martin, *Spain between Death and Birth* quoted in Campbell p.352).

The left socialists, who at the time were in control of *Claridad*, greeted the demand for a People's Army with a unified command with the following declaration:

"To think that another type of army can be substituted for those actually fighting, and who in certain ways control their own revolutionary action, is to think in counter-revolutionary terms" (ibid p.353).

After a time the POUM came down in favour of a united army and a unified command. Such an army, however, should be in their view not a

People's Army but only a Workers' Army! It should not be subject to either the government of the Republic, nor to that of Catalonia, but to a military council elected from the workers' organisations. Meanwhile the POUM carried on with the most vicious propaganda against the Madrid and Barcelona governments (in both of which, after September 1936, the workers' representatives were in a majority) being allowed to build up a People's Army, stating that the soldiers of such an Army would be like the *"headless automats who so efficiently click their heels and do or die for Hitler and Mussolini"* and that the communist proposal for a unified command comprising *"the ablest soldiers and the best representatives of the parties and trade unions who enjoy the confidence of the masses"* was tantamount to *"the handing over of absolute control of the Workers' Army to professional militarists."*

While this debate was taking place, Franco was winning battle after battle; while all kinds of anarchist experiments were being conducted in Catalonian industry, the two vitally important essentials for a victory over fascism were being neglected, namely, the creation of a People's Army and the development of a powerful war industry.

On the economic front, the Communist Party advocated that main industries be under state control, but that no attempt should be made to take possession of small shops or workshops. Further, that such state control be used to transform the main industries for war production. The actual situation was that most factories were in the hands of committees of trade unions; there was no co-ordination between the factories; profits earned in these union-controlled enterprises went into union funds; factories in many cases continued to make items such as bath tubs and prams because it was more profitable to do so, when they might have been making munitions for the war against fascism. While this scandalous state of affairs continued, the POUM was screaming that the government was deliberately withholding arms from the Aragón Front. As a matter of fact, the POUM was supporting those who were preventing the transformation of the Catalan industries to supplying the needs of the Aragón Front. Each attempt by the state to control large-scale industry was dubbed an attempt to liquidate workers' control, undo the gains of the revolution and restore the capitalist class.

The Communist Party's demand for a People's Government representing all the organisations of the working class, with full powers to function without having to refer each decision back to the various organisations for confirmation, was greeted by the POUM as:

"Aiming to set up a government with dictatorial powers in which the ministers are not responsible to their respective organisations, in short a strong government which will direct all its efforts to crush the creative revolutionary instinct of the proletariat" (La Batalla, Dec. 16, 1936, quoted ibid. p.356).

In the matter of public order, the Communist Party demanded a reorganised police force under government control by dissolving the workers' patrols which, having performed their original task of dealing with the fascists during the July rebellion, had begun to behave in a most arbitrary fashion, as shown by the massacre at La Faterellas. The peasants of this village, during the course of resistance to forced collectivisation of agriculture, shot two Anarchists. A patrol principally composed of Anarchists arrived from Barcelona and killed half the men of the village in terrible revenge. The demand arose for the suppression of such outrages and the POUM declared:

"This offensive of the Stalinists cannot succeed and will not succeed ... " (ibid. p.357).

Thus it can be seen that the POUM stood for:

- (1) an Army independent of the government, and
- (2) a police force independent of the government, as a first step to the overthrow of the government by civil war.

On the peasant front the POUM, contrary to the demands of the communists and the interests of the Republic's fight against fascism, advocated a policy of forced collectivisation - thus endangering food supplies.

Exclusion of POUM from Government

In view of the foregoing, unless the POUM sabotage of the policy needed to unite the Spanish people was broken, the organisation of the struggle against Franco would have been completely disorganised. And the first pre-requisite for putting an end to this POUM sabotage was to exclude it from government, for how could a party, which denounced day in and day out every decision of the government as counter-revolutionary, be allowed to participate in such a government? This situation, at once tragic and farcical, was ended by the United Socialist-Communist Party of Catalonia precipitating a crisis by demanding the expulsion of the POUM from the government; and after a sharp internal struggle this was agreed. This move of the Communists was denounced by the Trotskyites and their friends as

destructive of the unity of the working class. On the contrary, it marked the beginning of the adoption of a united policy in Republican Spain, in place of the sham unity which only impeded resolute action by the government in defence of the Republic against fascism.

The Second Fascist attack on Madrid

The second fascist attack on Madrid had started, then, in the first week of November, 1936. 25,000 troops were massed 15 miles from Madrid, and troops commanded by Mola captured Getafe Airport on the 4th. Everybody thought the fall of Madrid was just a formality. On the 8th of November, in fact, the Soviet ambassador, Ivan Maiski, met Winston Churchill in London. Churchill was a supporter of Franco, and he and Maiski were getting somewhat heated as Maiski, naturally, supported the Republic. *"Why argue?"* said Churchill, *"In a week's time this disagreeable Spanish problem will have disappeared from the scene ... Franco will be in Madrid in two or three days. Who will even remember the Spanish Republic afterwards?"*

The main fascist offensive against Madrid was led by General Varela, who had just taken over command of the African army from General Yagüe. The slight delay in attacking Madrid was occasioned by a fascist desire to take Madrid on November the 7th as a gesture of reactionary defiance to the Great October Revolution. As we shall see, though, it was the Great October Revolution which triumphed again.

The Republican government, petty-bourgeois as it was, decided it could conduct the war more effectively from the safety of Valencia to where it withdrew. Thus it was left to the militants - the Communists and the United Socialist Youth in particular - to organise the defence of Madrid. Unhindered by the need to please social democrats, they made an excellent job of it. On the night of 6/7 of November they formed a Junta de Defensa under General Miaja. Hastily put together though this was, the people of Madrid under its leadership, *"standing shoulder to shoulder, formed one immense barrier and marched out and took their places in the trenches round the city."*

"Madrid will be Spain's Verdun! 'They shall not pass!' proclaimed the Communist Party, and these slogans were taken up by men and women from every walk of life, who offered their lives to save the city."

"And the fascists did not pass" (Sandóval and Azcárate p.72-3).

Shocked and dismayed at their inability to take Madrid in spite of in-

tensive aerial bombing by German bombers, the fascists decided to leave that particular problem aside for the time being. To start with they decided they needed more men and material, so they turned again to their Italian and German quartermasters demanding supplies. The German ambassador informed his government at this time that *"The military situation is far from satisfactory. The military operations carried out up to now have been undertaken by Moroccan shock troops and legionaries. These troops are in danger of being worn out by Madrid, even if they manage to take the capital."* Both the German and the Italian governments concluded that they needed to step up their military support for Franco. Between December 1936 and March 1937, the Italians shipped 100,000 fresh troops into Spain (70,000 Italian and 30,000 Moorish); the Germans sent the specially-formed Condor Legion made up of 6,000 men and 279 combat aircraft, 180 tanks and masses of support artillery.

Málaga

The new Italian troops were first deployed in the fascist attack on Málaga (chosen by the fascists because Anarchist adventurism had caused chaos within the city administration such that there was nobody to defend it). Málaga fell on the 9th of February 1937 to an army made up of 15,000 Italians, 10,000 Germans, 5,000 Moors and 5,000 Spanish Foreign Legionaries.

Nevertheless the fall of Málaga illustrated the point that the Communist Party had been making: that the Republican armies were inefficient; that what was needed was a single command and a unified army. A huge demonstration in support of these demands took place in Valencia on February 14th, and the government was obliged to respond to the demands of the people and the needs of the war, despite the fears of the 'respectable' petty-bourgeois Republicans in government that the Communist Party was getting far too influential.

Jarama

The fascists, meanwhile, decided to abandon any direct assault Madrid for the time being. Instead they decided to head towards Valencia with a view to cutting off the supply lines between the two cities.

40,000 troops, mainly Africans, supported by the tanks, machine guns and warplanes of the Condor Legion, were ordered on the 5th of February 1937 to cross the Jarama river to cut off the road between Madrid and

Valencia. By the 15th of February, however, they were forced to retreat by the newly-reorganised Republican Army (Mixed Brigades of regular army and people's militias), the 14th and 15th International Brigades and the support of 40 Soviet warplanes - Moscas and Chatos - that had just arrived in Spain: not as many in number as the German warplanes, but technically superior.

In the battle of Jarama both sides suffered heavy losses (estimated at 10,000 on each side), but the Republicans' victory shows how even a newly-formed People's Army, as yet poorly trained and equipped, could nevertheless triumph in open battle against a long-standing professional army: all that is needed is proper organisation and proper discipline, which thanks to Communist influence was provided.

Guadalajara

The victory of Jarama was soon to be followed by another splendid victory at Guadalajara against Mussolini's 'volunteers' - a force of 50,000 men, 222 cannons, 108 tanks, 32 armoured cars and 80 warplanes. The Italians thought that Jarama had been lost by the Franco-ites because of typical Spanish incompetence, and they decided *"to give Spain and the rest of the world an exhibition of their strength and strategic wisdom. In March 1937 the Italian Expeditionary Force ... initiated the fourth attack on Madrid, this time through Guadalajara. Relying upon their lavish resources in men and arms, the Italian fascists announced they would seize Madrid and bring down the Republic in a matter of day."* (Sandóval and Azcárate, p.78).

As it was, it was the Italians who were brought down. The battle lasted from the 8th of March to the 21st by which time the Italian divisions had been routed. The Italians lost 8,000 men (3,000 dead, 1,000 captured, 4,000 wounded) as well as vast quantities of arms and stores.

The North

Severely mauled in their attempts to encircle and defeat Madrid, the fascists turned next to the North and launched, on the 1st of April 1937, an offensive to capture it. The Basques had finally received their longed-for autonomy after the start of the Civil War, and they were for this reason staunchly Republican. But a number of factors weakened the Northern front:

1. Access to the French frontier (and thus to supplies through France) had been closed off by the fascists seizing Irún (on 5 September 1936) and San Sebastián (13 September 1936).

2. The Northern Zone operated as three distinct semi-autonomous states - the Basque country, Asturias and the Santander area. There was virtually no coordination between them, and they failed to take advantage of the natural defences surrounding the area.

3. There was no effective Republican army in the area. The Basques refused to fight except on Basque territory.

4. According to Sandóval and Azcárate (p.107) *"Unfortunately the policy of the leadership of the Nationalist Party was not worthy of the efforts, the sacrifice and the heroism of the fighters. The Nationalist Party had complete control over the Basque government, and its overriding desire was to prevent the introduction in the Basque country of the democratic changes that had already taken place in the rest of Republican territory. It refused to form the People's Army. The workers obtained neither social nor political benefits. The Basque government did nothing to gear the country's industrial potential to meet the needs of the war, even when the continued existence of Basque freedom was at stake."*

5. The fascists were able to impose a sea blockade, preventing supplies from arriving by sea.

In spite of all the difficulties faced by the Republicans, the capture of the North was no pushover, and on the 20th of April 1937, it was decided to use saturation bombing in an endeavour to break the spirit of the civilian population. The well-known bombing of Guernica was effected by German planes. 1654 people were killed and 889 injured as this town of 7,000 people was bombed on a busy market day. Two days later Guernica fell to fascist land forces, as did Durango. On the 30th of April, Italian troops entered Bermeo.

The rest of Republican Spain, itself under constant threat not only from the fascists but also (in Catalonia) from the POUM, could do little to help.

In spite of the overwhelming forces ranged by the fascists against them, the people of the North put up a spirited defence. They sank the Franco-ite cruiser *España*, and they laid siege to Bermeo. Nevertheless the fascists advanced inexorably through heavy fighting towards Bilbao. In Bilbao it proved impossible to organise a Junta de Defensa like the one that had

defended Madrid, partly because of lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Basque government, and partly because of a mass exodus of Bilbainos towards Santander. Nothing was organised, not even the dynamiting of the bridges to hinder the fascist advance. Nor would the Basques sabotage the iron mines or the steelworks to prevent them falling into enemy hands. The mistakes of Málaga were being repeated. In mid-June Bilbao fell and the Germans rushed in to take over the iron works. On the 26th of August Santander fell. Finally, despite valiant efforts on the Republican side to create diversions in other parts of Spain, Gijón fell on the 21st of October, thereby bringing to an end the Republican Northern Zone. It has to be said, though, that many fighters fled to the hills from where they maintained an ongoing guerrilla offensive for many years against the Franco regime.

POUM putsch

While the fascists were destroying republican strongholds in the North, the POUM was redoubling its efforts at sabotage in the republican rear. The reply of the POUM to its exclusion from the government of Catalonia (the *Generalitat*) was to start preparations for a putsch whose sole aim was, and could not have been otherwise, to disorganise the rear of the resistance of the anti-fascist people's forces. The enlarged Central Committee of the POUM, in a lengthy resolution published subsequently on the 16th of December 1936 in its organ *La Batalla*, called for the creation of organs of dual power side by side with the existing government, for the purpose of overthrowing the latter. In other words, the POUM advocated the creation of conditions of civil war in the camp of the popular forces just at a time when Franco was still advancing and winning battles! In its resolution the POUM made indulgent use of 'revolutionary' and ultra-left phrases as camouflage for a policy of opposing every attempt to create a People's Army and Police force under the Republican government, and of resisting, in the name of socialism (of course), government control of the economy of Catalonia.

And as the government advanced in the direction of achieving these objectives, so necessary for a victorious fight against fascism, the POUM denounced, day after day and in ever shriller tones, these measures as being designed to take away the *"gains of the revolution"*, and to bring back the capitalists and landlords who had fled abroad in an attempt to come to an understanding with Franco. The POUM's calls for an uprising against the government became more frequent and insistent. On 22 March 1937 *La Ba-*

talla said:

"Because of this our Party unceasingly shows the way; a revolutionary workers' front which will enable us to reach the end of the present stage and install a Workers' and Peasants' Government through the conquest of power ... "

In April, Andreas Nin wrote:

"No time must be lost. If we further passively watch the rebuilding of the bourgeois apparatus of power, the Spanish working class will have lost the most extraordinary opportunity that has been given for its emancipation. ... Then it will be too late. We must strike the iron while it is hot."

On May 1st, Nin declared in an article in *La Batalla*:

"The working class must cut the threads that bind it to the bourgeois democracy and decisively take the path of the conquest of power. There is still time. Tomorrow it will be too late."

Andrade, in the same issue of *La Batalla*, declared:

"The revolutionary working-class organisations must regain their full economic and political independence; they must abandon all kinds of confused co-operation with the fractions of the petty bourgeoisie and of reformism on the political field."

Another appeal in *La Batalla* on May 1st 1937 said:

"For two days the working class has been mounting guard. The men in the factories and workshops are watching night and day over the welfare of the Revolution which has been endangered by the weak and crooked policy of the reformists. They are not uncontrollables and provocateurs. They are the conscious sentinels who are watching the rearguard. They are waiting with their rifles ready, for the working class has exhausted its patience. They are tired of so much feebleness on the part of cardboard governments formed on the basis of impotent compromises ... we shall continue on guard henceforth, for we can no longer tolerate the lame policy of the Valencian and Catalanian Governments. A policy of compromises. A policy against the working class. A policy of putting the brakes on the Revolution. A policy directed to a new upsurge of the bourgeoisie who were hurled down on July 19th."

On May 1st we also find this last-minute announcement:

"All members of our party belonging to the People's Military School who have been appointed to different places in Catalonia or to the fronts are earnestly requested to report to the Executive Military Committee, to Rambla Esta-

dios, headquarters of the Executive Committee."

On May 2nd *La Batalla* said:

"It is no longer a question of achieving immediate demands. Today the task is different. It is the seizure of power by all the workers."

Also on May 2nd *La Batalla* printed a statement of the Executive of the POUM which said:

"We are in agreement with one of the anarchist groups, which is at present in conflict with the Governmental CNT leaders and has issued the following slogans: 'All power to the working class. All economic power to the trade unions'".

The Anarchist group referred to in the quotation immediately preceding was the so-called 'Friends of Durruti', which was rotten with fascist agents and was later resolutely repudiated by the CNT itself. Having failed to win the anarchist unions for a putsch policy, the POUM moved in the direction of splitting them.

And on the following day, 3rd May 1937, the insurrection that the POUM had been calling for took place.

The situation between April 25th and May 1st was so tense that the government of Catalonia banned all May Day demonstrations. The POUM responded to this ban through its spokesman Nin as follows:

"The working class must cut the threads which bind it to the bourgeois democracy and decisively take the path of the conquest of power. THERE IS STILL TIME. TOMORROW IT WILL BE TOO LATE."

No wonder, then, that the government, reading the incitements to insurrection occurring all around it, decided to take action. The criticism of the government is not that it took action to crush the insurrection but that it did not act early enough to stop it altogether. The fascist provocateurs got the conflict they had been working for.

Though the failure of the POUM to secure the support of the anarchist trade union, the CNT, condemned the insurrection to an early defeat, the POUM continued with it - along with two extreme Anarchist organisations, the 'Friends of Durruti' and 'Anarchist Youth' - thus prolonging the purposeless bloodletting.

And so the fascist provocateurs inside and outside the POUM and the organisations of anarchist extremists staged their greatest and most specta-

cular act of sabotage. But they were crushed. Since, for the purpose of carrying out their putsch, the Trotskyite POUM and the extreme anarchists had withdrawn their troops from the Aragon Front, the latter was weakened at a time of fascist pressure.

Cleansing the rear

The Spanish people now became convinced of the necessity of cleansing the rear at all costs. The central government of Largo Caballero, which had for so long tolerated the POUM and the anarchist uncontrollables, was brought down and replaced by a government able and willing to concentrate the popular forces for the winning of the war. The new government began its work decisively. It disarmed anarchist 'patrols' and replaced them by responsible police in control of trusted communists and socialists. Compulsory collectivisation and requisitions on the peasantry, interference with small shopkeeping - currency smuggling, import of arms for political groups as distinct from the Front, were stopped. The senseless and insane excesses which had for so long disfigured the Revolution and undermined its unity and purpose were ended. But the situation was such that these excesses could not be ended without supplementing persuasion with force. Those who were either provocateurs or had a vested interest in the persistence of anarchy had to be dealt with harshly. It was this process of securing a rear under one authority instead of under groups of squabbling rival committees, of ensuring the organisation of all available resources under one control for the winning of the war against fascism - this noblest of the tasks then facing the Spanish Revolution - that has since been portrayed by the Trotskyist and other agents of the bourgeoisie as the 'terror in Spain'. This gentry 'forgets' to mention the terror of fascism unleashed by Franco's victory, to which the POUM Trotskyists and the Anarchist Uncontrollables made very large and shameful contributions by their erroneous policy, disruption, sabotage and downright provocation.

Spies and Agents Provocateurs

In the course of its cleansing operations, the Spanish police raided the Peruvian embassy in Madrid. There it discovered the details of a well-organised fascist espionage group in touch with agents at the headquarters of the General Staff, the military medical service, the information services of the War Ministry, the anti-aerial Defence Bureau of the Naval and Air Min-

istry and a number of government organisations. In one of the documents discovered in the course of the unmasking of this organisation we read the following:

"On the other hand the grouping of our forces for a rearguard movement proceeds with a certain slowness. None the less we rely on four hundred men who are ready to act. These are well-armed and in favourable positions on the Madrid front; the infiltration of our men into the extremist Anarchist and POUM ranks is being carried out successfully. We need a good propaganda chief who would carry on this work independently of ourselves so as to be able to act in greater safety.

"... In fulfilment of your order I went myself to Barcelona to interview a leading member of the POUM. I communicated to him all you had indicated. The lack of communications between yourself and him is explained by the breakdown of the broadcasting station, which began to function again while I was still there. You will certainly have received an answer with regard to the fundamental problem. N particularly requests you and the foreign friends that the person indicated to communicate with him should be myself alone and exclusively. He has promised me to send new people to Madrid to activate the POUM's work. With these reinforcements the POUM will become, as in Barcelona, a firm and effective support for our movement."

The 'N' referred to in the document cited above was none other than Andreas Nin, leader of the POUM. For this he was arrested, but was later rescued by fascists disguised in military uniforms, who resorted to this measure in the hope of preventing the authorities from securing new and fuller proofs of their crimes.

On October 23rd, the Chief of the Barcelona police, Lieutenant-Colonel Burillo, gave representatives of the press a detailed account of the discovery of a similar POUM plot in Catalonia.

Trotskyites outside Spain

The activity of the Trotskyites and near-Trotskyite organisations outside Spain was conducted in the same spirit and for the same objectives as of those operating inside Spain. It is therefore hardly coincidental that in the months between October and December 1937, when everyone expected a determined fascist offensive against the Republican government, the Trotskyites redoubled their attacks against the People's government. Trotsky himself came out with a bitter denunciation of the Soviet Union, which was

given the widest coverage in the pro-Franco imperialist press and right-wing socialist papers. Said Trotsky:

"It is necessary to pass to an international offensive against Stalinism."

And one of the centres of Stalinism against which it was necessary to develop an international offensive was, of course, the People's Government in Spain!

"The events of recent months in Spain have demonstrated what crimes the Moscow bureaucracy, now completely degenerate, linked with its international mercenaries, are capable of."

"In Spain where the so-called Republican Government serves as a screen for the criminal bands of Stalinism, the GPU has found the most favourable arena for carrying out the directives of the Plenum." (It is time to pass to an international offensive against Stalinism, November 1937).

An international offensive of the dupes of Trotskyism against the Spanish republic, to coincide with the offensive of Franco - such was the contribution of Trotskyism in the most critical period of the struggle of the Spanish people against local and international fascism. The experience of Spain merely confirmed the experience of the Soviet Union as to the counter-revolutionary pro-fascist character of Trotskyism.

Brunete

Republican forces between the 6th and 26th of July 1937 mounted an offensive against the fascists at Brunete, East of Madrid. The aim of the offensive was partly to take the pressure off the Northern front, and partly to encircle and besiege Varela's forces outside Madrid. In this attack the Republicans were at first able to capture Brunete, but on the 25th of July the Franco-ites took it back after receiving heavy reinforcements from the Northern front, from where the Condor Legion was brought back for the purpose of retaking Brunete. The battle ended with 23,000 Republican losses and over 13,000 losses on the fascist side. The offensive had succeeded in breaking up the fascist front, but the gains were not built upon or followed up. The Basques were unable to build on the respite that they had gained.

A similar offensive was launched in September 1937 at Belchite on the Aragón front, with similar results. Belchite, however, fell to Republican forces on the 6th of September, and they held on to it for several months.

Teruel

The Republicans waited until December to launch their next offensive - at Teruel. 100,000 troops were ranged to recapture Teruel, with a view to disrupting a gathering of fascist forces at Guadalajara that was preparing to attack Madrid. On the 15th of December 1937 the Republicans besieged Teruel. In freezing weather conditions, and beating off a counter-attack from the Franco-ites (which were successfully diverted from their proposed attack on Madrid) the Republicans were, with a great deal of difficulty, finally able to take Teruel on the 8th of January. But again Germany and Italy came to Franco's rescue:

"... The German ambassador in Salamanca, von Stohrer, sent a telegram to Hitler to say that Franco would be unable to continue the war without a great increase in foreign aid. And so, while the Western powers tightened the noose of Non-Intervention with which the Spanish people were being strangled, Germany and Italy again increased their deliveries of war material and the despatch of entire military units to Franco. This enabled him to organise a big offensive ... On February 22 he recaptured Teruel. On March 9, thanks to his overwhelming superiority in aircraft, artillery and other equipment, he succeeded in making a breakthrough on the Eastern front and started to advance towards the Mediterranean."

On April the 15th, the enemy reached Viñaroz on the Mediterranean coast, cutting Republican territory in two. But the River Ebro stood between the fascists and Catalonia; and the river Segre between them and Valencia, so the Republicans still had every hope of forcing the fascists to retreat.

Unfortunately, however, the defeat at Teruel broke the spirit of some sections of the petty-bourgeois supporters of the Republic. For instance, the Socialist Minister of War, Indalecio Prieto, who had always been sceptical (or nervous?) of the abilities of a People's Army, became openly defeatist and had to be removed from office. The people of Spain, however, were in no mood for surrender. For one thing, the events of the war had shown them how Franco could be expected to treat them if they did surrender, and the feeling was that one might as well die fighting.

On April 20, 1938, the Republican government put forward an agreed peace offer to the other side - a 13-point programme for a way to end the war without reprisals. But to get the offer accepted the government needed

to put more pressure on Franco to convince him of the futility of fighting on. Hence on 25 July 1938, the Republicans again went on the offensive, crossing the Ebro in the dead of night to recapture lost territory to the South of Catalonia. The fascists had far superior forces, outnumbering the Republicans in the order of 12-1 as regards heavy artillery, 15-1 in bomber planes and 10-1 in fighter aircraft. In spite of that, the Republicans won a magnificent victory and were able to hang on to their gains for 3 months.

Meanwhile Hitler and Chamberlain were talking at Munich (29-30 September, 1938), and, as is well-known, Chamberlain made it known to Hitler that he was in no immediate danger from his imperialist rivals. Hence Hitler was encouraged to step up his aggression. He knew that in Spain, for instance, he could put the boot in and France, Britain and the UK would not lift a finger to stop him. On the 30th of October the Spanish fascists, then, launched a counter-attack against the Republican army of the Ebro, who by the 18th of November were forced back across the Ebro. According to Hugh Thomas, the Republicans lost 70,000 men in the fighting - 30,000 dead, 20,000 prisoners - including three quarters of the remaining members of the International Brigades. Fascist losses were also high at 33,000.

The Fall of Catalonia.

Following defeat at the Ebro and the renewed vigour of the German fascists towards pressing home their advantage in Spain, it was only a matter of time before Catalonia was taken. The French had closed the border on the 12th of June 1938 so that Catalonia could be starved of supplies. Aeroplanes provided by the Soviet government, 500 pieces of artillery and 10,000 machine guns were held up in France. Franco had 340,000 men at his disposal and abundant arms continuously being supplied by his allies. *"Throughout November and December 1938 convoys of Italian and German ships constantly arrived at the ports in Franco's zone, bringing thousands of troops and military technicians and thousands of tons of war material".* (Sandoval and Azcárate p.127).

The allies had only 120,000 ill-equipped men, of whom only 37,000 had rifles.

The fascist attack on Catalonia started on 23 December 1938. Thanks to heroic fighting by the Republican Army the advance was retarded, but could not be contained. Tarragona fell on the 14th of January 1939. The government moved from Barcelona to Gerona. Barcelona fell on the 26th

of January. Catalonia having fallen, the British government decided to recognise the Franco regime as the legitimate government of Spain: the purpose of this was to keep in Franco's good books in order to have some influence over Spain when the war was over.

After the fall of Catalonia, the Republic's resistance fell apart. The non-Communists in the government tried to save themselves by agreeing to surrender while the Communists still saw merit in hanging on, with no fewer than 700,000 Republican troops available in the remaining Republican areas and a highly volatile international situation which might at any moment turn to their advantage. Socialists however, who had for quite some time been dragging their feet - partly through defeatism, but also because they were beginning to fear that victory in the war would mean Communism, such was the prestige that the Communists had gained through their conduct of the war, and Communism they did not feel was worth fighting for - turned against the Communists. Fighting started between the former allies of the Popular Front. Casado, the Socialist leader, who had been in contact with Franco for some time to discuss terms of surrender, removed all Communists from their military posts. 12,000 Communists were thrown into prison, many to be handed over in due course to Franco. At this point the war was lost.

On Tuesday 28 March 1939, the fascists entered Madrid and by 30 March, the whole of Spain had fallen.

"The war was over. But for Spain there came the terrible peace of the scaffold, the firing squads at dawn, the inquisitorial tortures, the ruthless extermination of Communists - yes, and Socialists, Anarchists and Republicans as well.

"Torrents of blood extinguished the beacon of heroism that had burned so brightly for two years and eight months, illuminating the world and forging the spirit of resistance among the peoples." (Sandóval and Azcárate, p.147).

Non-Intervention

Finally, a few words on non-intervention. The Spanish Civil War, it must be appreciated, was the dress rehearsal for the Second World War. Germany and Italy had an interest in Spain partly because of its strategic position from the point of view of control of the Mediterranean, and partly because of its mineral resources which made it an attractive asset to an imperialist power with military ambitions. Moreover, Spanish mineral wealth

was overwhelmingly British-owned and since the British were the imperialist rivals that Germany needed to dispossess, it was desirable to deprive the British of their Spanish influence.

German and Italian intervention in the Spanish Civil War, therefore, was one of the first steps taken by the fascist regimes of those countries to attack the imperialist interests of the relatively enfeebled British and French imperialists. Being enfeebled the latter were not, however, keen to take on the frenzied might of their challengers. British and French policy, therefore, evolved to try to persuade Hitler to make a priority of attacking the Soviet Union, thereby weakening both their enemies at once and leaving them very much in control of the situation. Stalin and the CPSU, fully appreciating where British and French imperialist interests lay, were concerned above all to frustrate these plans and, insofar as it was possible, to keep the Soviet Union out of the war. To fight any war at all, however, certainly against an enemy as powerful as the Soviet Union, or even British and French imperialism, Hitler and Mussolini had to gobble up as many sources of supplies of men and materials as it possibly could before the outbreak of the major hostilities. In this context Spain looked very appetising, having both a large population and valuable resources that could be mobilised for war.

This is why right from the start of the rebellion of the fascist officers, Hitler and Mussolini supported them to the hilt. But paralysed by hopes that Hitler might be persuaded by kindness and understanding to attack the Soviet Union first, the British and French failed to take the obvious step of supporting the fascists' opponents. They even went out of their way to sabotage the fascists' opponents, which must have been a source of great amusement in Berlin and in Rome.

As far as the Soviet Union was concerned, it was quite aware that every one of the fascist hyenas was its enemy, and a strong enemy at that. Its allies were the peace-loving working classes and peasant masses of Europe who had not the slightest interest in the way the imperialist bandits shared the loot or in dying in a war to redivide that loot. This is why the Soviet Union did wholeheartedly support the cause of the Spanish people, notwithstanding the danger that this might in fact draw it into a war with Germany that it was anxious to put off for as long as was possible. The people of Spain had a loyal friend in the Soviet Union, which could be relied upon to do everything in its power to promote their cause and to frustrate the designs of every imperialist power. As Stalin said in a telegram sent to Jose Díaz on

the 15th of October, 1936:

"The toilers of the Soviet Union only fulfil their duty when they give aid to the Spanish revolutionary masses. They are aware that the liberation of Spain from the persecution of Fascist reactionaries is not a private cause of Spaniards, but a universal cause of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind. Fraternal Greetings."

As we have seen, if the fascists won in Spain, it was only because of the massive aid received from Italy and Germany, aided and abetted by the sabotage of the Republican effort by the British, French and Americans.

This sabotage was coordinated through the fraudulent front of a 'Non-Intervention Committee' (the London Committee), which by appealing to peace sought to mobilise ordinary people meekly to accept the aggression being meted out to their class brothers and sisters in Spain. As the American historian F.J. Taylor pointed out, the US, France and Britain were *"collaborators with the Axis"* and thus committed *"one of the blackest crimes against freedom in modern times."*

According to international law, when civil war breaks out all non-combatant countries have an obligation to supply the legal government of the country concerned. Through the guise of 'non-intervention', Britain and France secured an EMBARGO on the supply of materials to the legal government of Spain while the Germans and Italians blatantly supplied the rebels with as much as they wanted.

In theory the non-intervention was organised, on the initiative of the French social-democratic Popular Front government (headed by the arch-opportunist Leon Blum) taken on the 6th of August 1936 to propose a non-intervention agreement. This agreement was, in the event, signed by 27 European states, who agreed not to send arms directly or indirectly to either side in the Spanish conflict. Among the signatories were - Germany and Italy, who, as we have seen and as later became obvious, had no intention whatsoever of abiding by it. It was also signed by the Soviet Union, a fact that set off the predictable chorus of cries of Betrayal from the Trotskyites and other counter-revolutionaries. But the Soviet Union signed in the hope that it would be possible through this Agreement to put pressure on German and Italian fascism to stop their intervention in Spain or to mobilise the other countries to stand up to German and Italian breaches of the agreement. In the event none of these possibilities materialised, since within 3 months it became clear that the whole agreement was a fraud from start

to finish, whereupon the Soviet Union, after several warnings to the London Committee, withdrew from it. These facts are evidenced by official letters sent by the Soviet Union to the London Committee on the 7th and 23rd of October 1936.

The first of these read: *"The Soviet government cannot, in any event, consent to the Non-Intervention agreement being transformed by certain of the parties into a screen intended to conceal the military aid being given to the rebels against the legal Spanish government."*

"Consequently the Soviet government finds itself obliged to state that if these violations do not cease immediately the USSR will consider itself freed from any obligations ensuing from the 'Non-Intervention' agreement."

The second read: *"The Soviet government cannot feel itself bound by the Non-Intervention agreement to any greater degree than any of the other parties to that agreement."*

And thenceforth the Soviet government did all it could to supply the Republicans with everything they needed, from men (through the International Brigades who sent some 35,000 men to Spain), to military advisers from its own army, to armaments and food.

And in the long run the Soviet people benefited from the unstinting aid they gave to the Spanish people. For surely the heroism of the Spanish people when organised by Communist methods to fight the fascist armies and to win against enormous odds must have been instrumental in convincing Hitler that it would not be a good plan to take on a Communist state as the British and French were urging him to do. Hence the heroism of the Spanish people were an important factor in the ultimate defeat of fascism in Europe.

PART VI

On Collectivisation

"Only if we succeed in practice in showing the peasants the advantages of common, collective, co-operative, artel cultivation of the soil, ... will the working class, which holds state power in its hands, actually prove to the peasants the correctness of its policy and actually secure the real and durable following of the vast masses of the peasantry."

- Lenin

"... the proclamation of a slogan is not enough to cause the peasantry to turn en masse towards socialism. At least one more circumstance is needed for this, namely, that the masses of the peasantry themselves should be convinced that the slogan proclaimed is a correct one and that they should accept it as their own."

"Collective farms must not be established by force. That would be foolish and reactionary."

- Stalin

Chapter 18

Collectivisation

[Written by way of a Preface to Stalin's writings on Collectivisation]

The question of collectivisation in the Soviet Union has always been a most controversial issue - both within the USSR and outside it. And it could not be otherwise, because of the general importance of collectivisation in connection with the question of building the material basis of socialism in the countryside. We shall, therefore, begin by making a few remarks about the importance of collectivisation in general; we shall then take this opportunity to deal with the two deviations - the right and the 'left' deviation - from the Party's Leninist line on collectivisation, against which the Party line had to contend in a most fierce struggle in order to be victorious; and finally we shall show that the frenzied howls of the bourgeoisie of all countries, and of its agents in the working-class movement, the Trotskyists, the revisionists, the social-democrats, and reformists and reactionaries of all colours and shades, against collectivisation in the USSR are nothing but a disguised - and in some cases open - defence of capitalism, or, more correctly, of its restoration.

A. The general importance of collectivisation.

(1) Firstly, collectivisation is of tremendous significance from the point of view of the peasantry, for small-scale peasant farming inevitably leads to the ruin, destitution and pauperisation of the overwhelming majority of the peasant population. Here are a few pronouncements of Lenin's on this score:

"There is no escape from poverty for the small farm." (Lenin, *SW* Vol 8, p.195).

"The small-farming system under commodity production cannot save mankind from the poverty and oppression of the masses." (Lenin, *SW* Vol 6, p.60).

"If we continue as of old on our small farms, even as free citizens on free

land, we shall still be faced with inevitable ruin." (Lenin, SW Vol 6, p.370).

"Only with the help of common, artel, cooperative labour can we escape from the impasse into which imperialist war has landed us." (Lenin, SW Vol 8, p.193).

"We must pass to common cultivation in large model farms. Otherwise there will be no escaping from the dislocation, from the truly desperate situation in which Russia finds itself." (Lenin, SW Vol 6, p.371).

(2) Secondly, only through the medium of collectivisation could the working class, which held state power, secure the durable following of the vast masses of the peasantry; only through collectivisation could the working class effectively maintain its leadership of the main mass of the peasantry in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Only if we succeed in practice in showing the peasants the advantages of common, collective, co-operative, artel cultivation of the soil, only if we succeed in helping the peasant by means of co-operative, artel farming, will the working class, which holds state power in its hands, actually prove to the peasant the correctness of its policy and actually secure the real and durable following of the vast masses of the peasantry." (Lenin, SW, Vol 8, p.198).

(3) As long as small-scale peasant farming lasted, the danger of restoration of capitalism presented itself as the most real of all dangers, for the "Soviet regime could not for long continue to rest upon two opposite foundations: on large-scale socialist industry, which destroys the capitalist elements, and on small, individual peasant farming, which engenders capitalist elements." (Stalin, Works Vol 13 p. 176).

Here is what Lenin has to say on this account:

"As long as we live in a small-peasant country, there is a surer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for communism. This must be borne in mind. Anyone who has carefully observed life in the countryside as compared with life in the towns, knows that we have not torn out the roots of capitalism and have not undermined the foundation, the basis of the internal enemy. The latter depends on small-scale production, and there is only one way of undermining it, namely, to place the economy of the country, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, the technical basis of modern large-scale production. And it is only electricity that is such a basis. Communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country. Otherwise, the country will remain a small-peasant country, and we have got to understand that clearly. We are weaker

than capitalism, not only on a world scale, but also within the country. Everybody knows this. We are conscious of it, and we shall see to it that our economic base is transformed from a small-peasant base into a large-scale industrial base. Only when the country has been electrified, only when our industry, our agriculture, our transport system have been placed upon the technical basis of modern large-scale industry, shall we achieve final victory."

And further:

"Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale."

(4) Finally, the collective farms are the medium best suited to remoulding the individualist peasantry in the spirit of collectivism, in the spirit of socialism, thereby bringing it closer to the working class; they are the only medium through which the bond between the working class and the peasantry can be strengthened in such a way as to bring the peasantry closer to the working class and thus pave the way for the elimination and abolition of classes. As Stalin said:

"Whoever does not realise this, or refuses to recognise it, is not a Marxist, not a Leninist, but a 'peasant philosopher', who looks backward instead of forward." (Works Vol 9, p.222)

And why are collective farms the medium most suited to remoulding the peasantry in a collectivist spirit? Why are they the medium that paves the way for the abolition of classes? The answer lies in the fact that they establish between the working class and the peasantry a bond which is based on metal, on new technical equipment and on collective labour; and it is precisely such a bond that is required to remould the small tiller. Here is what Comrade Lenin has to say in this context:

"The remaking of the small tiller, the remoulding of his whole mentality and habits, is a work of generations. As regards the small tiller, this problem can be solved, his whole mentality can be put on healthy lines, so to speak, only by the material base, by technical means, by introducing tractors and machines in agriculture on a mass scale, by electrification on a mass scale. That is what would remake the small tiller fundamentally and with immense rapidity."

Such is the Leninist plan for remoulding the peasantry, for bringing it closer to the working class, and for creating the necessary conditions for the elimination of all classes. This Leninist plan is completely opposed to the

silly little reactionary Utopias that one hears so often put about by 'socialists' who would rather build 'socialism' in the minds of the people without constructing a material base for it. Lenin's plan, on the other hand, shows the only way of remoulding the peasantry, namely, by creating the material conditions necessary for such remoulding. According to Lenin, socialism cannot be built just in the minds of the people: it has a material basis. It is only by ignoring this revolutionary teaching of Lenin's that some 'socialists' are able to criticise collectivisation and industrialisation in the USSR.

The above, then, briefly, is the significance of collectivisation. It can now clearly be seen that those who are opposed to the collectivisation of agriculture are the enemies of the peasantry, enemies of the working class and enemies of socialism and communism.

Let us now pass to the two deviations from the Party's Leninist line on collectivisation.

B. Two deviations from the Party's Leninist line on collectivisation

First deviation - the 'left' (Trotskyist) deviation

Briefly, the 'left' (Trotskyist) deviation can be summed up in the following words: it sees in the *entire* peasantry nothing but an instrument for the restoration of capitalism; it looks upon the basic mass of the peasantry as a reactionary mass which cannot be relied upon, and, therefore, advocates not an alliance with the basic mass of the peasantry but a 'discord' with it; and above all it believes in the impossibility of successfully building socialism in one country taken separately. All this explains the adventurism characteristic of the policies advocated by the Trotskyists. This adventurism alone explains why Trotsky and Zinoviev tried their utmost to force on the Party full-scale collectivisation at the 14th Party Congress in December 1925.

Of course the Party rejected this adventurist policy, for reasons to be made clear shortly. Since the rejection by the Party of Trotskyist adventurism (which has special appeal for the petty bourgeois who is always on the look out for something exciting to fill his otherwise empty, boring and meaningless life) in matters of collectivisation, the Trotskyists have spread the legend that the policy of collectivisation was adopted too late, that the Bolshevik Party and Stalin did not realise the bestial nature of the kulak until the latter attempted in 1928 to threaten the very existence of the Soviet regime by refusing to sell grain to the Soviet state, thus presenting the towns and the Red Army with the spectacle of starvation and famine. This criti-

cism is associated with the Trotskyist opposition in the USSR.

This criticism is, however, totally unfounded and is based upon the usual Trotskyist substitution of wishful thinking for actual reality. Trotskyism would cease to be Trotskyism if it took concrete reality as its point of departure. That the kulaks were the *"Most bestial, brutal and savage exploiters"* and had therefore to be eliminated is hardly a discovery of Trotskyism. Here is how Lenin depicted the kulaks:

"The kulaks are most bestial, brutal and savage exploiters, who in the history of other countries have time and again restored the power of the landlords, tsars, priests and capitalists. The kulaks are more numerous than the landlords and capitalists. Nevertheless, the kulaks are a minority of the people ... These bloodsuckers have grown rich on the want suffered by the people during the war; they have raked in thousands and hundreds of thousands of roubles by raising the prices of grain and other products. These spiders have grown fat at the expense of the peasants who have been ruined by the war, and at the expense of the hungry workers. These leeches have sucked the blood of the toilers and have grown the richer, the more the workers in the cities and factories have suffered hunger. These vampires have been gathering and are gathering the landed estates into their hands; they keep on enslaving the poor peasants."

That the elimination of the kulaks as a class and the collectivisation of the peasantry were the only way of safeguarding socialism is also no discovery of Trotskyism; the already-cited passage from Comrade Lenin's works are ample proof of this.

The question therefore arises: in view of the enormous significance of collectivisation and of the necessity of eliminating the kulaks as a class, why was collectivisation not embarked upon earlier, and why were the kulaks not eliminated earlier than they actually were? Why did the Bolshevik Party, as far back as the Eighth Party Congress, proclaim the policy of *restricting* the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks rather than proclaim a policy of *elimination* of the kulaks as a class? Why did the Party reject the Trotskyist demand for elimination of the kulaks in 1926?

The answer lies in the fact that had the Party undertaken an offensive against the kulaks without preparing the necessary conditions for the successful outcome of this offensive, then the offensive would have proved to be the most reckless adventurism and would certainly have failed. And failure would have meant the strengthening of the kulaks. An offensive against the kulaks at an earlier time, say 1926-7, would certainly have failed

because at that time there did not exist in the Soviet countryside a wide network of state farms and collective farms which could furnish the basis for a determined struggle against the kulaks, because at that time the Soviet state was unable to replace the capitalist kulak production by the socialist production of state farms and collective farms. Here is what Comrade Stalin says on the point under consideration:

"In 1926-1927, the Zinoviev-Trotsky opposition did its utmost to impose upon the Party the policy of an immediate offensive against the kulaks. The Party did not embark on that dangerous adventure, for it knew that serious people cannot afford to play at an offensive. An offensive against the kulaks is a serious matter. It should not be confused with declamations against the kulaks. Nor should it be confused with a policy of pinpricks against the kulaks, which the Zinoviev-Trotsky opposition did its utmost to impose upon the Party. To launch an offensive against the kulaks means that we must smash the kulaks, eliminate them as a class. Unless we set ourselves these aims, an offensive would be mere declamation, pin-pricks, phrasemongering, anything but a real Bolshevik offensive. To launch an offensive against the kulaks means that we must prepare for it and then strike at the kulaks, strike so hard as to prevent them from rising to their feet again. That is what we Bolsheviks call a real offensive. Could we have undertaken such an offensive some five years or three years ago with any prospect of success? No, we could not.

"Indeed, in 1927 the kulaks produced over 600,000,000 poods of grain, about 130,000,000 poods of which they marketed outside the rural districts. That was a rather serious power, which had to be reckoned with. How much did our collective farms and state farms produce at that time? About 80,000,000 poods, of which about 35,000,000 poods were sent to the market (marketable grain). Judge for yourselves, could we at that time have REPLACED the kulak output and kulak marketable grain by the output and marketable grain of our collective farms and state farms? Obviously, we could not.

"What would it have meant to launch a determined offensive against the kulaks under such conditions? It would have meant certain failure, strengthening the position of the kulaks and being left without grain. That is why we could not and should not have undertaken a determined offensive against the kulaks at that time, in spite of the adventurist declamations of the Zinoviev-Trotsky opposition". (Works Vol 12 pp 174-5).

This then explains why the kulaks, why these "bloodsuckers," these "spiders," these "leeches", and these "vampires" were tolerated and why the

Party pursued the policy of *restricting* their exploiting tendencies rather than that of their outright elimination. This, then, explains why the Party at its Eighth Congress adopted the policy of *restricting* the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks, why this policy was again announced at the 11th Party Congress at the time of the introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP), why this policy was confirmed by the Fifteenth Congress of the Party, and why the Party pursued this line right up to the summer of 1929. As Comrade Stalin correctly remarked, *"the proclamation of a slogan is not enough to cause the peasantry to turn en masse towards socialism"*.

C. The Trotskyist recipe for disaster through "discord" with the peasantry versus the Leninist formula for building socialism through a "stable alliance" with the main mass of the peasantry

If the 'left' (Trotskyist) deviation had gained ascendancy in the Party, the result would have been the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. For what the Trotskyists were advocating amounted to no less than a declaration of civil war against the main mass of the peasantry, namely, the middle peasantry, i.e., 60% of the peasantry. The declaration of such a civil war against the middle peasantry would have meant the bringing of the Soviet regime into a *"hostile collision"* with the main mass of the peasantry. And such a *"hostile collision"* could not but represent a most serious danger to the very existence of the Soviet regime. Small wonder that the Party rejected such an adventurist 'policy' as that advocated by Trotskyism.

Anyone who is in the least acquainted with Trotskyism would not be surprised by Trotskyism's advocacy of this adventurist policy towards the main mass of the peasantry. Such a policy is the direct outcome of Trotsky's notorious theory of 'permanent revolution' which denies the revolutionary role of the peasantry and which claims that it is impossible to build socialism in a single country. According to this theory of 'permanent revolution' it is impossible for the working class to lead the main mass of the peasantry into the channel of socialist construction. Here are a few pronouncements of Trotskyism on this matter:

"The contradictions in the position of a workers' government in a backward country with an overwhelming peasant population can be solved only on an international scale in the arena of the world proletarian revolution." (Trotsky, *The Year 1905* (Preface)). And:

"Without direct state support from the European proletariat, the working

class of Russia will not be able to maintain itself in power and to transform its temporary rule into a lasting socialist dictatorship. This we cannot doubt for an instant." (Trotsky, *Our Revolution*). And

"It would be hopeless to think ... that, for example, a revolutionary Russia could hold out in the face of a Conservative Europe." (Works, Vol III part I p. 90).

Is it surprising then that Trotsky, who, flying in the face of all reality, so stubbornly held on to the above reactionary views, should have advocated a policy which would, if put into practice, have turned his reactionary fancy into reality? Had Trotsky's line been followed, the working class of Russia would doubtlessly not have been able to maintain itself in power.

Zinoviev, Trotsky's ally in opposing the Party's Leninist line on the peasant question, also did not believe in an alliance between the working class and the middle peasantry. Instead, departing from Leninism, he advocated the neutralisation of the middle peasantry under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Here is what Zinoviev, who at the time was Chairman of the Comintern, wrote on this issue in *Pravda* on 18 January 1925:

"There are a number of tasks which are ABSOLUTELY IN COMMON TO ALL PARTIES OF THE COMINTERN. Such, for example, are ... the proper approach to the peasantry. There are three strata among the agricultural population of the whole world, which can and must be won over by us and become the allies of the proletariat (the agricultural proletariat, the semi-proletarians - the small-holder peasants - and the small peasantry who do not hire labour). There is another stratum of the peasantry (the middle peasants), which must be at least NEUTRALISED BY US." (Quoted according to Stalin, CW Vol 7 pp 381-2).

The Trotskyist opposition's chief economist, Preobrazhensky, even went so far as to declare the peasantry a "colony" for socialist industry, as an object to be exploited to the utmost.

Smirnov, another leader of the opposition, openly advocated "discord" with the middle peasants:

"We say that our state budget must be revised in such a way that the greater part of this five thousand million budget should flow into industry, for IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR US TO PUT UP WITH DISCORD WITH THE MIDDLE PEASANTS THAN TO INVITE CERTAIN DOOM." (Smirnov,

speech delivered at the Rogzhsko-Simonovsky District Party Conference, 1927, quoted according to Stalin, CW Vol 10 p 262).

One has only to compare the above-quoted pronouncements of the Trotskyist opposition with the following passages from Comrade Lenin's writings to realise what a deep chasm divides Trotskyism from Leninism.

Whereas Trotskyism advocated *"discord with the middle peasants"* as the best method of avoiding *"certain doom"*, Leninism, on the contrary, advocates an alliance with the basic mass of the peasantry as the only means of ensuring the leading role of the proletariat and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"... the supreme principle," said Lenin, *"of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the maintenance of the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry in order that the proletariat may retain its leading role and state power."* (*Report on the Tactics of the RCP(B)* delivered at the 3rd Congress of the Comintern, 5 July 1921, CW Vol 32, p.466).

Thus it is clear that according to Leninism it is impossible to build socialism successfully without *"a stable alliance with the middle peasants"* (see *Lenin, opening speech at the 8th Congress of the RCP(B)* 18 March 1919, CW Vol 29 p 125).

According to Trotskyism, however, *"discord with the middle peasants"* is the only means of avoiding *"certain doom"* (see Smirnov, quoted above).

Furthermore it must not be forgotten that in 1927 the middle peasantry constituted 60% of the entire peasantry. A discord with the middle peasantry would, therefore, have meant driving it into the arms of the kulaks, strengthening the kulaks and isolating the poor peasants; in other words, a discord of the nature advocated by Trotskyism would have meant starting a civil war in the countryside and weakening Soviet rule in the countryside most dangerously. Such is the logic of Trotskyism, its intentions notwithstanding. Here is how Comrade Stalin described the discrepancy between the opposition's desires (its good intentions) and the inevitable disastrous result of its policy of discord with the middle peasantry.

"I am far from accusing the opposition of deliberately striving for all these misfortunes. It is not, however, a matter of what the opposition desires and is striving for, but of the results that must inevitably follow from the opposition's policy of discord with the middle peasantry."

"The same thing is happening to the opposition here as happened with the

bear in Krylov's fable 'The Hermit and the Bear'. (Laughter). It goes without saying that the bear's intention in smashing the head of his friend the hermit with a lump of rock was to deliver him from the importunate fly. The bear was prompted by the friendliest motives. Nevertheless, the bear's friendly motives led to an action that was far from friendly, and for which the hermit paid with his life. Of course, the opposition wishes the revolution nothing but good. But to achieve this it proposes such means as would result in the utter defeat of the revolution, in the utter defeat of the working class and the peasantry, in the disruption of all our work of construction.

"The opposition's 'platform' is a platform for the rupture of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, a platform for the disruption of all our work of construction, a platform for the disruption of the work of industrialisation." (Works Vol 10 p 265).

D. The year 1929 and the turn of the peasantry towards collectivisation

By the second half of 1929, however, the picture had changed dramatically, and there were present all the pre-requisites for a determined offensive against the kulaks and for their elimination as a class. What were these pre-requisites? They were:

FIRST: the state farms and the collective farms had been developed to a degree that they were able to replace kulak farming as regards marketable output. In 1929 the collective farms alone produced 29,100,000 centners of grain, of which 12,700,000 was marketable grain. Explaining why it was not possible to strike at the kulaks in 1927, and why an offensive against the kulaks had become a practicable reality in 1929, this is how Comrade Stalin characterised the changes that had taken place since 1927, which made it possible for the Party to undertake a real Leninist offensive against the kulaks as opposed to Trotskyist declamations and phrasemongering against the kulaks:

"But today? What is the position now? Today, we have an adequate material base for us to strike at the kulaks, to break their resistance, to eliminate them as a class, and to REPLACE their output by the output of the collective farms and state farms. You know that in 1929 the grain produced on the collective farms and state farms has amounted to no less than 400,000,000 poods (200,000,000 poods less than the gross output of the kulak farms in 1927). You also know that in 1929 the collective farms and state farms have supplied

more than 130,000,000 poods of marketable grain (i.e., more than the kulaks in 1927). Lastly, you know that in 1930 the gross output of the collective farms and state farms will amount to not less than 900,000,000 poods of grain (i.e., more than the gross output of the kulaks in 1927), and their output of marketable grain will be not less than 400,000,000 poods (i.e., incomparably more than the kulaks supplied in 1927).

"That is how matters stand with us now, comrades.

"There you have the change that has taken place in the economy of our country.

"Now, as you see, we have the material base which enables us to REPLACE the kulak output by the output of the collective farms and state farms. It is for this very reason that our determined offensive against the kulaks is now meeting with undeniable success.

"That is how an offensive against the kulaks must be carried on, if we mean a genuine and determined offensive and not mere futile declamations against the kulaks.

"That is why we have recently passed from the policy of RESTRICTING the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks to the policy of ELIMINATING THE KULAKS AS A CLASS," (Works Vol 12 pp 175-6).

SECOND, the Soviet state and industry were now in a position to help the collective-farm movement through credit facilities and the supply of machines and tractors. In 1927-28, the Soviet government assigned 76,000,000 roubles for financing collective farms; in 1928-29, 170,000,000 roubles; and in 1929-30, 473,000,000 roubles were assigned. In addition 65,000,000 roubles were assigned during the same period for the collectivisation fund. Privileges were accorded to the collective farms which increased their resources by 200,000,000 roubles. For use on collective-farm fields the state supplied not less than 30,000 tractors with a total of 400,000 horse power, not taking into account the 7,000 tractors of the Tractor Centre which served the collective farms, and the assistance by way of tractors rendered by the state farms to the collective farms. In 1929-30 the collective farms were granted seed loans and seed assistance to the amount of 10,000,000 centners of grain (61 million poods). Lastly, the collective farms were greatly helped by the direct organisational assistance given them in the setting up of more than 7,000 machine and tractor stations.

The result of all these measures was a forty-fold increase in the crop

area of collective farms in three years, and a fifty-fold increase in the grain output of the collective farms (with an increase in its marketable part of more than forty-fold) during the same three years, i.e., 1927-29.

THIRD, the turn of the peasantry towards socialism, towards collectivisation. This did not arise all of a sudden in an accidental or spontaneous way; it had to be prepared for in a scientific manner and through hard struggle over a number of years, in which the Party led the people in clearing one obstacle after another from the path leading to collectivisation. Here is how Comrade Stalin described the process of development on the basis of which there arose, in the latter half of 1929, the mighty mass collective-farm movement of millions of poor and middle peasants:

"The turn of the peasantry towards collectivisation did not begin all at once. Moreover, it could not begin all at once. True, the Party proclaimed the slogan of collectivisation already at the Fifteenth Congress; but the proclamation of a slogan is not enough to cause the peasantry to turn en masse towards socialism. At least one more circumstance is needed for this, namely, that the masses of the peasantry themselves should be convinced that the slogan proclaimed is a correct one and that they should accept it as their own. Therefore, this turn was prepared gradually.

"It was prepared by the whole course of our development, by the whole course of development of our industry and above all by the development of the industry that supplies machines and tractors for agriculture. It was prepared by the policy of resolutely fighting the kulaks and by the course of our grain procurements in the new forms that they assumed in 1928 and 1929, which placed kulak farming under the control of the poor- and middle- peasant masses. It was prepared by the development of the agricultural co-operatives, which train the individualist peasant in collective methods. It was prepared by the network of collective farms, in which the peasantry verified the advantages of collective forms of farming over individual farming. Lastly, it was prepared by the network of state farms, spread over the whole of the USSR, and equipped with modern machines, which enabled the peasants to convince themselves of the potency and superiority of modern machines.

"It would be a mistake to regard our state farms only as sources of grain supplies. Actually, the state farms, with their modern machines, with the assistance they render the peasants in their vicinity, and the unprecedented scope of their farming, were the leading force that facilitated the turn of the peasant masses and brought them on to the path of collectivisation.

"There you have the basis on which arose that mass collective-farm movement of millions of poor and middle peasants which began in the latter half of 1929, and which ushered in a period of great change in the life of our country." (Works Vol 12 pp 288-289, Report to the 16th Congress).

From the foregoing, it is perfectly clear that the Bolshevik Party's policy on collectivisation was a Leninist policy and the only correct policy. It is equally clear that the policy advocated by Trotskyism was fraught with the most dangerous and desperate adventurism, and, had this policy been put into practice, the result would have been certain doom. We can now say that the Bolshevik Party was a thousand times right in rejecting the Trotskyist demands for striking at the kulaks in 1926-7; also the Party was a thousand times right in 1929, having already prepared the necessary basis, in launching an offensive against the kulaks; the Party was perfectly justified in 1929 in passing from the policy that had been followed hitherto of RESTRICTING the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks to the policy of ELIMINATING THE KULAKS AS A CLASS.

The elimination of the kulaks as a class was not simply an administrative affair, as the Trotskyists thought; it was a matter of supreme economic importance. The class of kulaks could not be wished away with a Trotskyist decree. It could only be eliminated by taking concrete economic measures (of the type outlined earlier above) and preparing the necessary economic and political conditions. As Comrade Stalin says:

"Those comrades are wrong who think that it is possible and necessary to put an end to the kulaks by means of administrative measures, through the GPU: give an order, affix a seal, and that settles it. That is an easy way, but it is far from being effective. The kulak must be defeated by means of economic measures and in conformity with Soviet law. Soviet law, however, is not a mere phrase. This does not, of course preclude the taking of certain administrative measures against the kulaks. But administrative measures must not take the place of economic measures." (Works Vol 10 p 319).

What is more, the time for launching an all-out offensive against the kulaks had to be right; any mistake on this score meant playing at an offensive against the kulaks, meant risking the very existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. One of the chief characteristics of Leninist leadership, of Bolshevik tactics, is to choose the correct time and the proper ground for launching an offensive against the enemies of socialism. To put this in the apt language of Comrade Stalin:

"The art of Bolshevik policy by no means consists of firing indiscriminately with all your guns on all fronts, regardless of conditions of time and place, and regardless of whether the masses are ready to support this or that step of the leadership. The art of Bolshevik policy consists in being able to choose the time and place and to take all the circumstances into account in order to concentrate fire on the front where the maximum results are to be attained most quickly." (Works Vol 11 p 55).

When, however, the Party had already passed from the policy of restricting the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks to the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class, Trotsky, who, as we have seen, had advocated de-kulakisation as early as the period immediately following the 14th Congress (1926-7), demanded the abandonment of the Party's policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class. In his *Open Letter to the Members of the CPSU* of 23 March 1930, Trotsky demanded that the Party should:

"Bring the collective farms into line with their real sources of support";

"... abandon the policy of 'de-kulakisation'"

"... hold the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks in check for a long number of years," and that

"The guiding principle in relation to the kulaks must be an iron 'contract system' [under which the kulaks were to supply the state with a certain quantity of their produce at fixed prices - HB]".

This is characteristic Trotskyism, Trotskyism with its truly absurd, anti-dialectical and reactionary content: de-kulakisation in 1926 and abandonment of the policy of de-kulakisation in 1930!!

As if this absurdity were not enough, Trotsky supplemented it by a new edition, as it were, in 1933. In 1933, when collectivisation had in the main already been achieved, Trotsky demanded, in the issues of his *Bulletin*, the dissolution of the state farms on the grounds that they did not pay; the dissolution of the majority of the collective farms on the grounds that they were fictitious; and the abandonment of the policy of eliminating the kulaks. In the field of industry, Trotsky demanded a reversion to the policy of concessions and the leasing to concessionaires of a number of Soviet industrial enterprises on the grounds that they did not pay.

Comrade Stalin was perfectly justified in characterising this Trotskyist programme as counter-revolutionary and as one of restoration of capitalism:

"There you have the programme of these contemptible cowards and capitulators - their counter-revolutionary programme of restoring capitalism in the USSR" (Works Vol 13 p. 370).

This is how the 'left' Trotsky unmasked himself and revealed his true Rightness for all to see.

Having dealt with the 'left' opportunist deviation, let us now turn to the Right opportunist deviation from the Leninist line of the Party.

E. The right opportunist (Bukharinite) deviation

Whereas the 'left' (Trotskyist) opportunists overestimated the strength of capitalism, did not believe in the possibility of the USSR successfully building socialism by its own efforts - without the aid of victorious revolution in Western Europe, and did not, therefore, favour even the idea of an alliance with the basic mass of the peasantry, the right (Bukharinite) opportunists went to the other extreme, in that they underestimated the strength of capitalism, declared themselves in favour of any kind of alliance with the entire peasantry, including the kulaks, and, disregarding the mechanics of class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, proclaimed that the kulaks will automatically *"grow into Socialism"* (Bukharin, *The Path to Socialism* (quoted in Stalin, *Collected Works* Vol.12 p.41)). Bukharin's group maintained that with the advance of socialism and the development of socialist forms of economy, the class struggle would subside. This right opportunist theory advocated by Bukharin's group presented a most serious danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Its harm lay " ... in the fact that it lulls the working class to sleep, undermines the mobilised preparedness of the revolutionary forces of our country, demobilises the working class and facilitates the attack of the capitalist elements against the Soviet government." (Stalin, Works Vol 12 p. 41).

And so it did. By the beginning of 1928 the kulaks, realising that the NEP, far from leading to the restoration of capitalism in the USSR as they had expected and hoped for, was, on the contrary, leading to the weakening and rout of capitalist elements in the countryside and to the consolidation of socialism, began organised resistance to the Soviet regime. From 1928 this resistance assumed most acute forms. The resistance of the kulaks was most eloquent proof of (a) the fact that the socialist offensive against the capitalist elements was proceeding full steam ahead and according to plan; that the kulaks were, therefore, feeling the pinch, and had either to decide

to resist desperately or to retire from the scene voluntarily, and (b) the fact that the capitalist elements had no desire to depart from the scene voluntarily. Comrade Stalin, countering Bukharin's right opportunist fairy tales regarding the subsiding of the class struggle, expressed himself in the following never-to-be-forgotten words:

"It must not be imagined that the socialist forms will develop, squeezing out the enemies of the working class, while our enemies retreat in silence and make way for our advance, that then we shall again advance and they will again retreat until 'unexpectedly' all the social groups without exception, both kulaks and poor peasants, both workers and capitalists, find themselves 'suddenly' and 'imperceptibly', without struggle or commotion, in the lap of a socialist society. Such fairy tales do not and cannot happen in general, and in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.

"It never has been and never will be the case that the working class could advance towards socialism in a class society without struggle or commotion. On the contrary, the advance towards socialism cannot but cause the exploiting elements to resist the advance, and the resistance of the exploiters cannot but lead to the inevitable sharpening of the class struggle.

"That is why the working class must not be lulled with talk about the class struggle playing a secondary role." (Works Vol 11 p. 180).

Notwithstanding Bukharin's silly little fables regarding the subsiding of the class struggle and the miracle of kulaks "growing into socialism", the kulaks began serious organised resistance to the Soviet government. Who but Bukharin and his group should come up in the Party to defend the kulak interests? The Bukharinites represented the decay of kulak farming as a decay of agriculture in the USSR. They demanded the slowing down of the rate of industrial development, relaxation of the monopoly of foreign trade, relegation of collectivisation to the background, and all-round concessions to the capitalist elements.

The first serious attack from the kulaks came at the time of the grain procurement crisis of January 1928. The kulaks refused to sell grain to the Soviet state; the Soviet government found itself with a grain deficit of 130 million poods. In the absence of any reserves, the Soviet government could not but resort to emergency measures, such as the application of Article 107 of the Criminal Code, which had the effect, in the case of the kulaks refusing to sell grain, of their grain being confiscated. The application of emergency measures, which, despite individual distortions here and there, were a

great success and had the desired effect of procuring from the kulaks the necessary supplies of grain required by the state, enraged the Bukharinites. Under the guise of combating 'excesses', the Bukharinites were in fact engaged in combating the Party's correct policy and in the defence of the kulaks. Here is how Comrade Stalin exposed this fraudulent opportunist trick of the Bukharinites:

"The most fashionable word just now among Bukharin's group is the word 'excesses' in grain procurements. That word is the most current commodity among them, since it helps them to mask their opportunist line. When they want to mask their own line they usually say: We, of course, are not opposed to pressure being brought to bear upon the kulak, but we are opposed to the excesses which are being committed in this sphere and which hurt the middle peasant. They then go on to relate stories of the 'horrors' of these excesses; they read letters from 'peasants', panic-stricken letters from comrades, such as Markov, and then draw the conclusion: the policy of bringing pressure to bear upon the kulaks must be abandoned.

"How do you like that? BECAUSE excesses are committed in carrying out a correct policy, THAT CORRECT POLICY, it seems, MUST BE ABANDONED. That is the usual trick of the opportunist: on the pretext that excesses are committed in carrying out a correct line, abolish that line and replace it by an opportunist line. Moreover, the supporters of Bukharin's group very carefully hush up the fact that there is another kind of excesses, more dangerous and more harmful - namely, excesses in the direction of merging with the kulak, in the direction of adaptation to the well-to-do strata of the rural population, in the direction of abandoning the revolutionary policy of the Party for the opportunist policy of the Right deviators.

"Of course, we are all opposed to those excesses. None of us wants the blows directed against the kulaks to hurt the middle peasants. That is obvious, and there can be no doubt about it. But we are most emphatically opposed to the chatter about excesses, in which Bukharin's group so zealously indulges, being used to scuttle the revolutionary policy of our Party and replace it by the opportunist policy of Bukharin's group. No, that trick of theirs won't work.

"Point out at least one political measure taken by the Party that has not been accompanied by excesses of one kind or another. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that we must combat excesses. But can one ON THESE GROUNDS decry the line itself, which is the only correct line?

"Take a measure like the introduction of the seven-hour day. There can be

no doubt that this is one of the most revolutionary measures carried out by our Party in the recent period. Who does not know that this measure, which by its nature is a profoundly revolutionary one, is frequently accompanied by excesses, sometimes of a most objectionable kind? Does that mean that we ought to abandon the policy of introducing the seven-hour day?

"Do the supporters of the Bukharin opposition understand what a mess they are getting into in playing up the excesses committed during the grain procurement campaign?" (Works Vol 12 pp. 96-97).

In defence of the kulak interests Bukharin's group went as far as accusing the Party of pursuing a policy of military-feudal exploitation towards the peasantry. It scarcely needs proof that Bukharin's group borrowed this weapon against the Party from the arsenal of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

"In the history of our Party I cannot recall any other instance of the Party being accused of pursuing a policy of military-feudal exploitation. That weapon against the Party was not borrowed from the arsenal of Marxists. Where, then, was it borrowed from? From the arsenal of Milyukov, the leader of the Cadets. When the Cadets wish to sow dissension between the working class and the peasantry, they usually say: You, Messieurs the Bolsheviks, are building socialism on the corpses of the peasants. When Bukharin raises an outcry about the 'tribute', he is singing to the tune of Messieurs the Milyukovs, and is following in the wake of the enemies of the people." (Vol 12 p. 59).

Bukharin's group was opposed to the fight against the kulaks; it was in favour of an alliance of the working class with the ENTIRE peasantry, including the kulaks. The Party, however, was most emphatically opposed to such an alliance.

"No, comrades, such an alliance we do not advocate, and cannot advocate. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, when the power of the working class is firmly established, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry means reliance on the poor peasants, alliance with the middle peasants, and a fight against the kulaks. Whoever thinks that under our conditions alliance with the peasantry means alliance with the kulaks has nothing in common with Leninism. Whoever thinks of conducting a policy in the countryside that will please everyone, rich and poor alike, is not a Marxist, but a fool, because such a policy does not exist in nature, comrades. (Laughter and applause). Our policy is a class policy." (Stalin, Works Vol 11 p. 52).

Leninism certainly stands for a stable alliance with the main mass of the

peasantry, but, according to Leninism, the whole purpose of the alliance of the working class with the basic mass of the peasantry is to ensure the leading role of the working class, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to create the necessary conditions - material and spiritual (cultural) - which facilitate the abolition of classes. In brief, Leninism stand for a stable alliance with the main mass of the peasantry (kulaks EXCLUDED), with the ultimate aim of abolishing classes. Leninism does not stand for just any kind of alliance. Here is how Comrade Lenin expressed himself on this subject:

"Agreement between the working class and the peasantry may be taken to mean anything. If we do not bear in mind that, from the point of view of the working class, agreement is permissible, correct and possible in principle only if it supports the dictatorship of the working class and is one of the measures aimed at the abolition of classes, then the formula of agreement between the working class and the peasantry remains, of course, a formula to which all the enemies of the Soviet regime and all the enemies of the dictatorship subscribe."

And further:

"At present," says Lenin, "the proletariat holds power and guides the state. It guides the peasantry. What does guiding the peasantry mean? It means, in the first place, pursuing a course towards the abolition of classes, and not towards the small producer. If we wandered away from this radical and main course we should cease to be Socialists and should find ourselves in the camp of the petty bourgeoisie, in the camp of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who are now the most bitter enemies of the proletariat."

The alliance with the peasantry advocated by Bukharin, however, meant an alliance not only with the middle peasantry but also with the kulaks. It scarcely needs proof that such an alliance, far from securing the leading role of the proletariat, strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, and facilitating the abolition of classes, would have led to the negation of the leading role of the proletariat, the weakening of its dictatorship, and the perpetuation of classes, for only an alliance with the middle peasantry, which is at the same time an alliance against the kulaks can pave the way in the direction of the abolition of classes. Classes can only be abolished through class struggle against the exploiters - against the kulaks and other capitalist elements - and not through alliance with them.

It scarcely needs proof that Bukharin's right opportunist group with its

opportunist policies had to be defeated. Without its defeat there would have been a sure restoration of capitalism in the USSR in the early 1930s. It must be said to the credit, glory and honour of the Bolshevik Party and its leader at the time, Comrade Stalin, that the right opportunists of Bukharin's group were just as assuredly routed as those of the 'left' opportunist Trotsky-Zinoviev group. The defeated groups joined forces subsequently (just as they had done previously) in opposition to the Party, thus demonstrating their anti-Leninist and right-reactionary essence. There was no difference between the two except of form of platform. The truth remains that the programme of the 'lefts' led just as much as that of the rights in the direction of the restoration of capitalism. It is in this sense, and because of this, that Marxist-Leninists have always maintained that 'lefts' too are in fact rights. Here is how Comrade Stalin characterised the right (Bukharinite) and 'left' (Trotskyite) opportunists, bringing out what was common to both, namely, their respective platforms for the restoration of capitalism, albeit through different routes:-

"Where does the danger of the RIGHT, frankly opportunist, deviation in our Party lie? In the fact that it UNDERESTIMATES the strength of our enemies, the strength of capitalism: it does not see the danger of the restoration of capitalism; it does not understand the mechanism of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and therefore so readily agrees to make concessions to capitalism, demanding a slowing down of the rate of development of our industry, demanding concessions for the capitalist elements in town and country, demanding that the question of collective farms and state farms be relegated to the background, demanding that the monopoly of foreign trade be relaxed, etc., etc.

"There is no doubt that the triumph of the Right deviation in our Party would unleash the forces of capitalism, undermine the revolutionary positions of the proletariat and increase the chances of the restoration of capitalism in our country.

"Where does the danger of the 'LEFT' (Trotskyist) deviation in our Party lie? In the fact that it OVERESTIMATES the strength of our enemies, the strength of capitalism; it sees only the possibility of the restoration of capitalism, but cannot see the possibility of building socialism by the efforts of our country; it gives way to despair and is obliged to console itself with chatter about Thermidor tendencies in our Party.

"From the words of Lenin that 'as long as we live in a small-peasant

country, there is a surer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for communism', the 'left' deviation draws the false conclusion that it is impossible to build socialism in the USSR at all; that we cannot get anywhere with the peasantry; that the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry is an obsolete idea; that unless a victorious revolution in the West comes to our aid the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR must fall or degenerate; that unless we adopt the fantastic plan of super-industrialisation, even at the cost of a split with the peasantry, the cause of socialism in the USSR must be regarded as doomed.

"Hence the adventurism in the policy of the 'Left' deviation. Hence its 'superhuman' leaps in the sphere of policy.

"There is no doubt that the triumph of the 'Left' deviation in our Party would lead to the working class being separated from the rest of the working-class masses, and, consequently, to the defeat of the proletariat and to facilitating conditions for the restoration of capitalism.

"You see, therefore, that both these dangers, the 'Left' and the Right, both these deviations from the Leninist line, the Right and the 'Left', lead to the same result, although from different directions." (CW Vol 11 pp. 240-1).

The only difference is that the 'Lefts' (Trotskyites) use ultra- 'left' phrases, which incidentally explains

"... why the 'Lefts' sometimes succeed in luring a part of the workers over to their side with the help of high-sounding 'Left' phrases and by posing as the most determined opponents of the Rights, although all the world knows that they, the 'Lefts', have the same social roots as the Rights, and that they not infrequently join in an agreement, a bloc, with the Rights in order to fight the Leninist line." (Stalin, Works Vol 11 p. 291).

Before proceeding further, it may be said in passing that most of the criticisms levelled by the ordinary bourgeois at the Bolshevik Party's Leninist line on collectivisation are based on the platforms and line of argumentation of the bourgeois socialists within the Bolshevik Party, namely, the 'left' (Trotskyist) opportunists and the right (Bukharinite) deviators. Nor could it be otherwise, for the platforms of the 'left' and right opportunists were platforms of capitalist restoration, albeit in a disguised form and couched in even Marxian terminology. Hence the concurrence in the views of the ordinary bourgeois on the one hand, and 'socialist' opportunists such as the Trotskyists and Bukharinites on the other hand; hence the sympathy of the ordinary bourgeois for the representative of the interests of his class (the

bourgeois class) in the communist movement, namely, the socialist opportunist; hence the anti-Stalinism and pro-Trotskyism of the ordinary bourgeois. The bourgeois does not mind what terminology is used;¹ he does not object to the use of even Marxian terminology as long as it is used in the defence and preservation of capitalism rather than for its revolutionary overthrow. In fact under certain circumstances the only way to serve capitalism is through the use of Marxian phrases, for only such phrases can deceive the workers. How could the Trotskyists, for example, openly demand the restoration of capitalism in the USSR when the working class was in power? They would have only to utter one sentence openly to be flung out of every workers' organisation, let alone the vanguard Party of the proletariat, and to be completely despised by every class-conscious worker. So they were obliged to present their programmes for capitalist restoration in the name of the working class and of Marxism. Herein lies their service to the bourgeoisie; and herein also lies their treachery to the working-class and communist movement.

F. The use of force and collectivisation

There is one more question which we wish to comment on, namely, that of the use of force in collectivisation. The bourgeois ideologists have levelled the allegation that collectivisation in the USSR was a forcible collectivisation - against the will of the majority of the peasantry. This allegation has acquired, through sheer repetition and ignorance, the force of a public prejudice, and, it must be admitted with great shame, it is believed not only by ordinary people but also by some people who call themselves Marxist-Leninists. In view of this it is natural that we should wish to say a few words on this question. Only incorrigible bureaucrats - of the ordinary bourgeois as well as Trotskyist type - can believe that collectivisation in the Soviet Union was, or could have been, achieved by force; only people who regard collectivisation as an administrative bureaucratic affair, rather than as an economic measure of the greatest importance, can regard collectivisation in this light. If collectivisation could be achieved by a 'Sergeant Prishibeyev' armed with a Trotskyist departmental decree to collectivise, then indeed there would be every reason to collectivise not in 1929, but in 1926 (as demanded by Trotsky and Zinoviev) and even much earlier, i.e., during Lenin's lifetime. In that case we would be obliged to admit that the Trotskyists were right in demanding collectivisation in 1926 whereas the Leninists were wrong in rejecting this demand. Trotskyists demanded

collectivisation in 1926 precisely because it is they who, in keeping with the worst bourgeois bureaucratic traditions, believed (and still do) that collectivisation could be attained with a scrap of paper and the Prussian sergeant's stick. If the Party had been foolish enough to regard collectivisation in this light and put these methods into effect, the result would have been, as explained above, a *"hostile collision"* between the working class, which was in power, and the basic mass of the peasantry, without allying with which the working class could not hope to stay in power for long; the effect would have been a civil war and certain doom for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party, however, regarded collectivisation as an economic measure which could not be achieved without creating the necessary economic pre-requisites. And to repeat, these pre-requisites were:

(a) the development of industry to such a degree that it could supply agriculture with tractors, machines and technical know-how;

(b) the ability of the state to grant credit and other financial facilities and assistance;

(c) the development of collective and state farms to the point where they could replace kulak production;

(d) the lead given by advanced workers (in the form of workers' brigades and worker propagandists) to the Soviet peasantry in the matter of development of collective farming;

(e) the carrying out by the Party of Lenin's policy of educating the masses through implanting a cooperative communal life among them through the medium of supply and marketing cooperatives, and producers' cooperatives.

All the above measures could not but strengthen the bond between the working class and the peasantry, without which all attempts at collectivisation would have ended like the 'March on Warsaw', without which collectivisation would have lost its voluntary character, which in turn would have sounded the death-knell for collectivisation. Successes in collectivisation were achieved precisely because of the voluntary nature of collectivisation. The moment compulsion came on the scene (on which more will be said later) collective farms began to melt away and a section of the peasants who, to quote Stalin, *"only yesterday had the greatest confidence in the collective farms, began to turn away from them"* (Reply to Collective Farm Comrades).

In fact, the movement in favour of collectivisation had been taken up so enthusiastically by the overwhelming majority of the peasantry, and it had gathered such momentum, that by the end of 1929 it was evident that any dissatisfaction there was among the main mass of the peasantry *"was not because of the collective-farm policy of the Soviet government, but because the Soviet government is unable to keep pace with the growth of the collective-farm movement as regards supplying the peasants with machines and tractors."* (Stalin, Works Vol 12 p. 137).

Though the collective-farm movement on the whole was of a voluntary character, this by no means implies that there were no distortions of the Party's policy in individual cases by over-zealous Party functionaries and all sorts of 'left' distorters. These distortions were of the following nature:

(a) Violation of the principle regarding the voluntary character of the collective-farm movement, a violation which had the effect of causing collective farms to melt away. Had this violation not been removed, had this distortion not been corrected, there would have been no successes in collectivisation in the USSR. This only goes to show how much in the wrong are the bourgeois critics in their assertion that collectivisation in the USSR was forcibly obtained. Just the contrary.

(b) Violation of the principle which demanded taking into account the diversity of conditions in the USSR. (The USSR had been divided into three groups of districts which had fixed for each of them approximate dates for the completion, in the main, of collectivisation).

(c) Violation of the rule which defined the ARTEL FORM of the collective-farm movement as the MAIN LINK IN THE COLLECTIVE-FARM SYSTEM at that time. Attempts were made to skip the agricultural artel stage and pass over straight to the commune stage.

Each of these three distortions took place in violation of the decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee adopted on 5 January 1930 under the title *The rate of collectivisation and state measures to assist collective-farm development*. It scarcely needs saying that these violations were much to the distaste and dislike of the Political Bureau, the Central Committee and Stalin. Consequently it was the Central Committee and Stalin themselves who took steps to correct these distortions of the Party's policy the moment they appeared on the surface. One has only to read Comrade Stalin's articles *Dizzy with success* (2 March 1930) and *Reply to collective farm comrades* (25 April 1930) to be convinced of this - notwithstanding

Trotskyist and other bourgeois assertions to the contrary. Here for example is what Comrade Stalin wrote in connection with, and in condemnation of, these bureaucratic distortions of the Party's policy on collectivisation:

"What can there be in common between this Sergeant Prishibeyev 'policy' and the Party's policy of relying on the voluntary principle and of taking local peculiarities into account in collective-farm development? Clearly, there is not and cannot be anything in common between them." (Dizzy with success).

And further: *"Who benefits by these distortions, this bureaucratic decreeing of the collective-farm movement, these unworthy threats against the peasants? Nobody, except our enemies!"* (ibid.)

And further still: *"Collective farms must not be established by force. That would be foolish and reactionary."* (ibid.)

Stalin denounced attempts to replace preparatory work for the organisation of collective farms by *"bureaucratic decreeing of the collective-farm movement, paper resolutions on the growth of collective farms, organisations of collective farms on paper- collective farms which have as yet no reality, but whose 'existence' is proclaimed in a heap of boastful resolutions."* (ibid.).

But just because there took place some local distortions - distortions which were swiftly eliminated by the Party - does this mean then that the Party's line on collectivisation was wrong? No, it certainly does not mean that. Never has a correct policy been put into effect without it being attended by some distortions. Only opportunist tricksters can demand the abandonment of a correct policy just because some distortions of it have been committed in the course of carrying it out. The correct conclusion to be drawn from distortions is that we must combat them, we must root them out, not that we must abandon the correct policy. Once again it must be affirmed that the Party's policy on collectivisation was a Leninist and a correct policy; it was a policy based on the correct Leninist formula: 'Rely on the poor peasant, build a stable alliance with the middle peasant, never for a moment cease fighting against the kulaks'. Only by applying this formula could the main mass of the peasantry be drawn, as indeed they were, into the channel of socialist construction. The Party's policy carried the day because it waged a consistent and principled struggle against the 'left' (Trotskyist) and against the right (Bukharinite) deviations, because the Party waged a ruthless struggle against those who tried to run ahead (Trotskyists) as well as those who dragged their feet (Bukharinites). Herein lies the secret of the success of the Party's policy on collectivisation as on other issues.

Barring a few distortions of the type mentioned, collectivisation was achieved through the active cooperation and enthusiasm of the basic mass of the peasantry. This, however, does not mean that the state of the working class made no use of revolutionary violence against the kulaks and exploiters who were engaged in the use of counter-revolutionary violence, and who resorted to terrorism and murder of government and party functionaries in their desperate attempts to halt the advance of socialism. Can we reproach the Soviet state for having used revolutionary violence to counter the reactionary violence of the kulaks and other capitalist elements? Would we not, on the contrary, have greater justification in reproaching it if it had failed to perform this, one of its chief revolutionary tasks? What can there be wrong in the use of revolutionary violence against our class enemy, the kulaks? That it should evoke comical howls from the Trotskyists, revisionists and social-democrats only provides further proof of the fact that they are agents of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working-class movement. Here, for example, is what Engels wrote on the subject under consideration, namely, the use of revolutionary violence by the victorious revolutionary Party against the reactionaries:

"... if the victorious party [in a revolution] does not want to have fought in vain, it must maintain this rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted a single day if it had not made use of this authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie? Should we not on the contrary reproach it for not having used it freely enough?" (Engels, *On Authority*, cited by Lenin in *State and Revolution*, p.74). Have these gentlemen (the Trotskyists and other bourgeois socialists), these anti-Stalinists (who must therefore also be anti-Leninists, for Stalin was only a most faithful pupil of Lenin's), pondered over the depth of meaning in the above-quoted remarks of a revolutionary genius - remarks whose every word is full of the most profound meaning?

G. Successes of collectivisation

When collectivisation was begun by the Party, it met with a hostile reception not only from the kulaks and the bourgeoisie all over the world, but also from the opportunist elements in the Party: it met with criticism from men of 'science'; all these elements claimed that the money spent on the state farms and collective farms was money 'thrown away'. As it was, however, the subsequent successes of the Party's collectivisation policy showed that *"the people who ridiculed the decisions of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee [concerning the organisation of state- and collective-farms in preparation for a full-scale offensive against the kulaks] fiercely ridiculed themselves"* (Stalin).

Already by February 1930, 50% of the peasant farms had been collectivised, thus overfulfilling the five-year plan of collectivisation by 100%.

In the course of about three years, between 1929 and 1931, the Party succeeded in organising 200,000 collective farms and about 5,000 state farms devoted to the growing of grain and the raising of livestock. In the course of four years the Party succeeded at the same time in expanding the crop area by 21,000,000 hectares.

By the end of the first five-year plan, the Party had succeeded in getting more than 60% of the peasant farms to unite into collective farms, covering more than 70% of the total land cultivated by the peasants - thus fulfilling the five-year plan three times over (see Tables 1 and 2).

By the end of the first five-year plan the Party had also succeeded in making possible the procurement of 1,200 million to 1,400 million poods of marketable grain annually compared with the 500 million to 600 million poods that were procured in the period of the predominance of individual peasant farming (see Tables).

Table 1 Progress in Collectivisation

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1938
Percentage of households collectivised	3.9	23.6	52.7	61.5	65.0	71.4	93.5
(in proportion to the total number of households)							
Percentage of sown area collectivised	4.9	33.6				87.4	99.3
(in proportion to the total sown area)							

Table 2. Areas under Grain Crops according to sectors

Sectors	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1938	Percentage of total area in 1933
	(in million hectares)						
1. State farms	1.5	2.9	8.1	9.3	10.8		10.6
2. Collective farms	3.4	29.7	61.0	69.1	75.0	92.0	73.9
3. Individual peasant farms	91.1	69.2	35.3	21.3	15.7	0.6	15.5
Total grain crop area in the USSR	96.0	101.8	104.4	99.7	101.5		100.0

[By the time of the 17th Party Congress in January 1934, state farms and collective farms together controlled 84.5% of the total area under grain in the USSR, thus becoming a force determining the fate of the whole of agriculture in all of its branches in the USSR: whereas all the individual peasant farms that still remained, representing 35% of the entire peasant population, controlled only 15.5% of the area under grain crops.]

The Party's policy on collectivisation was successful in routing the kulaks as a class, in emancipating the labouring peasantry from kulak exploitation and bondage, and in providing the Soviet regime with a firm economic basis in the countryside, the basis of large-scale collective farming.

"The Party succeeded in converting the USSR from a country of small-peasant farming into a country of the largest-scale agriculture in the world." (Stalin, Works Vol 13, p. 194).

These successes achieved by the Party were recognised even by some capitalists and reformists, i.e., those who were in the least honest and capable of recognising the truth. Here, for example, is what the British capitalist, Mr Gibson Jarvis, the President of the United Dominion Trust, wrote in October 1932:

"Now I want it clearly understood that I am neither a Communist nor a Bolshevik. I am definitely a capitalist and an individualist ... Russia is forging ahead while all too many of our factories and shipyards lie idle and approximately 3,000,000 of our people desperately seek work. Jokes have been made about the five-year plan, and its failure has been predicted. You can take it as beyond question, that under the five-year plan much more has been accomplished than was ever really anticipated ... In all these industrial towns which I

*visited, a new city is growing up, a city on a definite plan with wide streets in the process of being beautified by trees and grass plots, houses of the most modern type, schools, hospitals, workers' clubs and the inevitable creche or nursery, where the children of working mothers are cared for ... Don't underrate the Russians or their plans, and don't make the mistake of believing that the Soviet Government must crash. ... Russia today is a country with a soul and an ideal. Russia is a country of amazing activity. I believe that the Russian objective is sound ... And perhaps most important of all, all these youngsters and these workers in Russia have one thing which is too sadly lacking in the capitalist countries today, and that is - hope! The guiding landmark on the Soviet countryside is no longer the dome of a church but the grain elevator and the silo. Collectives are building piggeries, barns, and houses. Electricity is penetrating the village, and radio and newspapers have conquered it. Workers are learning to operate the world's most modern machines; peasant boys make and use agricultural machinery bigger and more complicated than ever America has seen. Russia is becoming 'machine-minded', Russia is passing quickly from the age of wood into an age of iron, steel, concrete and motors." (Nov 1932, from the US bourgeois magazine *The Nation*, quoted in Stalin, *Works* Vol 13 pp. 169-170).*

Now the opinion of a reformist. The following is the opinion expressed in September 1932 by a British 'Left'-reformist magazine, *Forward*:

"Nobody can fail to notice the enormous amount of building work that is going on. New factories, new picture-houses, new schools, new clubs, new big blocks of tenements, everywhere new buildings, many completed, others with scaffolding.. It is difficult to convey to the mind of the British reader exactly what has been done, and what is being done. It has to be seen to be believed. Our own wartime efforts are flea-bites to what has been done in Russia. Americans admit that even in the greatest rush days in the West there could have been nothing like the feverish building activity that is going on in Russia today. One sees so many changes in the Russian scene after two years that one gives up trying to imagine what Russia will be like in another ten years ... So dismiss from your heads the fantastic scare stories of the British press that lies so persistently, so contemptibly about Russia, and all the half truths and misconceptions that are circulated by the dilettante intelligentsia that look at Russia patronisingly through middle- class spectacles without having the slightest understanding of what is going on ... Russia is building up a new society on what are, generally speaking fundamentally sound lines. To do this it is taking risks, it is working enthusiastically with an energy that has never been seen in

the world before, it has tremendous difficulties inseparable from this attempt to build up socialism in a vast, undeveloped country isolated from the rest of the world. But the impression I have, after seeing it again after two years, is that of a nation making solid progress, planning, creating, constructing in a way that is striking challenge to the hostile capitalist world."

The above quotations only go to show that the Trotskyists and other 'socialists' who attack collectivisation and the building of socialism in the USSR, who refuse to recognise the achievements of socialism attained then, are in fact worse than honest reformists and honest and candid capitalists such as Mr Jarvis. They only go to show that the Trotskyists and other bourgeois socialists and critics of collectivisation are "*diehards*" who "*belong to the species of medieval fossils to whom facts mean nothing, and who will persist in their opinions ...*" no matter how successful the collectivisation plan was.

Such were the successes of socialist construction (socialist industrialisation and collectivisation), and the consequent improvement in the material and cultural conditions of the workers and peasants, that Stalin was able to say at the Sixteenth Party Congress:

"... all this creates conditions of work and life for the working class that enable us to rear a new generation of workers who are healthy and vigorous, who are capable of raising the might of the Soviet country to the proper level, and of protecting it with their lives from the attacks by its enemies." (Works Vol 12 p. 307).

Doubtless the material conditions of workers had improved beyond recognition. Yet, as could be expected, the bourgeois diehards (Trotskyists and suchlike 'socialists' included), these "*medieval fossils*", continued, and still continue, to deny that any improvement had taken place in the material and cultural conditions of the workers and peasants. As Stalin put it:

"The only ones who can have any doubts on this score [i.e., that the material and cultural conditions of the people were improving rapidly] are the sworn enemies of the Soviet regime, or perhaps, certain representatives of the bourgeois press, who hardly know any more about the economy of nations and the condition of the working people than, say, the Emperor of Abyssinia knows about higher mathematics." (Works Vol 13 p. 204).

In view of what has been stated above, and by way of a summary, it may be said that the Party's policy on collectivisation achieved the following historic successes:

(a) it helped the mass of poor peasants to join the collective farms, thus raising them to the level of middle peasants and putting a stop to their material insecurity and starvation (not less than 20 million peasants were rescued from destitution and ruin);

(b) it put a stop to the differentiation of the peasantry into poor peasantry and kulaks (in 1928 the differentiation among the peasantry was growing, but collectivisation put an end to differentiation);

(c) it eliminated the class of kulaks, and the socialist economic system became predominant in agriculture;

(d) it created the basis, through mechanised large-scale collective farming, for the remoulding of the peasantry in the spirit of collectivism - of socialism;

(e) it put an end to small-scale farming (which engenders capitalism) thus reducing the danger of capitalist restoration;

(f) it further consolidated the working-class leadership of the peasantry, thus strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat;

(g) it made possible the satisfaction of the large food grain procurements of the Soviet state (for only large-scale socialist farming could produce these large marketable surpluses) thus securing the working class in the towns and the Red Army against the spectre of famine and starvation;

(h) it transformed the USSR from being an agrarian country with small-peasant production into an industrial country with large-scale socialist industry and large-scale socialist agriculture; and finally

(i) it generally put an end to the poverty and misery of millions of people in the countryside who now enjoyed material conditions hitherto unknown.

It was not without justification that in his Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress (January 1934), Comrade Stalin, reviewing the period since the Sixteenth Congress (June 1930) and underlining the changes that had since taken place, was able to say the following:

"During this period, the USSR has become radically transformed and has cast off the integument of backwardness and medievalism. From a country of small individual agriculture it has become a country of collective, large-scale mechanised agriculture. From an ignorant, illiterate and uncultured country it has become - or rather is becoming - a literate and cultured country covered by a vast network of higher, intermediate and elementary schools teaching in the

languages of the nationalities of the USSR." (Report to the 17th Party Congress).

All in all the successes of the USSR in the field of socialist collectivisation (as well as socialist industrialisation) shattered once and for all the counter-revolutionary social- democratic-Trotskyist thesis that it is impossible to build socialism in one country taken separately; they smashed to smithereens the bourgeois-Trotskyist thesis that the peasantry is counter-revolutionary by nature, that its mission was to restore capitalism in the USSR, and that, therefore, it could not be a stable ally of the working class in socialist construction. The successes of the USSR are eloquent proof of the correctness of Leninism, of the fact that socialism can be successfully built in a single country taken separately, of the revolutionary character of the basic mass of the peasantry, and of the fact that the latter can be successfully mobilised in building a Soviet, socialist system of economy.

After all that has been said above, is it possible for anyone, who, needless to say, does not belong to a species of medieval fossil to whom facts mean nothing, to doubt the correctness of the policy of the Bolshevik Party during the period under consideration? No, it is impossible to doubt its correctness. By what is the correctness of the Party's general line proved?

"This is proved by our successes and achievements on the front of socialist construction. It was not and cannot be the case that the decisive victory won by the Party on the front of socialist construction in town and country during the past period was the result of an incorrect policy. Only a correct general line could give us such a victory.

"It is proved by the frenzied howl against our Party's policy raised lately by our class enemies, the capitalists and their press, the Pope and bishops of all kinds, the Social-Democrats and the 'Russian' Mensheviks of the Abramovich and Dan type. The capitalists and their lackeys are abusing our Party - that is a sign that our Party's general line is correct. [Applause].

"It is proved by the fate of Trotskyism, with which everybody is now familiar. The gentlemen in the Trotsky camp chattered about the 'degeneration' of the Soviet regime, about 'Thermidor', about the 'inevitable victory' of Trotskyism, and so forth. But, actually, what happened? What happened was the collapse, the end of Trotskyism. One section of the Trotskyists, as is known, broke away from Trotskyism and in numerous declarations of its representatives admitted that the Party was right, and acknowledged the counter-revolutionary character of Trotskyism. Another section of the Trotskyists really

degenerated into typical petty-bourgeois counter-revolutionaries, and actually became an information bureau of the capitalist press on matters concerning the CPSU(B). But the Soviet regime, which was to have 'degenerated' (or 'had already degenerated'), continues to thrive and to build socialism, successfully breaking the backbone of the capitalist elements in our country and their petty-bourgeois yes-men.

"It is proved by the fate of the Right deviators, with which everybody is now familiar. They chattered and howled about the Party line being 'fatal', about the 'probable catastrophe' in the USSR, about the necessity of 'saving' the country from the Party and its leadership, and so forth. But what actually happened? What actually happened was that the Party achieved gigantic successes on all the fronts of socialist construction, whereas the group of Right deviators, who wanted to 'save' the country but who later admitted that they were wrong, are now left high and dry.

"It is proved by the growing revolutionary activity of the working class and peasantry, by the active support for the Party's policy by the vast masses of the workers and peasant collective farmers, the immensity of which astonishes both the friends and the enemies of our country. That is apart from such signs of the growth of confidence in the Party as the applications from workers to join the Party in whole shops and factories, the growth of the Party membership between the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Congresses by over 600,000, and the 200,000 new members who joined the Party in the first quarter of this year alone. What does all this show if not that the vast masses of the working people realise that our Party's policy is correct and are ready to support it?

"It must be admitted that these facts would not have existed if our Party's general line had not been the only correct one." (Works Vol 12 pp. 352-4).

The above, then, is a brief sketch of the importance of collectivisation and the world-historic significance of its success in the USSR; of the 'left' (Trotskyist) and right (Bukharinite) deviation from the Leninist line on collectivisation. The international significance of the question of collectivisation in the USSR has rendered it a matter of practical necessity for us to write the above remarks by way of a Preface to Comrade Stalin's most brilliant contributions, published for the first time in Britain in the present collection,² on the question of collectivisation. The importance of the publication of the present volume containing almost all Comrade Stalin's writings and speeches on collectivisation lies, above all, in the fact that it contains the most authoritative Marxist-Leninist pronouncements on the

question of collectivisation, and, therefore, cannot but help in the eradication of all the various bourgeois theories and slanders which very often - to our shame - are circulated not only by the ordinary bourgeois but even by people calling themselves anti-revisionists and communists, and which stuff the heads of our inexperienced and often little-informed younger comrades with rubbish. These theories, which should have been eradicated and discarded long ago, are still current. Hence the importance of a relentless struggle against them, for only in a relentless fight against these bourgeois theories and slanders can theoretical thought among the Marxist-Leninist students of the agrarian question³ develop and grow strong. Hence the importance of the present publication.

NOTES

1. Precisely because the Trotskyist opposition in the USSR reflected the sentiments of the non-proletarian classes who were dissatisfied with the dictatorship of the proletariat, the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat showered on the opposition praises, of which the following are but a few examples. Here is what Dan, the leader of the 'Russian' Social Democrats, leader of the 'Russian' Mensheviks who advocated the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, had to say about the opposition:

"By their criticism of the existing system, which repeats the Social-Democratic criticism almost word for word, the Bolshevik opposition is preparing minds ... for the acceptance of the positive platform of Social-Democracy. ... Not only among the mass of the workers, but among communist workers as well, the opposition is rearing the shoots of ideas and sentiments which, if skillfully tended, may easily bear social-democratic fruit." (*Sotsialistichesky Vestnik*, no. 17-18).

Here is what *Posledniye Novosti*, the central organ of Milyukov's counter-revolutionary bourgeois party, said of the opposition:

"Today, the opposition is undermining the dictatorship, every new publication of the opposition utters more and more 'terrible' words, the opposition itself is evolving in the direction of increasingly violent assaults on the prevailing system; and this for the time being is enough for us to accept it with gratitude as the mouthpiece for wide sections of the politically dissatisfied population" (*Posledniye Novosti*, no. 190, quoted in Stalin, Works Vol 9 pp. 56-7).

And further:

"The most formidable enemy of the Soviet power today is the one that creeps upon it unawares, grips it in its tentacles on all sides and destroys it before it realises that it has been destroyed. It is precisely this role - inevitable and necessary in the preparatory period from which we have not yet emerged - that the Soviet opposition is performing." (*Posledniye Novosti*, no. 1983, quoted in Stalin, *ibid*).

Comment is superfluous.

2. The collection of the writings of Stalin on Collectivisation are not re-produced here.

Anyone desiring to obtain a copy of the same ought to be able to secure it from E.J.Rule, c/o 14 Featherstone Road, Southall, Middx UB2 5AA

3. Some comrades may say: in the conditions of Europe, full as it is of large-scale capitalist farming, what is the significance and need to dwell at length on questions concerning collectivisation? Why waste time on such questions? Such an approach is wrong firstly because the process of elimination of individual small-scale peasant farming has not gone far enough even in Western Europe for it to render questions of collectivisation unimportant and irrelevant for us. Secondly, from the point of view of the global strategy of the world proletariat, questions of collectivisation and the attitude towards the peasantry are of vital significance. Nearly two-thirds of the world's population live in countries which are predominantly agrarian. To win victory in these countries, the proletariat of these countries has to have a definite programme for winning over the peasantry for the making of the revolution, its consolidation, the building of socialism and the advance towards communism. In this regard the question of collectivisation, which is but a part of the general problem of building socialism, becomes very important. For us in Britain, it is our duty to extend our solidarity with our comrades in other countries, who have successfully applied, or who are successfully applying, Marxism-Leninism in the matter of collectivisation, for their successes bring our success that much nearer. That is why we do our best to counter the downright counter-revolutionary teaching of Trotskyism on all questions, not least on the question of collectivisation.

Chapter 19

Critique of the China Policy Study Group

The attempts by the bourgeois liberals of the China Policy Study Group to undermine Leninism.

In this context it would be wrong to conclude this preface without making a few remarks on the slanders spread against Stalin and against the Bolshevik Party's Marxist-Leninist line on the peasantry and on collectivisation by a professorial coterie peddling its bourgeois wares under the trade name of The China Policy Study Group (CPSG). This group publishes a monthly sheet called *Broadsheet*. The political physiognomy of this group may be judged from the fact that its leading lights include the following bourgeois professors: Dr Joseph Needham FRS, Professor Cyril Offord FRS, Professor Joan Robinson and Professor George Thomson. This group is also closely connected with the Society for [it should be Against] Anglo-Chinese Understanding (SACU), a bourgeois, anti-Chinese and anti-communist society pretending friendship with the People's Republic of China and with the cause of communism. In the November 1974 issue of *Broadsheet*, (Vol 11 no. 11), the professorial gentry of the CPSG presented us with an article entitled *The Paths of Two Revolutions*, which purported to be an analytical comparison between the October Revolution in Russia and the Chinese Revolution. This article, in the manner typical of bourgeois professorial circles, is full of bold but ignorant assertions, alongside scurrilous attacks on Stalin and the CPSU(B) that he led. It contains no Marxist-Leninist analysis. It is, on the contrary, a mockery of an analysis. The hundred and one attacks it contains on Comrade Stalin and the CPSU of his day do not all concern us here.¹ The sole issue that we are interested in presenting on this occasion is that concerning the CPSU's, and Stalin's, policy towards the peasantry. We hope the reader will bear with us, and not regard it as a diversion, if we quote in full the section in this article that deals with the role of the peasantry. This long quotation is necessary (a) to enable the reader to gain a depth of understanding of the thoroughly anti-communist, bour-

geois degenerate contents of that article, and a measure of the politics of its authors, (b) to acquaint the reader with the sly methods of these fraudulent tricksters, the sleights of hand with which they attempt to obliterate the boundary between Marxism-Leninism and opportunism; the ease with which, through the well-tried bourgeois method of innuendo, they invent 'new' myths which have nothing to do with historical facts and nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, (c) to help the reader to become fully aware of the desperate attempts that are being made by these bourgeois scribes to drive a wedge between Comrade Stalin and Comrade Mao, between the Russian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution, and finally (d) to avoid charges of distortion and of quoting out of context. Here is the quotation:

"The role of the peasantry

"From the outset in one major respect the two revolutions diverged. In both countries the peasants represented the majority of people - in China over 80%. The handling of the peasant question was to prove the decisive political element in both countries. In Tsarist Russia the peasants, oppressed as they were, formed a reserve force for the bourgeoisie. Dominated by feudalism, anaesthetised by the powerful Russian Orthodox Church, they provided support to the Peasant Party which repeatedly lined up with the Mensheviks and their petty-bourgeois allies in challenging and contesting the initiatives of the Bolsheviks led by Lenin. For years after 1917, in the struggles around line and policy, the leaders of the Peasant Party maintained their support for the anti-Marxists and revisionists.

"In China, from his early emergence in the leadership of the party, Mao Tse-tung made the winning of the peasantry the focal point of his policy. For years he led a minority which opposed the Party leadership, then following the 'left' line of concentrating on the towns. It was not until 1935, during the Long March, that his leadership was recognised.

"In the Soviet Union, during the hard, tough years that followed the Wars of Intervention by the capitalist powers, the Soviet leaders, now deprived of the guiding hand of Lenin, wrestled with the problem of building up their country's economic strength. Encircled by a hostile world, they chose the priority of creating heavy industry, to which everything else had to be sacrificed. It was the peasantry who had to shoulder the burden because they were seen as the only element able to produce the necessary accumulation to finance the huge industrial base that needed to be created quickly from practically nothing. This pol-

icy decision, some would say, was the source of the political, economic and social strife that has never been allayed - the peasants were never won wholeheartedly for the revolution.

"Light industry, the principal means of raising living standards, never got under way, was never allowed to make its proper contribution to easing the burden of both the peasantry and the working-class.

"In China after 1949 Mao Tse-tung led his Party on an entirely different road in spite of much opposition from the Soviet leaders and their supporters inside the Chinese leadership. 'Agriculture', he declared, 'is the foundation, industry the leading factor'. So, whilst agricultural development became the priority, light industry was expanded rapidly to provide both the consumer goods for raising the living standards of all the people and the accumulation of funds to finance heavy industry.

"Thus in the Soviet Union the peasantry - the majority of the people - has remained a sullen disenchanted force, while in China their revolutionary impulse has been seized, harnessed and transformed into a mighty ideological force.

"History may judge that the failure of the Soviet leadership after Lenin to produce a new 'Soviet Man' springs from two fatal errors: wrong policy towards the peasantry and the absence of the mass line."

An entire book could (and should) be devoted to the refutation of these deliberate distortions, fabrications and lying assertions. It is much easier for the professors hired by the bourgeoisie to tell lies on its behalf, to spread falsehoods a mile deep without the slightest basis in reality, than it is for us to refute them. As can be seen from the above quotation, the bourgeois hacks have managed on one single page to pack in so many lies and distortions and to sow so much confusion that it would take an entire volume to refute them. But neither time or space permit of such an exhaustive and thoroughgoing treatment of the subject. We presently confine ourselves, therefore, to a few brief comments on this particular quotation:

1. In the very first two paragraphs that have been quoted above, the distinct impression is created that, whereas the Chinese Communist Party led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung made the *"winning of the peasantry the focal point"* of its policy, the Bolsheviks in Russia simply ignored the peasantry. Any reader who did not know the history of Bolshevism and had never come across the magnificent and brilliantly rich writings of Comrade Lenin as well as Comrade Stalin would thus be led to believe that the Bolsheviks

had no programme, no policy, for winning over the peasantry and that the Bolsheviks did not make *"the winning of the peasantry the focal point"* of their policy. If that were true, what then, one might be forgiven for asking the learned professors, was the difference between Leninism on the one hand and Trotskyism on the other? How then, if the Bolsheviks had no programme for winning over the peasantry, were the Bolsheviks able successfully not only to lead the Great October Socialist Revolution but also to maintain it, consolidate it, and build socialism in a single country with a predominantly peasant population? How then are the successes of the October Revolution to be explained? There can only be 'two' explanations: either the Russian revolution was a miracle that took place as a result of divine providence, or the Russian revolution enjoyed the success it did because, among other factors, the Bolsheviks did have a correct programme on the question of the peasantry - a correct plan for the winning of the peasantry. The first explanation is of course not an explanation at all but a mockery of one; it could only be acceptable to those who believe in miracles, faith healing, divine providence and virgin births, etc. If our bourgeois authors want to subscribe to such an 'explanation' of the Russian revolution (and all the indications are that they do) then we cannot stop them from doing so. They must not, however, invite any self-respecting Marxist-Leninist to accept this sorcery dished out as an explanation of the Russian revolution. The second explanation is the only one which to Marxist-Leninist could adhere.

The truth is that the Bolsheviks did have a correct policy for winning the peasantry. The truth is that they did make the *"winning of the peasantry the focal point"* of their policy. This will be absolutely clear to anyone who reads the Agrarian section of the RSDLP's Programme, ² or Lenin's *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, which was published as early as 1905, or a score of other writings of Comrade Lenin, and later of Comrade Stalin. It will be found that the Bolsheviks' Programme on the peasantry was the only correct one; that it was such a model programme that the Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries with predominantly peasant populations have since then adopted it as their own, with suitable minor modifications. The Chinese Party was no exception ³ This being so, why then did our bourgeois scribblers attempt to distort the matter and stand facts on their head? The answer can only be that either they are engaged in the deliberate distortion of facts, or that they are downright ignorant. In either case they are doing a lot of harm to the communist movement.

2. Having in the first two paragraphs quoted above committed the distortion, albeit impliedly, that the Bolsheviks did not have a policy for winning the peasantry, our bourgeois authors go on to imply in their next paragraph that, despite this lack of policy, the Bolshevik Party was somehow able to get by as long as there existed the *"guiding hand of Lenin"*. So the *"guiding hand of Lenin"* becomes a substitute for a clear-cut strategy for winning over the peasantry. This is praise indeed for Lenin! In practice such eulogising of Lenin proves to be nothing less to Leninism than was the notorious kiss of Judas to Christ. No, worthy bourgeois professors. We do not take your 'praise' of Lenin at its face value. We recognise it for what it really is, namely, an attempt to downgrade and undermine Leninism. Lenin was the greatest Marxist ever born; he, in the true spirit of Marxism, believed in analysing concrete reality and in applying Marxism to concrete reality; he believed in having a concrete strategy on such important questions affecting the fate of the revolution as the peasant question. To attribute to this giant, Lenin, a position whereby his *"guiding hand"* became a substitute for a clear programme on any question, including the peasant question, is not only ludicrously absurd and vulgar, but also a disgusting and foul lie. The Bolsheviks did have something more than the *"guiding hand of Lenin,"* namely, Leninism itself. Even after the departure of Lenin, even after the *"guiding hand of Lenin"* was no longer there, the Bolshevik Party, now under the leadership of Stalin, continued to adhere steadfastly to Leninism on all questions, including on the peasant question. Following Leninism the Party achieved truly dazzling and momentous successes. It is therefore a downright lie for our bourgeois authors, pretending to be Marxists, to say that (a) the Bolsheviks had no programme on the peasant question; that all they possessed was the *"guiding hand of Lenin"*, and (b) once that *"guiding hand"* was no longer there, the Bolsheviks were left with neither a programme nor a *"guiding hand"* to guide them on the peasant question.

Further down, in the sixth paragraph, the bourgeois 'Marxists' deliver the final 'annihilating' blow at Stalin and the CPSU he led:

"History may judge that the failure of the Soviet leadership after Lenin to produce a new 'Soviet Man' springs from two fatal errors: wrong policy towards the peasantry and the absence of the mass line."

As regards the charge of *"the absence of the mass line,"* we shall not deal with it here for not only is it not DIRECTLY relevant for the present purposes, but also because we dealt with it in our Preface to a collection of

Stalin's speeches entitled *On the Mechanics of Class Struggle under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.⁴ In this Preface we refuted, among others, Professor G Thomson, one of the leading lights of the China Policy Study Group, who had also given expression to this same absurd accusation in his book *From Marx to Mao Tse-tung*.

As to the charge of "*wrong policy towards the peasantry*," we have already demonstrated beyond doubt that the Bolshevik Party's policy on the peasant question was correct. To reiterate, the Bolshevik programme on the peasantry can be summed up in the following three slogans which correspond to the different periods in the development of the Russian revolution. When the Russian people were approaching the bourgeois democratic revolution, in the period when the immediate task was the destruction of Tsarist autocracy and the establishment of a provisional revolutionary government, which was to be the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, the Bolshevik slogan was that of an alliance with the entire peasantry. In the second period, when the proletariat was approaching the October socialist revolution, the Bolshevik slogan was: an alliance with the poor peasantry, neutralise the middle peasantry and fight against the kulaks. In the third period, at the end of the Civil War and War of Intervention, in the period when the dictatorship of the proletariat had been consolidated and the task confronting the Party was the building of socialism - in this period the Party's slogan was no longer the one that aimed at neutralising the middle peasantry. Now the slogan was to come to an agreement with the middle peasant, while never for a moment renouncing the fight against the kulak, and firmly relying solely on the poor peasant. It is by putting this slogan into effect that socialism was built in the USSR; it was by such means, by following such a complicated but scientific and clearly worked out programme, that the Bolshevik Party gained such historic achievements.

Despite these glaring facts, and in complete disregard of these facts, our 'Marxist' critics say the Bolshevik Party had a "*wrong policy towards the peasantry*." Very well, gentlemen: what do you mean when you assert that the Bolshevik Party had a "*wrong policy towards the peasantry*"? You may be too slow-witted to realise that you must mean either that the Bukharinite policy (of an alliance with the entire peasantry including the kulaks), or the Trotskyite policy (of no alliance with the peasantry, even the poor and middle peasantry) was correct. If that is what you believe to be correct (and all the indications are that you do adhere to such a viewpoint), then have the courage to state your case openly. Do not 'mutiny on your knees' if you really

must 'mutiny'.

And when, having uttered such reactionary rubbish, you go on to compare China with the USSR and shower 'praises' on the former, you are only implying (and again you may be too slow-witted to realise this) that the CPC achieved successes on the peasant question by following a line which was fundamentally hostile to that followed in the USSR. What can that mean? It could only mean that the CPC followed either Bukharinism or Trotskyism on the peasant question! Such is the logical absurdity of your assertions, gentlemen, that in your zeal to denounce the Bolshevik Party and Stalin, you are in fact denouncing, by falsely attributing to them Bukharinite or Trotskyite, anti-Bolshevik and anti-Stalinist positions, the great People's Republic of China, the CPC and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, all of whom owe and recognise a great debt of gratitude to the Bolshevik Party and to Comrade Stalin. There may be some gullible people in the movement whom you are able to ensnare for a while. But remember, gentlemen, that the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists in the movement are already well-equipped to track down your bourgeois lies. Rest assured, bourgeois swindlers, that you will be exposed.

3. In connection with the accusation that the Bolshevik Party had no policy (or had a wrong policy) towards the peasantry, our would-be Marxist authors add another charge to their indictment of the Bolshevik Party, namely, that heavy industry was developed at the expense of agriculture; that the Bolshevik Party "*chose* ⁵ *the priority of creating heavy industry, to which everything else had to be sacrificed*"; that "*the peasantry ... had to shoulder the burden because they were SEEN as the only element able to produce the necessary accumulation to finance the huge industrial base ...*", thus implying that the Soviet peasantry was exploited under Bolshevik rule. The reader will note the similarity of this charge with the Bukharinite accusation that the Party was subjecting the peasantry to "*military feudal*" exploitation. It is further asserted that the Party's policy of industrialisation was the cause of "*political, economic and social strife*" which resulted in the alienation of the peasantry away from the revolution. It is worth repeating the thoroughly spineless, if thoroughly opportunist, formulation of this accusation. It is said:

"*This policy decision, [regarding heavy industry] SOME [this 'some' is their opportunist way of saying that they subscribe to this view but have not got the guts to say so] would say was the source of the political, economic and*

social strife that has NEVER been allayed - the peasants were NEVER won wholeheartedly for the revolution."

And to cover up the above counter-revolutionary accusations against the Bolshevik Party - accusations which owe their origin to the ideologues of the imperialist bourgeoisie and to the Cadets - our bourgeois tricksters use their characteristic fraudulent trick of counterposing China to the USSR and Comrade Mao Tse-tung to Comrade Lenin and Comrade Stalin:

"In China," they allege, "after 1949 Mao Tse-tung led his Party on an ENTIRELY DIFFERENT road in spite of much opposition from the Soviet leaders and their supporters inside the Chinese leadership. 'Agriculture', he declared, 'is the foundation, industry the leading factor' ... "

Here are a few brief remarks regarding these counter-revolutionary charges:

(a) Heavy industry

Was it incorrect for the Bolshevik Party to have emphasised the significance of the development of heavy industry? No, it certainly was not. The first reason it was not incorrect was that without the emphasis on the development of heavy industry, in particular the machine-building industry, it would have been impossible to drag the USSR out of its medieval integument into the modern world of the twentieth century. The second reason is that without the development of heavy industry the USSR could not emerge as a fully independent country, for it would always be subject to the economic blackmail of imperialism. The third reason was that without the base of heavy industry, the USSR could never have been successful in building its defence industry and safeguarding the frontiers of the first socialist state against the military attacks of international imperialism. Can anybody deny the signal contribution of Soviet heavy industry, the Soviet armed forces and the Soviet people to the defeat of the dark forces of fascism? The fourth reason is that without the development of Soviet heavy industry, even Soviet agriculture would not have been able to develop very much.⁶ Before collective farms could be developed on a sound basis, Soviet industry, among other factors, had to be in a position to provide the State and collective farms with the necessary machinery and with technical and scientific assistance. The final reason is that without the development of heavy industry it would have been impossible to establish between the working class and the peasantry that bond which is based on metal, the only bond which lays down the basis for, and facilitates the remoulding of the outlook of, the individua-

list peasantry along the collectivist path - the path of socialism and communism.

Our authors are indulging not only in utter nonsense, but in deliberate and malicious slanders when they say that *"after 1949 Mao Tse-tung led his Party on an entirely different road in spite of much opposition from the Soviet leaders ... 'Agriculture', he declared, 'is the foundation, heavy industry the leading factor' ..."* First of all, it is not true that there was any opposition from the *"Soviet leaders"* to the Chinese Party's line; there is not the slightest evidence of this, apart from the assertions that from time to time emanate from bourgeois quarters of the type represented by the China Policy Study Group. Secondly, the CPC did not follow a different, let alone *"an entirely different"*, road from that followed by the Bolshevik Party on the question under consideration. This is admitted even by our slow-witted bourgeois authors when they quote with approval Comrade Mao Tse-tung's words *"Agriculture is the foundation, industry the leading factor."* What does that mean? It means giving priority to the building of industry, in particular heavy industry with its emphasis on the machine-building industry. Only such an industry can be a *"leading factor"*; only such an industry can *"lead"* in the development of industry and agriculture and pulling the country along the road to development and prosperity; only such an industry can free the country from dependence on foreign imperialism; and only such an industry can be the basis of a bond - an alliance - between the working class and the peasantry, which alone can remould the peasantry's outlook along the lines of collectivism and communism and leads in the direction of the abolition of classes. Any other ideas about changing the outlook of the peasants and winning them over are nothing but attempts at peasant philosophising and theorising and have nothing in common with Marxism Leninism. So when our authors quote Comrade Mao Tse-tung with approval, they are without realising it quoting him against themselves and not against the Bolshevik Party or Comrade Stalin! Our bourgeois critics attempted to attack Comrade Stalin. They ended up by attacking themselves. We have witnessed before the spectacle of opportunists being slapped in the face by revolutionaries. Never before have we witnessed the truly wonderful spectacle of opportunists publicly slapping their own faces, and for this our authors deserve praise and greetings.

It is equally clear from the above that what our authors would have liked the USSR to do is in no way different from what international monopoly capitalism would have liked the USSR to do, namely, not to develop its

heavy industry, remain backward and dependent economically, weak militarily, and in course of time be overpowered by the combined strength of the 'Soviet' bourgeoisie [i.e., the kulaks] and international capitalism. For the process back to capitalism would have started long before the 20th Party Congress if the USSR had not given priority to the building of socialism in the USSR by overcoming the capitalist forces within the country, and without which it would have been unable to achieve glorious victory in the anti-fascist war. It is now perfectly clear on whose side our authors really are.

(b) Peasantry and internal accumulation

Our authors complain that it *"was the peasantry who had to shoulder the burden because they were SEEN as the only element able to produce the necessary accumulation to finance the huge industrial base that needed to be created quickly from practically nothing. This policy decision, some [the notorious 'some' implies that the authors themselves hold this opinion] would say, was the source of political, economic and social strife that has never been allayed - the peasants were never won wholeheartedly for the revolution."*

To comment:

First, it is incorrect to say that the peasants were "SEEN" as the only element able to produce the necessary accumulation. The truth is that there were two chief sources that could, and did, produce the necessary accumulation, i.e., the working class and the peasantry. As Stalin put it:

"In capitalist countries industrialisation was usually effected, in the main, by robbing other countries, by robbing colonies or defeated countries, or with the help of substantial and more or less enslaving loans from abroad." (Works Vol 11, p.165).

And further:

"One respect in which our country differs from the capitalist countries is that it cannot and must not engage in colonial robbery, or the plundering of other countries in general. That way, therefore, is barred to us."

"Neither, however, does our country have or want to have enslaving loans from abroad. Consequently, that way, too, is closed to us."

"What then remains? Only one thing, and that is to develop industry ... with the help of INTERNAL accumulations." (Ibid., p. 166).

"But what are the chief sources of these accumulations? ... there are two such sources: firstly, the working class, which creates values and advances our industry; secondly, the peasantry." (Ibid. p. 167).

The peasantry contributed to the internal accumulations not only by paying the State the usual taxes, but also by paying relatively high prices for manufactured goods and by being underpaid in the prices for agricultural produce. This under the circumstances of the USSR at the time was unavoidable. The question, however, arises whether the Soviet peasantry was in a position to bear this burden, or was the burden unbearable and was the peasantry being exploited by the working class? It is undoubtedly true that the Soviet peasantry was perfectly capable of bearing this burden. Here is how Comrade Stalin answered this question:

"Are the peasants capable of bearing this burden? They undoubtedly are: firstly, because this burden will grow lighter from year to year, and, secondly, because this additional tax is being levied not under the conditions of capitalist development, where the masses of the peasantry are condemned to poverty and exploitation, but under Soviet conditions, where exploitation of the peasantry by the socialist state is out of the question, and where this additional tax is being paid in a situation in which the living standards of the peasantry are steadily rising." (Ibid pp. 168-9).

(c) The relationship between light industry and heavy industry

"**Light industry**", assert our reactionary and ignorant authors, "*never got under way, was never allowed to make its proper contribution to easing the burden of both the peasantry and the working class.*" Even the most cursory perusal, let alone a sustained study, of the actual history of the Soviet Union clearly shows to anyone who is not bent upon inventing his own history as a substitute for the real one, that the USSR began by establishing between the working class and the peasantry a bond based on satisfying the personal needs of the peasantry. The initial stage of the NEP was characterised by emphasis on this aspect of the bond, for this was the only way of reviving trade between town and country, of putting individual peasant farming on its feet and strengthening it, of ensuring that the towns obtained the necessary agricultural produce. All these things were necessary **AT THAT TIME**, when the need was to rehabilitate industry on the one hand and strengthen individual farming on the other hand, in order to revive trade between town and country. This could not, however, as has been pointed out over and over again, go on forever. The bond between the working class and the Soviet peasantry could not be based **EXCLUSIVELY** on satisfying the personal requirements of the peasantry. Ultimately it had to be based on metal, if the Soviet Union was to remould the outlook of the peasantry and

build socialism. Of course, the Bukharinite opportunists advocated, as does the China Policy Study Group, that light industry be used **EXCLUSIVELY** as a means of establishing the bond between the working class and the peasantry. Here is how Comrade Stalin answered the Bukharinites - an answer which is more than sufficient to refute the Bukharinite nonsense of the China Policy Study Group:

*"The second question concerns the problem of the **BOND WITH THE MIDDLE PEASANT** - the problem of the aims of the bond and the means for effecting it.*

*"It would follow from what some comrades say that the bond between town and country, between the working class and the main mass of the peasantry, is based **EXCLUSIVELY** on textiles, on satisfying the **PERSONAL** requirements of the peasantry? Is this true? It is quite untrue, comrades. Of course, it is of immense importance to satisfy the peasants' personal requirements for textiles. That is how we began to establish the bond with the peasantry in the new conditions. But to assert on these grounds that the bond based on textiles is the beginning and end of the matter, that the bond based on satisfying the peasants' personal requirements is the all-inclusive or chief foundation of the economic alliance between the working class and the peasantry, is to commit a most serious error. Actually, the bond between town and country is based not only on satisfying the peasants' **PERSONAL** requirements, not only on textiles, but also on satisfying the **ECONOMIC** requirements of the peasants as **PRODUCERS** of agricultural products.*

"It is not only cotton fabrics that we give the peasants. We also give them machines of all kinds, seeds, ploughs, fertilisers, etc., which are of the weightiest importance for the advancement and socialist transformation of peasant farming.

"Hence, the bond is based not only on textiles, but also on metals. Without this, the bond with the peasantry would be insecure.

"In what way does the bond based on textiles differ from the bond based on metals? Primarily in the fact that the bond based on textiles chiefly concerns the peasants' personal requirements, without affecting, or affecting to a comparatively small extent, the production side of peasant farming, whereas the bond based on metals chiefly concerns the production side of peasant farming, improving it, mechanising it, making it more remunerative and paving the way for uniting the scattered and small peasant farms into large socially-conducted farms.

"It would be a mistake to think that the purpose of the bond is to preserve classes, the peasant class in particular. That is not so, comrades. That is not the purpose of the bond at all. The purpose of the bond is to bring the peasantry closer to the working class, the leader of our entire development, to strengthen the alliance of the peasantry with the working class, the leading force in the alliance, gradually to REMOULD the peasantry, its mentality and its production, ALONG COLLECTIVIST LINES, and thus to bring about the conditions for the abolition of classes.

"The purpose of the bond is not to preserve classes, but to abolish them. Whereas the bond based on textiles affects the production side of peasant farming very little and therefore, generally speaking, cannot result in the remoulding of the peasantry along collectivist lines and in the abolition of classes, the bond based upon metals, on the contrary, affects primarily the production side of peasant farming, its mechanisation and its collectivisation, and for this very reason should result in the gradual remoulding of the peasantry, in the gradual elimination of classes, including the peasant class.

"How, in general, can the peasant, his mentality, his production - be remoulded, remade, along the lines of bringing his mentality closer to that of the working class, along the lines of the socialist principle of production? What does this require?

"It requires, firstly, the widest agitation on behalf of collectivism among the peasant masses.

"It requires, secondly, implanting a co-operative communal life and the ever wider extension of our co-operative supply and marketing organisations to the millions of peasant farms. There can be no doubt that had it not been for the broad development of our co-operatives, we should not have that swing towards the collective-farm movement that we observe among the peasants at the present time, for the development of supply and marketing co-operatives is in our conditions a means of preparing the peasants for going over to collective farming.

"But all this is still far from enough to remould the peasantry. The principal force for remoulding the peasantry along socialist lines lies in new technical means in agriculture, the mechanisation of agriculture, collective peasant labour, and the electrification of the country.

"Lenin has been referred to here, and a passage on the bond with peasant farming has been quoted from his works. But to take Lenin in part, without desiring to take him as a whole, is to misrepresent Lenin. Lenin was fully

aware that the bond with the peasantry based on textile goods is a very important matter. But he did not stop there, for, side by side with this, he insisted that the bond with the peasantry should be based also on metals, on supplying the peasant with machines, on the electrification of the country, that is, on all those things which promote the remaking and remoulding of peasant FARMING on collectivist lines.

"Please listen, for example, to the following quotation from Lenin:

"The remaking of the small tiller, the remoulding of his whole mentality and habits, is a work of generations. As regards the small tiller, this problem can be solved, his whole mentality can be put on healthy lines, so to speak, only by the material base, by technical means, by introducing tractors and machines in agriculture on a mass scale, by electrification on a mass scale. That is what would remake the small tiller fundamentally and with immense rapidity." (Vol XXVI, p. 239).

"Quite clearly, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry cannot be stable and lasting, the bond cannot be stable and lasting and cannot attain its purpose of gradually remoulding the peasantry, bringing it closer to the working class and putting it on collectivist lines, if the bond based on textiles is not supplemented by the bond based on metals.

"That is how Comrade Lenin understood the bond."

The reader will, it is hoped, forgive this lengthy quotation. It was necessary in order to expose the reactionary rubbish with which various bourgeois organisations such as the China Policy Study Group, under various 'left' garbs, seek to stuff the heads of people in the working-class movement. It is all the more necessary to expose this reactionary rubbish since the working-class movement in Britain is not only more or less theoretically ignorant, but it is even ignorant of what ought to be generally well-known truths to anyone in the proletarian movement. One thing is certain from the above-cited remarks of Comrade Stalin, namely, that it was not a question of whether the USSR should develop light industry, whether it should allow light industry to "get under way"; it was rather a question of whether the USSR should develop light industry EXCLUSIVELY or even develop its industry with an EMPHASIS on light industry. Of course, the Soviet Union developed an extensive light industry,⁷ for that was the only way of satisfying the personal needs both of the working class and the peasantry. Surely the China Policy Study Group is not suggesting that for 30-odd years the Soviet people were living on steel and eating metals, the hydro-electric power

stations, etc? No, the fact is that the living standards of the working class and peasantry rose steadily during those years; and this could only have happened if, in addition to heavy industry, light industry was also developed on an extensive scale. In addition to the development of light industry, however, the Soviet Union not only built heavy industry, but also gave it priority, in particular to the machine building section of it. Without this the USSR would never have achieved its truly gigantic and almost miraculous achievements in the building of socialism, defending the socialist fatherland against the combined strength of the international imperialist bourgeoisie, and defeating fascism and liberating mankind from the fascist hordes. These glorious achievements on the part of the Soviet Union - which are at the same time the glorious achievements of the international working-class movement - are not to the liking of the ordinary bourgeois, including the ordinary bourgeois of the China Policy Study Group. These achievements are very much hated by these people. But their dislikes notwithstanding, the glorious victories of the Soviet Union on the economic, political, ideological, cultural and military fronts have made an inestimable contribution to the movement forward of the world proletarian movement, to the final defeat of the world bourgeoisie; they have left an indelible mark on the communist movement and can never be erased by the vulgar gibes of bourgeois scribes and snivellers of the type represented by the China Policy Study Group.

(d) Rate of industrialisation

The accusation is often hurled at Stalin and the CPSU(B) that the rate of development of industry, in particular of the production of the means of production, was too fast in the USSR. This accusation is also implied by the China Policy Study Group, in their usual cowardly, vague, evasive and amorphous manner, in the above-quoted remarks. The question therefore arises as to the validity of this accusation. Could the Soviet Union have conducted the work of industrialisation at a slower pace or, as Stalin inquired, *"in a more 'restful' atmosphere? Is not the fast rate of industrial development due to the restless character of the members of the Political Bureau and the Council of People's Commissars?"* Stalin went on to answer this question thus:

"Of course not! The members of the Political Bureau and the Council of People's Commissars are calm and sober people. Abstractly speaking, that is, if we disregarded the external and internal situation, we could, of course, conduct the work at a slower speed. but the point is that, firstly, we cannot disre-

gard the external and internal situation, and, secondly, if we take the surrounding situation as our starting-point, it has to be admitted that it is precisely this situation that DICTATES [my emphasis] a fast rate of development of our industry." (Stalin Works Vol 11, Industrialisation of the Country and the Right Deviation in the CPSU(B)).

Stalin then passes to an examination of the external and internal conditions that dictated the fast rate of development of Soviet industry. He lists the following as the chief conditions dictating this fast rate:

EXTERNAL CONDITIONS

(i) The Bolsheviks had assumed power in a country that was technically and industrially backward as compared with the advanced capitalist countries of the day, like Germany, Britain and America, etc. But the political system in the USSR - the Soviet system - was the most advanced system in the world. So there was a contradiction between the advanced political system, on the one hand, and backward industry and technique on the other hand. As long as this contradiction existed, it was impossible to achieve the victory of socialism in the USSR. So what had to be done to put an end to this contradiction?

"To end it, we must overtake and outstrip the advanced technology of the developed capitalist countries. We have overtaken and outstripped the advanced capitalist countries in the sense of establishing a new political system. That is good. But it is not enough. In order to secure the final victory of socialism in our country, we must also overtake and outstrip these countries technically and economically. Either we do this or we shall be forced to the wall." .

To say the same thing in the words of Comrade Lenin:

"The result of the revolution has been that the political system of Russia has in a few months caught up with that of the advanced countries. But that is not enough. The war is inexorable; it puts the alternative with ruthless severity: either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries economically as well ... Perish or drive full-steam ahead. That is the alternative with which history has confronted us."

(ii) Without a fast rate of industrial development, an adequate industrial basis for defence could not be created and, therefore, the independence of the USSR could not be upheld.

(iii) The question of a fast rate of development of industry would not have confronted the Soviet Union in the acute form it actually did, had the

Soviet Union had such a highly-developed industry and technology as did Germany, for example, and if the relative importance of industry in the national economy of the USSR had been as high as in Germany, to take the same example.

(iv) The Soviet Union was the only socialist state in the world, existing in conditions of capitalist encirclement:

"The question of a fast rate of development of industry would not face us so acutely if we were not the only country but one of the countries of the dictatorship of the proletariat, if there were a proletarian dictatorship not only in our country but in other, more advanced countries as well, Germany and France, say." (Stalin, ibid).

Further: *"It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down the tempo somewhat, to put a check on the movement. No, comrades, it is not possible! The tempo must not be reduced! On the contrary, we must increase it as much as is within our powers and possibilities. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the workers and peasants of the USSR. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world.*

"To slacken the tempo would mean falling behind. And those who fall behind get beaten. But we do not want to be beaten. No, we refuse to be beaten! One feature of the history of old Russia was the continual beatings she suffered because of her backwardness. She was beaten by the Mongol khans. She was beaten by the Turkish beys. She was beaten by the Swedish feudal lords. She was beaten by the Polish and Lithuanian gentry. She was beaten by the British and French capitalists. She was beaten by the Japanese barons. All beat her - because of her backwardness, because of her military backwardness, cultural backwardness, political backwardness, industrial backwardness, agricultural backwardness. They beat her because to do so was profitable and could be done with impunity. You remember the words of the pre-revolutionary poet: 'You are poor and abundant, mighty and impotent, Mother Russia.' Those gentlemen were quite familiar with the verses of the old poet. They beat her, saying: 'You are abundant,' so one can enrich oneself at your expense. They beat her, saying: 'You are poor and impotent,' so you can be beaten and plundered with impunity. Such is the law of the exploiters - to beat the backward and the weak. It is the jungle law of capitalism. You are backward, you are weak - therefore you are wrong; hence you can be beaten and enslaved. You are mighty - therefore you are right; hence we must be wary of you.

"That is why we must no longer lag behind" ⁸

"In the past we had no fatherland, nor could we have had one. But now that we have overthrown capitalism and power is in our hands, in the hands of the people, we have a fatherland, and we will uphold its independence. Do you want our socialist fatherland to be beaten and to lose its independence? If you do not want this, you must put an end to its backwardness in the shortest possible time and develop a genuine Bolshevik tempo in building up its socialist economy. There is no other way. That is why Lenin said on the eve of the October Revolution: 'Either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries.'

"We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or we shall go under.

"That is what our obligations to the workers and peasants of the USSR dictate to us.

"But we have yet other, more serious and more important, obligations. They are our obligations to the world proletariat. They coincide with our obligations to the workers and peasants of the USSR. But we place them higher. The working class of the USSR is part of the world working class. We achieved victory not solely through the efforts of the working class of the USSR, but also thanks to the support of the working class of the world. Without this support we would have been torn to pieces long ago. It is said that our country is the shock brigade of the proletariat of all countries. That is well said. But it imposes very serious obligations upon us. Why does the international proletariat support us? How did we merit this support? By the fact that we were the first to hurl ourselves into the battle against capitalism, we were the first to establish working-class state power, we were the first to begin building socialism. By the fact that we are engaged on a cause which, if successful, will transform the whole world and free the entire working class. But what is needed for success? The elimination of our backwardness, the development of a high Bolshevik tempo of construction. We must march forward in such a way that the working class of the whole world, looking at us, may say: There you have my advanced detachment, my shock brigade, my working-class state power, my fatherland; they are engaged on their cause, OUR cause, and they are working well; let us support them against the capitalists and promote the cause of the world revolution. Must we not justify the hopes of the world's working class, must we not fulfil our obligations to them? Yes, we must if we do not want to utterly disgrace ourselves." (Works Vol 13 pp. 40-42).

Thoroughly biased as he is against Stalin, Isaac Deutscher in his bio-

graphy of Stalin is obliged to make the following admission as to the factors that underlay the Soviet victory in the Second World War:

*"The truth was that the war could not have been won without the intensive industrialization of Russia, and of her eastern provinces in particular. Nor could it have been won without the collectivization of large numbers of farms. The muzhik of 1930, who had never handled a tractor or any other machine, would have been of little use in modern war. Collectivized farming, with its machine-tractor stations scattered all over the country, had been the peasants' preparatory school for mechanized warfare. The rapid raising of the average standard of education had also enabled the Red Army to draw on a considerable reserve of intelligent officers and men. 'We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years. Either we do it, or they crush us' - so Stalin had spoken exactly ten years before Hitler set out to conquer Russia. His words, when they were recalled now, could not but impress people as a prophecy brilliantly fulfilled, as a most timely call to action. And, indeed, a few years' delay in the modernization of Russia might have made all the difference between victory and defeat." (Deutscher, *Stalin: A Political Biography*, London, Pelican, 1966, p.535).*

INTERNAL CONDITIONS

(i) The backwardness of Soviet agriculture dictated a fast rate of industrial development, without which it was impossible to place Soviet agriculture on a new technical basis, the basis of large-scale production.

(ii) Without a fast rate of development in industry it was impossible to abolish the small commodity economy of the peasants, it was impossible to "tear out the roots of capitalism" and to undermine "the foundation, the basis, of the internal enemy."

"As long as we live in a small-peasant country, there is a surer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for communism ... We have not torn out the roots of capitalism and we have not undermined the foundation, the basis of the internal enemy. The latter depends on small-scale production, and there is only one way of undermining it, namely, to place the economy of the country, including agriculture, on a new basis, the basis of modern large-scale production. And it is only electricity that is such a basis. Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country."

Further: "If we have electrification in 10-20 years, then the individualism of the small tiller, and freedom for him to trade locally are not a whit terrible. If we do not have electrification, a return to capitalism will be inevitable any-

how." (Lenin, *The Tax in Kind*).

And further still: *"Ten or twenty years of correct relations with the peasantry, and victory on a world scale is assured (even if the proletarian revolutions, which are growing, are delayed); otherwise, 20-40 years of the torments of whiteguard terrorism."*

(iii) The fast rate of industrial development, with its ability to put agriculture on a new technical basis, the basis of large-scale production, provided the only material basis for remoulding the individualist outlook of the peasantry along collectivist lines. For, as Lenin says:

"The remaking of the small tiller, the remoulding of his whole mentality and habits, is a work of generations ... this whole mentality can be put on healthy lines, so to speak, only by the material base, by technical means, by introducing tractors and machines in agriculture on a mass scale, by electrification on a mass scale. That is what would remake the small tiller fundamentally and with immense rapidity."

That is how Lenin understood the question of *"correct relations with the peasantry"*. Either place *"the economy of the country, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, the technical basis of modern large-scale production,"* or a return to capitalism is inevitable.

But to the China Policy Study Group the pursuit of the above Leninist policy towards the peasantry means the pursuit of *"wrong policy towards the peasantry,"* which they allege was one of the *"cardinal errors responsible for the prostitution of the Bolshevik revolution which the world is witnessing today!"* In other words the Bolshevik Party's adherence to the Bolshevik, Leninist, programme on the question of the peasantry and the industrialisation of the USSR led to the *"prostitution of the Bolshevik revolution!"* According to this 'new' theory, Leninism and Bolsheviks are like capitalism in that the greatest barrier to their further development are Leninism and Bolshevism themselves! Strange, is it not, comrades? From this strange theory we may judge the political physiognomy and affiliations of the professorial gentry of the China Policy Study Group. When our 'Marxist' professors declare boldly that *"in the Soviet Union the peasantry - the majority of the people - has remained a sullen disenchanted force,"* they reveal themselves truly as the most rotten and rabidly anti-communist third-rate bourgeois pen-pushers that they are, and as persons who, in terms of honesty, do not reach even the standards of an honest capitalist like Mr Gibson Jarvis. Mr Jarvis, who was president of the United Dominions Trust in 1932, could

then write:

"Russia today is a country with a soul and an ideal ... of amazing activity ... And perhaps most important of all, all these youngsters and these workers in Russia have one thing which is too sadly lacking in the capitalist countries today, and that is - hope!"

Hardly a picture of a country *"the majority"* of whose people *"has remained a sullen disenchanted force."* The anti-communism of the China Policy Study Group, despite their conjuring tricks and fraudulent subterfuges, is not hidden by the 'praise' showered on China in the same sentence: *"... while in China their [the peasants'] revolutionary impulse has been seized, harnessed and transformed into a mighty ideological force."* Listening to these bourgeois professors who understand not a thing about communism one would think that all that is necessary to turn the peasantry in the direction of communism and collectivism is to combine the *"revolutionary impulse"* of the peasant with extra-potent doses of ideology, i.e., all that is necessary is to transform the peasant is to change the mind of the peasant. In other words, there is no connection between the mind of the peasant and the material conditions surrounding him. This sort of rubbish is known in modern bourgeois circles by the name of 'Harekrishnaism', but in philosophy it is known by the name of 'idealism'. It is sheer idealist rubbish that the bourgeois critics of Stalin and of Bolshevism from the China Policy Study Group are dishing out in its most unadulterated, albeit disguised, form. There is no doubt that the Chinese peasantry continues to be transformed, but this is being accomplished by transforming the material base, by technical means - and not in spite of the material transformation.

Anyone who thinks that the Soviet peasantry *"remained a sullen and disenchanted force,"* that it was ~~never~~ won over wholeheartedly for the revolution, let him answer the following questions: How was it possible, without winning the peasantry wholeheartedly, for the Bolsheviks to come to power? How was it possible for them to defeat the combined strength of the Russian Whiteguards and the 14 imperialist and non-imperialist countries who, armed to the teeth, attacked the young Soviet Republic in the period of the Civil War and the War of Intervention? How was it possible for the USSR, possessed of such a *"sullen disenchanted force,"* namely the peasantry, to have such earth-shaking achievements in the task of building socialism and putting the entire economy of the country, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, the technical basis of modern large-scale production? How

was it that this *"sullen disenchanted force"* joined the movement for collectivisation with such enthusiasm? How was it possible for these *"sullen"*, *"disenchanted"* and allegedly miserable people to defeat the Nazi war machine? One has only to ask these questions to realise the absurdly counter-revolutionary nature of the charge. Only adherents of Trotskyism can subscribe to the idea that the Soviet Union could have achieved the victories that it most certainly did without at the same time winning the peasantry wholeheartedly, while the latter remained *"a sullen disenchanted force."* Anyone who can think for himself, and who is in the least honest,⁹ would not believe the rubbish written by our bourgeois professors after acquainting himself with the writings and speeches of Comrade Stalin on the question under discussion.

From the above, it can be concluded that the gentlemen of the China Policy Study Group know nothing, either about the standpoint of Leninism on the peasant question, or about industrialisation in the Soviet Union; that they treat of the peasant question in an idealist way which ignores the material basis; that they treat the question of industrialisation in an abstract way which ignores the external and internal conditions of industrialisation in the Soviet Union; that they are not communists but *"peasant-philosophers"*; that they do not understand a thing about what constitutes *"correct relations with the peasantry;"* that they reduce the question of *"correct relations with the peasantry"* to simply *"coddling"* the peasant, instead of regarding it as a matter of helping the peasantry to place their husbandry *"on a new technical basis, the technical basis of modern large-scale production;"* in short, that they know not a thing about Marxism-Leninism and communism.

After having spread nothing but utter confusion, our critics of Bolshevism, and of Stalin in particular, go on to write the following sentence which is not only the most hilarious but also one of the rare truthful statements made in the entire article. Here it is:

"The role of Stalin," they write, *"needs clarification and assessment - much remains shrouded by misrepresentation, untruth and conjecture. No Marxist-Leninist can feel that the full truth has yet been told."*

In view of what the China Policy Study Group say about Stalin in this article as well as elsewhere, it should hardly come as a surprise to them at least that *"much [about the role of Stalin] remains shrouded in misrepresentation, untruth and conjecture."* Far from making any contribution to the *"clarification and assessment"* of the role of Stalin, they have indulged in an orgy

of vilification of Bolshevism and of Stalin, of the CPSU(B), of the achievements of socialism in the USSR - in short, of the Great October Socialist Revolution - by means of the well-tryed and well-honoured bourgeois method of shrouding everything even further *"by misrepresentation, untruth and conjecture."* *"No Marxist-Leninist can feel that"* a single truth *"has yet been told"* by the China Policy Study Group about Bolshevism and Stalin, never mind *"the full truth"*. They have simply added further confusion to that which already existed, and they have fortified the shroud of *"misrepresentation, untruth and conjecture"* which surrounds the role of Stalin in the bourgeois-Trotskyist-revisionist circles, and which shroud emanates directly from these circles. But, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung says, *"bad things can be turned into good things."* The thoroughly Trotskyist article of the China Policy Study Group can and should be turned to good use as a means of exposing the bourgeois-Trotskyist-revisionist nature of this organisation. These gentlemen, true, have not told a single truth about the role of Stalin, but, by writing this and other similar articles, they have told us *"the full truth"* about themselves, namely, that they are the pedlars of bourgeois-Trotskyist-revisionist legends in the working-class movement. For it is only the imperialist (and non-imperialist) bourgeoisie, the revisionists and the Trotskyists who have shrouded the role of Stalin *"by misrepresentation, untruth and conjecture"*. To the Marxist-Leninists all over the world the role of Stalin, far from being a mystery, is as clear as clear can be, namely, that after the death of Lenin, he carried out the behest of Lenin; that he led the building of Socialism in the USSR, defended the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR against its internal (capitalist-Trotskyist-Bukharinite) and external (imperialist bourgeoisie) enemies, that he fulfilled all these tasks with honour. It is only bourgeois snivellers á la China Policy Study Group who not only find the role of Stalin *"shrouded by misrepresentation, untruth and conjecture,"* but also, with great gusto, add more to this already-existing heap of bourgeois *"misrepresentation, untruth and conjecture."* If the China Policy Study Group is sincere in its expressed desire to clarify the role of Stalin then it ought to acquaint itself with the real history of the Soviet Union, with the role of the real Joseph Stalin, and not the mythical Stalin. Only when they have done this should they make any attempt to write about Stalin. If, however, they feel that this task is beyond them, they should keep quiet about the subject. That at least would have the advantage of reducing that portion of the confusion regarding the role of Stalin which exists solely because of their *"misrepresentation, untruth and conjecture."*

The reader must, however, be forewarned about one peculiar feature of the anti-Bolshevism and anti Marxism-Leninism of the gentlemen of the China Policy Study Group, namely, that the anti-Bolshevism of these gentlemen is invariably accompanied by their loud professions of 'support' and 'praise' for China, the CPC and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Why is this so? Why do these bourgeois adopt this course? They adopt this course because in this way they hope to kill two birds with one stone. Firstly, under the fraudulent cover of concern for the Soviet peasantry, they are concerned to denounce and discredit the CPSU(B)'s Leninist line on the agrarian question - the question of the peasantry and collectivisation; and, secondly, to catch the simpletons among the revolutionaries with tales of alleged differences between China and the USSR, between Comrade Mao Tse-tung and Comrade Stalin, and to muddle them up completely by driving them away from Leninism.

How do certain of our comrades in the movement react to this fraudulent trick? Instead of tearing the mask from these bourgeois trickster, instead of convicting them of practising deception, they swallow the bait, walk into the trap, and allow themselves to adopt an anti-Stalinist and therefore anti-Leninist position. These comrades fail to realise that the facts of the case are such that it is impossible to attack Stalin without at the same time attacking Lenin, for Stalin most faithfully adhered to, and steadfastly carried out, Leninism throughout his life. They do not understand either that it is impossible for anyone to attack Stalin and yet be a true friend of the great People's Republic of China, or of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. They do not comprehend that not everyone who 'praises' China is a Marxist. On the contrary, some of these people whose profession it is to 'praise' China are anti-Marxist to the core, and hence anti-China to boot. Here, for example, is a bouquet, chosen at random, of the wonderfully pleasant remarks that Professor Joan Robinson, one of the leading lights of the China Policy Study Group, has to make about Karl Marx, the genius founder of scientific socialism. In the Preface to the Second Edition of her book *An Essay on Marxian Economics*, (which would more properly be entitled *An Essay AGAINST Marxian Economics*), Mrs Robinson accuses Marx of "*metaphysical habits of thought*." She writes:

"The academics did not even pretend to understand Marx. It seemed to me that, apart from prejudice, a barrier was created for them by his nineteenth-century metaphysical habits of thought, which are alien to a generation brought up to inquire into the meaning of meaning. I therefore tried to translate Marx's

concepts into language that an academic could understand. This puzzled and angered the professed Marxists, to whom the metaphysic is precious for its own sake." (p. vii).

Of Marx's labour theory of value, which is the foundation stone of the entire Marxian economic science, and which has revolutionised the world, our learned professor from the fenlands of East Anglia [i.e., Cambridge University] has this to say:

"The concept of VALUE seems to me to be a remarkable example of how a metaphysical notion can inspire original thought, though in itself it is quite devoid of operational meaning." (ibid. p. xi).

"Marx's theory of value has caused much confusion and generated much controversy. It seems certainly perplexing as we follow the uphill struggle of Marx's own mind from the simple dogmatism of the first volume of Capital to the intricate formulation of Volume III. But if we start from the vantage point of Volume III the journey is much less arduous." (ibid. p.17).

In her stubborn attempt, futile for all that, to substitute Malthusianism for Marxism, she says the following:

"EMPLOYMENT AND WAGES. It is generally recognised nowadays that unemployment due to a failure of effective demand (often called 'Keynesian') must be distinguished from the non-employment (often called 'Marxian') which comes about when the available supply of labour is growing faster than the number of jobs offered by the capitalist economy. Marx thinks of the supply of labour as being fed by the ruin of the peasant and artisan economy. In his anxiety to combat the reactionary views of Malthus, he refused to admit that a rapid growth of population is deleterious to the interests of the working class. This seems to be an aberration, inconsistent with his theory." (ibid. p. xiv).

Capitalism, she says further on, is no longer the cause of misery; it is overpopulation that from now on we are to fight against and not capitalism:

"... exploitation can no longer be represented as a cause of increasing misery. Rather it offers a privileged position in the world that makes the industrial working class a conservative rather than a revolutionary force. Misery is increasing, certainly, but it is increasing outside the orbit of both socialism and capitalism, where the available labour force grows faster than exploitation can keep up with it."

And so on and so forth. There appear on every single page of this book

of Joan Robinson's distortions of, and downright lies about, Marxian economic science - in short, attacks on Marxism. And yet Professor Robinson is a 'Marxist'! With friends like these Marx would certainly not need any enemies.

People who are capable of accusing Marx - that greatest master of dialectical and historical materialism - of *"metaphysical habits of thought"* and of *"simple dogmatism,"* who denounce the Marxian labour theory of value as *"quite devoid of operational meaning,"* what accusations would they not be capable of hurling at poor old Stalin? Can such people ever be trusted as true friends of China? It goes without saying that they cannot. And yet there are comrades in the movement who, taking their cue from ordinary bourgeois professors of the likes of Joan Robinson, begin, mindlessly as it were, to attack Stalin.

Our comrades in the movement also fail to grasp that just because the bourgeois professors in their efforts to downgrade and belittle Marxism-Leninism and Stalin frequently use the name of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, this does not at all mean that they represent the views of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Quite the contrary. If anybody wants to know what Comrade Mao Tse-tung thinks of Bolshevism, of Stalin and of the Soviet Union during the time of Stalin, let him read Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works, rather than rely on bourgeois gossip columns such as the *Broadsheet* produced by the China Policy Study Group. Here are a few quotations from Comrade Mao Tse-tung:

"In studying Marxism, we should use the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course ¹⁰ as the principal material. It is the best synthesis and summing up of the world communist movement of the past hundred years, a model of the integration of theory and practice, and so far the only comprehensive model in the whole world. When we see how far Lenin and Stalin integrated the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Soviet revolution and thereby developed Marxism, we shall know how we should work in China." (Reform Our Study, (1941) SW Vol 3 p.24).

Whereas Comrade Mao Tse-tung here speaks of Lenin and Stalin integrating *"the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Soviet revolution"* and thereby developing Marxism, our illustrious bourgeois professors from the China Policy Study Group speak of the CPSU(B) not having a correct policy on the peasantry; whereas Comrade Mao Tse-tung

holds the example of the Soviet Union, the CPSU(B), and of Lenin and Stalin as pointing the way to the Chinese comrades regarding how they should work in China, the professorial coterie, on the other hand, speak of Mao Tse-tung following a completely different policy on the question of the peasantry from that followed in the Soviet Union and allegedly in the teeth of great opposition from the Soviet Union. This is how history is written. This is how 'critical analysis' of the development of revisionism in the Soviet Union is conducted in bourgeois circles. The origin and growth of revisionism in the Soviet Union is a matter which has to be explained. One thing, however, is certain: that is, that the way to conduct such an analysis is not the way that the bourgeois professors are doing it!

Mao Tse-tung says elsewhere:

"This theory [i.e., of dialectical and historical materialism] was further developed by Lenin and Stalin". (On Contradiction - My emphasis).

And further:

"Stalin's analysis provides us with a model for understanding the particularity and the universality of contradiction and their interconnection" (ibid).

All this does not stop Professor George Thomson, another leading light of the China Policy Study Group, from accusing Stalin, in the name of Mao Tse-tung, of not understanding dialectics and the difference between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions!

"Even under the social conditions existing in the Soviet Union, there is a difference between workers and peasants, and this very difference is a contradiction, although, unlike the contradiction between labour and capital, it will not become intensified into antagonism or assume the form of class struggle; the workers and the peasants have established a firm alliance in the course of socialist construction and are gradually resolving this contradiction in the course of the advance from socialism to communism." (Mao Tse-tung, ibid.).

Whereas Comrade Mao Tse-tung speaks of the "firm alliance" between the Soviet working class and peasantry, our bourgeois professors of the China Policy Study Group speak, in the remarks quoted above from their article, of the Soviet peasantry as "a sullen disenchanted force" that has never been "won wholeheartedly for the revolution." Whereas Comrade Mao Tse-tung speaks of "socialist construction" and of "the advance from socialism to communism" in the USSR, our bourgeois critics of Stalin speak of "this policy decision" (i.e., industrialisation) as "the source of political, economic and

social strife that has never been allayed." Whereas Comrade Mao Tse-tung speaks approvingly of the Soviet policy towards the peasantry - that of a *'firm alliance'* with it - our bourgeois *'annihilators'* of Stalin speak as though Mao Tse-tung's and the CPC's line on the peasantry were completely different from that followed in the Soviet Union.¹¹

And finally:

"Stalin is the true friend of the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. No attempt to sow dissension, no lies and calumnies, can affect the Chinese people's wholehearted love and respect for Stalin and our genuine friendship for the Soviet Union" (From a Speech delivered by Comrade Mao Tse-tung on 20 December 1939 on the occasion of Stalin's 60th birthday, reproduced in Mao Tse-tung's Selected Works Vol. II).

Comrades in the movement should pay particular heed to Comrade Mao Tse-tung's last-cited quotation at a time when attempts are being made in various bourgeois quarters, the China Policy Study Group included, by means of lies and calumnies, to construct a Chinese wall between Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, between the October Revolution and the Chinese Revolution.

Now, in view of the above quotations from Comrade Mao Tse-tung, we may marvel at the stupidity of the assertions made by the gentlemen of the China Policy Study Group who, it appears, not only do not know anything about Stalin, but do not know a thing about the writings and the political stance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the CPC either.

Finally, to stress the importance of the publication of the present collection of Comrade Stalin's writings, we wish to quote the following lines from Karl Marx:

"One nation can and should learn from others. And even when a society has got on the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement - and it is the ultimate aim of this work, to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society - it can neither clear by bold leaps, nor remove by legal enactments, the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs." (Marx, author's preface to the first edition of *Capital* Volume 1).

There is much positive to learn from the experience of the Soviet Union. Our purpose in publishing this Volume is to *'lay bare'* the Trotskyist-Bukharinite nature of attacks of the type made by the China Policy Study

Group and other 'Marxists' of the same ilk on Stalin and on the CPSU, to bring to the knowledge of the working-class movement the Leninist line of the CPSU under the leadership of Comrade Stalin on the agrarian question, and to strengthen the struggle against various forms of bourgeois ideology such as Trotskyism, revisionism and reformism. No doubt each nation, in its struggle for and advance to socialism, will have to face its own specific problems. *"But it can shorten and lessen the birth-pangs"* by learning from the positive experience of the October Revolution, from collectivisation in the USSR, and from the building of socialism in the USSR.

NOTES

1. Most of these attacks have been dealt with in my Preface to a collection of Stalin's speeches published under the title *On the Mechanics of Class Struggle under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. That Preface, published elsewhere in this volume, contains a special section on Professor Thomson's similar attacks on Stalin and the CPSU.

2. The agrarian section was drafted by Lenin.

3. See for instance *Peking Review*, 1975, no 22, *Ideological Weapon for Restricting Bourgeois Right*.

4. This Preface is published elsewhere in this volume.

5. The Bolshevik Party did not 'choose'. This 'choice' was imposed by the external and internal conditions of the October Revolution. "The salvation of Russia lies not only in a good harvest on the peasant farms - that is not enough; and not only in the good condition of light industry, which provides the peasantry with consumer goods - that, too, is not enough. We also need HEAVY industry. And to put it in good condition will require many years work." And further: "Unless we save heavy industry, unless we restore it, we shall not be able to build up any industry; and without that we shall be doomed altogether as an independent country." (Lenin).

6. "We are in the habit of saying that industry is the main foundation of our entire national economy, including agriculture, that it is the key to the reconstruction of our backward and scattered system of agriculture on a collectivist basis. That is perfectly true. From that position we must not retreat for a single moment. But it must also be remembered that, while industry is the main foundation, agriculture constitutes the basis for industrial development, both as a market which absorbs the products of industry and as a supplier of raw materials and foodstuffs, as well as a source of the export reserves essential in order to import machinery for the needs of our national economy. Can we advance industry while leaving agriculture in a state of complete technical backwardness, without providing an agricultural base for industry, without reconstructing agriculture and bringing it up to the level of industry? No, we cannot.

"Hence the task of supplying agriculture with the maximum amount of instruments and means of production essential in order to accelerate and promote its reconstruction on a new technical basis. But for the accomplishment of this task a fast rate of development of our industry is necessary." (Stalin, *Industrialisation of the Country and the Right Deviation in the CPSU(B)*, speech delivered at the Plenum of the CC, CPSU(B), 19 November 1928,

Works Vol 11).

7. The following are the figures on the production of large-scale industry between 1913-1937, in billions of roubles, in invariable prices of 1926/7.

Year	Producer	Consumer
	Goods	Goods
1913	4.7	6.3
1917	3.7	3.2
1920	0.9	0.8
1928	7.8	9.0
1932	21.7	17.2
1937	53.3	36.9

8. Bourgeois writers usually break off this quotation at this point, thus tearing it out of its context, for the sole purpose of stressing Stalin's alleged nationalism and lack of proletarian internationalism. To expose this, not very clever, fraud, we have reproduced the quotation in its entirety.

9. It may come as a discovery to our 'Marxists' from the China Policy Study Group, but it is nevertheless a fact that even the avowedly bourgeois *Children's Encyclopaedia* published about 1948 in an imperialist country like Britain contains well-known truths about Soviet life such as the follows:

"The second plan was even more impressive than the first but had a less austere aim. The well-being of people was to be doubled and the collective farmers made well-to-do ... food-stuffs and 'things' generally were to be increased to supply the needs of the workers. Roughly speaking Russia aimed at doubling her 1932 output ... New hospitals, rest homes, schools, day nurseries, wash houses, reading-rooms, clubhouses, sports-grounds, and so on, have increased in number. The consumption of meat, milk, eggs, fats, sugar, clothes, and shoes has more than doubled ... Today the workers look on the machine not as a cause of unemployment but as the liberator of mankind, for as machines take over more and more of man's work, the population reaps the reward in more goods to consume, higher wages, better working conditions, a shorter working day. But absolute political freedom, in our sense of the word is still unknown to the Russian. Presumably he does not much miss something which he has never had. But he has social and economic liberties which mean a great deal. He is at liberty to consider himself any man's equal. Service to the community alone determines social position. If he is too old to work he is pensioned; if he is ill, he is cared for. His children are educated by the State until they are 17 ... This sincere love of their country was proved to be inborn in every Russian both townsman and peasant alike, when the Nazi hordes invaded their country in ... 1941. Its armed forces fought to the death, the factory workers toiled without respite, and the peasants did not hesitate to destroy everything of value to the advancing Nazis." Leaving aside the usual slanders about lack of freedom under the dictatorship of the proletariat in general and the 'love' of the Russian people for lack of freedom in particular, the above-quoted paragraphs undeniably depict the truth about the material and spiritual well-being of the Soviet people during the time under discussion; they truthfully reflect the enthusiasm and joy of the Soviet people and their love for the land of socialism, and for the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which totally contradicts the assertion of our 'Marxists' about the Soviet peasantry being a "sullen, disenchanting force."

10. **The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) - Short Course** was written by Comrade Stalin, and was a volume of his Collected Works.

11. Further proof of the fact that the slanders by the China Policy Study Group and their ilk spread against Stalin and the CPSU(B) that he led are nothing but slanders was the publication in the mid-1970s by the Foreign Languages Publishing House (Peking) of Comrade Stalin's writings **On the Opposition**, all of which are extremely relevant to the arguments against the China Policy Study Group.

Part VII

On The Mechanics Of Class Struggle Under The Dictatorship Of The Proletariat

"It is necessary to shatter and discard the rotten theory to the effect that with every step of progress which we make the class struggle here is bound to die down more and more ..."

Stalin, 1937

Chapter 20

On the Mechanics of Class Struggle under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

[Written by way of a Preface to Stalin's writings on the Mechanics of Class Struggle under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat]

Since the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU(B) in 1956, revisionism has triumphed in the Soviet Union. Many so-called anti-revisionists hold Stalin responsible for the victory of revisionism in the USSR:

"While it is true that the anti-Stalin platform was vital to the adoption of a comprehensive revisionist programme, it cannot be said that revisionism only gained ascendancy after Stalin's death ... " So says MF in *Marxist-Leninist Quarterly* no. 2, p.8.

They blame him, first and foremost, for holding 'erroneous' views on the question of classes and class struggle under socialism and on the question of the state. To be more specific, they accuse him of saying in 1936 that classes in every sense of the expression had been eliminated in the Soviet Union; of the *"assumption that restoration could only occur through outside intervention"* as, allegedly according to Stalin, *"the internal class struggle was at an end in the Soviet Union in 1939"*; they accuse him also of holding a viewpoint on the question of the state which *"departs radically from Marxism-Leninism."* This, then, in a nutshell is the first and foremost accusation levelled against Stalin.

For quite some time this accusation has been loosely, but generally only by word of mouth, spread around the anti-revisionist movement. And as long as it was done only by way of rumour it was very difficult to come to grips with it, for nobody knew who had said what, or where and when it had been said. Now, however, an organisation calling itself anti-revisionist, but consistently putting forward the ideology of revisionism, has put down in writing most of the accusations that had hitherto circulated only privately, by word of mouth, in gossip fashion. This organisation is called the Communist Federation of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) (CFB). In number 2 of its

theoretical journal, *Marxist-Leninist Quarterly*, it published an article by a certain MF. This article contains most of - nearly all - the above-mentioned accusations, as well as other accusations against Comrade Stalin. We shall be dealing with the above accusation, as well as others; in doing so we shall, of necessity, be forced to mention this gentleman MF as well as the organisation he belongs to, not because as an individual and as an organisation respectively they are worth while wasting one's time on, but because they represent one of the most dangerous semi-Menshevik,¹ semi-Trotskyist² trends in the anti-revisionist movement, masquerading as Marxist-Leninist, and deceiving and misleading people in the working-class movement by the use of Marxian phraseology.

The second and the third accusations also come from MF of the CFB. The second accusation is that during the leadership of Stalin in the USSR, "*nationalist degeneration*" had set in; that Stalin and the Party had lost the internationalist perspective; that they regarded the building of socialism in the USSR as an end in itself; that, not considering the Soviet revolution as part and parcel of the world proletarian revolution, they subordinated the interests of the latter to those of the former.

The third accusation is that during the period of Stalin, the Party had become "*increasingly divorced from the masses*"; that there was "*the absence of a mass line*" resulting in the "*degeneration of the Party and the State*," the mishandling of the social contradictions, and the "*complete control*" of the bourgeoisie. According to MF, this third 'error' of Stalin's was responsible for the first two.

The fourth accusation against Stalin comes from the anti-revisionists of the Finsbury Communist Association (FCA). According to the FCA, it was "*Stalin and Zhdanov's attitude to the Soviet intelligentsia expressed at the 18th Party Congress and subsequently written into the Party Rules*" which was responsible for the fact that "*the Soviet Union degenerated*."

Having specified above the various accusations against Stalin, they will now be dealt with one by one. The fact that these remarks are published as a preface to the present collection of Comrade Stalin's writings will not allow of an exhaustive treatment of the questions raised and we may, therefore, be obliged at some time in the near future to return to the subject. In the meantime something must be said to counter the above bourgeois attacks on Stalin, to counter the inventors of the 'errors' of Stalin.

NOTES

1. The Mensheviks were a petty-bourgeois tendency in the working-class movement in Russia, who were opposed to revolutionary Bolshevism - Leninism. They opposed and revised Marxism, expunging it of its revolutionary essence.
2. The fact that occasionally people from the CFB waged a battle of words against Trotskyism in no way prevented them from being Trotskyists. As this Preface showed, all the attacks of the CFB on Stalin were taken out on hire from the Trotskyist armoury.

Chapter 21

Classes and Class Struggle

Did Stalin say in 1936 in his Speech on the Draft Constitution of the USSR that classes in every sense of the expression had already come to an end in the USSR?

No, he did not. Comrade Stalin is dealing here with the changes in the life of the USSR in the period from 1924 to 1936. He contrasts the backwardness of 1924 with the socialist advancement that had been achieved between then and 1936. Having dealt with the advance registered during those years by socialist industry, the collectivisation of agriculture, the state monopoly of trade, the elimination of the kulaks and capitalists, Comrade Stalin goes on to say:

"Thus the complete victory of the Socialist system in all spheres of the national economy is now a fact.

"And what does this mean?

"It means that the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, eliminated, while the Socialist ownership of the implements and means of production has been established as the unshakable foundation of our Soviet society.

"As a result of all these changes in the sphere of the national economy of the USSR, we now have a new, Socialist economy, which knows neither crises nor unemployment, which knows neither poverty nor ruin, and which provides our citizens with every opportunity to lead a prosperous and cultured life.

"Such, in the main, are the changes which have taken place in the sphere of our economy during the period from 1924 to 1936.

"In conformity with these changes in the economic life of the USSR, the class structure of our society has also changed.

"The landlord class, as you know, had already been eliminated as a result of the victorious conclusion of the Civil War. As for the other exploiting classes, they have shared the fate of the landlord class. The capitalist class in the sphere of industry has ceased to exist. The kulak class in the sphere of agriculture has ceased to exist. And the merchants and profiteers in the sphere of

trade have ceased to exist. Thus all the EXPLOITING classes have now been eliminated.

"There remains the working class.

"There remains the peasant class.

"There remains the intelligentsia." (Word in capital letters emphasised by me).

It is perfectly clear from the above quotation that, when speaking about the elimination of classes, Comrade Stalin is not speaking here of the elimination of classes in general, but of elimination of the *"exploiting classes."* It is perfectly true that by 25 November 1936, the date on which Comrade Stalin made his speech on the Draft Constitution of the USSR, classes - in the strictly economic sense of there being exploiting classes and the exploited classes - had been eliminated in the USSR. Once the capitalist, landlord and kulak classes had been eliminated, it was quite legitimate to talk, as did Comrade Stalin, about classes having come to an end.

But just because Comrade Stalin maintained, correctly in our view, that classes in the above sense of exploiting and exploited classes had been eliminated, does this mean that he maintained also that classes in every other sense of the expression had been eliminated as well? No, it does not mean that. On the contrary, Comrade Stalin stated very clearly that there remained in the Soviet Union two classes. To repeat, he said:

"There remains the working class.

"There remains the peasant class".

And further, outlining the significance of the changes in the class structure of the Soviet Union in the period from 1924 to 1936, Comrade Stalin continued:

"And what do these changes [in the class structure of the USSR] signify?

"Firstly, they signify that the dividing line between the working class and the peasantry, and between these classes and the intelligentsia, ARE BEING OBLITERATED, and that the old class exclusiveness is disappearing. This means that THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THESE SOCIAL GROUPS IS STEADILY DIMINISHING.

"Secondly, they signify that the ECONOMIC CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THESE SOCIAL GROUPS ARE DECLINING, ARE BECOMING OBLITERATED.

*"And lastly, they signify that the **POLITICAL CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THEM ARE ALSO DECLINING AND BECOMING OBLITERATED.**" (My emphasis).*

As can be seen very clearly, Comrade Stalin is by no means saying that classes in every sense of the expression had been eliminated; much less is he maintaining that all economic and political contradictions had come to an end in the USSR. Far from it: Comrade Stalin says that exploiting classes had been eliminated, but there still remained in the USSR two classes, the working class and the peasantry, *"whose interests - far from being hostile - are, on the contrary, friendly."* The dividing line between the working class and the peasantry, and between these two classes and the intelligentsia, had NOT yet been obliterated, but was in the course of being so; the economic contradictions between the remaining classes and strata had NOT yet been abolished, but were being abolished; the political contradictions between these social groups had NOT yet been abolished, but were travelling on the road leading to the abolition of these contradictions. Can any of the above statements be denied? No, it cannot. In other words, what Comrade Stalin said was that by 1936 there were no **ANTAGONISTIC** classes in the Soviet Union, that there were only two classes, the working class and the peasantry, whose interests, far from being hostile, were on the contrary friendly.

Dealing with the principal specific features of the Draft Constitution, Comrade Stalin had the following to say, which has a direct bearing on the question of classes now under discussion:

*"Unlike the bourgeois constitutions, the draft of the new Constitution of the USSR proceeds from the fact there are no longer any **ANTAGONISTIC** classes in society; that society consists of **TWO** friendly classes, of workers and peasants; that it is these classes, the labouring classes, that are in power; that the guidance of society by the **STATE (THE DICTATORSHIP)** is in the hands of the working class, the most advanced class in society; that a Constitution is needed for the purpose of consolidating a social order desired by and beneficial to the working people.*

"Such is the third specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution." (My emphasis).

Thus, according to Stalin, Soviet society was NOT without classes; it was only **WITHOUT ANTAGONISTIC CLASSES**; it consisted of **TWO** friendly classes, the working class and the peasantry. There was also in existence the state (dictatorship), which was in the hands of the working class,

the most advanced class in society. All this shows the falsity of the assertion that according to Stalin classes in every sense of the expression had been eliminated in the Soviet Union. If Stalin had said anything like that, there would not be much point in him talking about the preservation of the state (the dictatorship), and the guidance of society by this state being in the hands of the working class, the most advanced class, for it is useless talking about the most advanced class unless there exists also a backward class compared with which this class can be called the advanced class. The Soviet Draft Constitution, and Stalin, proceeded from the presupposition that there were two classes.

If what has been stated above is still regarded as insufficient by those who make the slanderous allegation against Comrade Stalin that he believed that classes in every sense of the expression had been abolished, that there were no more classes in the Soviet Union, we make one final attempt to help these people see the error of their ways and to help them come to the correct path - if that is at all possible. It is well known that Article 1 of the Draft Constitution dealt with the class composition of Soviet society; it spoke of the Soviet state as the *"State of workers and peasants."* Four amendments were submitted to this Article. One amendment proposed that for the words *"State of workers and peasants"* the words *"state of the working people"* be substituted. According to the second amendment, the words *"state of the workers and peasants"* should have been followed by the words *"and working intelligentsia"*. The third amendment demanded that Article 1, instead of referring to the *"State of workers and peasants,"* should speak of the *"state of all races and nationalities inhabiting the territory of the USSR"*. And the fourth amendment proposed that the words *"collective farmers"* or *"toilers of Socialist agriculture"* be substituted for the word *"peasants"*.

Comrade Stalin opposed the adoption of all these amendments. Some of his arguments in opposition to the above four amendments, which are relevant to the point under dispute, are reproduced below. Here is part of what Comrade Stalin had to say in opposition to these amendments:

"What does Article 1 of the Draft Constitution speak of? It speaks of the class composition of Soviet society. Can we Marxists ignore the question of the class composition of our society in the Constitution? NO, WE CANNOT. AS WE KNOW, SOVIET SOCIETY CONSISTS OF TWO CLASSES, WORKERS AND PEASANTS. And it is of this that Article 1 of the Draft

Constitution speaks. Consequently, Article 1 of the Draft Constitution properly reflects the class composition of our society ... "

And further:

"It would also be wrong to substitute for the word 'peasant' the words 'collective farmer' or 'toiler of Socialist agriculture'. In the first place, besides the collective farmers, there are still over a million households of non- collective farmers among the peasantry. What is to be done about them? Do the authors of this amendment propose to strike them off the books? That would be unwise. Secondly, the fact that the majority of the peasants have started collective farming does not mean that they have already ceased to be peasants, that they no longer have their personal economy, their own households, etc. Thirdly, for the word 'worker' we would have to substitute the words 'toiler of Socialist industry', which, however, the authors of the amendment for some reason or other do not propose. Finally, have the working class and the peasant class already disappeared in our country? And if they have not disappeared, is it worth while deleting from our vocabulary the established names for them? Evidently, what the authors of the amendment have in mind is not present society, but future society, when classes will no longer exist and when the workers and peasants will have been transformed into toilers of a homogeneous Communist society. Consequently, they are obviously running ahead. But in drawing up a constitution one must not proceed from the future, but from the present, from what already exists. A constitution should not and must not run ahead."

In other words, classes had not been eliminated even though the exploiting classes had been done away with; consequently, Soviet society was still at the lower phase of Communism, which is characterised by the non-existence of exploiting classes, the non-existence of exploitation of man by man; it had still to reach the higher phase of communism, *"when classes will no longer exist and when the workers and peasants will have been transformed into toilers of homogeneous communist society,"* in which society shall prevail the formula: *From each according to his ability, to each according to his need.*

Clear, one would have thought.

If, after all that has been said above, slanders on this question still persist against Comrade Stalin, if the slanderers refuse to take note of the above stubborn facts, we shall simply have to answer them in the words of the famous Russian proverb: *'Laws are not made for fools'*.

Did Stalin say that complete communism had been built in the USSR?

Some critics with a very fertile imagination (manured imagination would be a better expression) - and hence a great ability to dish out meaningless rubbish - go on to assert that since, according to Stalin, exploiting classes had been eliminated and there was no class to suppress, it meant, therefore, that complete communism had been built and consequently there was no need for the existence of the state in the USSR. But the state in the USSR existed still. The net result of all this, according to these 'critics' - bourgeois scribblers to be more accurate - is that Stalin had made an 'error'; he had not realised that Soviet society was far away from the final goal of a classless communist society. In making this assertion the penny-a-line bourgeois scribblers are showing not only their passion for slander and distortion but also their downright ignorance. In the very same speech on the Draft Constitution in which he is supposed, according to these 'critics', to have made the above phantom error, Comrade Stalin has this to say on the level of development of Soviet society:

"Our Soviet society has already, in the main, succeeded in achieving Socialism; it has created a Socialist system, i.e., it has brought about what Marxists in other words call the first, or lower, phase of Communism. Hence, in the main, we have already achieved the first phase of Communism, Socialism. The fundamental principle of this phase of Communism is, as you know, the formula: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work'. Should our Constitution reflect this fact, the fact that Socialism has been achieved? Unquestionably, it should. It should, because for the USSR Socialism is something already achieved and won.

"But Soviet society has not yet reached the higher phase of Communism, in which the ruling principle will be the formula: 'From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs', although it sets itself the aim of achieving the higher phase of Communism in the future. Can our Constitution be based on the higher phase of Communism, which does not yet exist and which has still to be achieved? No, it cannot, because for the USSR the higher phase of Communism is something that has not yet been realised, and which has to be realised in the future. It cannot, if it is not to be converted into a programme or declaration of future achievements. Such are the limits of our constitution at the present historical moment."

Clear, we think.

Can one, without ceasing to be a Marxist-Leninist, talk of exploiting classes having been abolished while the state still exists?

Now the question arises: once the exploiting classes had been eliminated, the kulaks defeated in the open battlefield, and the lower phase of Communism, i.e., Socialism, with its formula 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work' achieved, in these circumstances was it legitimate for Stalin to talk, as he actually did, about classes having come to an end and there being no class left to suppress? We believe it was quite legitimate for Comrade Stalin to speak of classes having come to an end. Classes had come to an end in the USSR in the economic sense of the expression, in that there were no exploiters and no exploited; in that the working class, having come to power, had already used its *"political supremacy"* to *"wrest ... all capital from the bourgeoisie"* and increased *"the total of productive forces"* very rapidly indeed. So we had a proletarian state which was without classes, which had no classes in the sense of there being exploiting and exploited classes. But can one speak, as a Marxist-Leninist, of a state which is without classes in the sense we have just been speaking above? Yes, one certainly can. But the bourgeois 'critics', such as MF of the CFB, Professor George Thomson ¹ and others say: No, one certainly cannot speak of a state in which there are no classes in the above sense. They inform us that one cannot speak of a state in which there are no exploiting classes. They swear by Marxism-Leninism (poor Marx! poor Lenin!) that they are right, and are full of malicious glee at having 'proved' what they had set out to prove with a zeal worthy of a better cause, viz., that Stalin was giving utterance to anti-Marxian, anti-Leninist nonsense when, in his speech on the 1936 Draft Constitution, as well as in his speech to the 18th Congress, he said that exploiting classes had been eliminated in the USSR. There is one 'little' snag, however. Our 'critics', MF as well as the illustrious Professor Thomson, have overlooked a trifle - namely that Lenin thought otherwise than do these 'Leninists', the MFs, the Thomsons and the other bourgeois cretins (beg your pardon, 'Marxists') of this world. That V.I. certainly reckoned that the state would exist for a considerable period of time WITHOUT CLASSES becomes perfectly clear from the following treatment of the subject by him. In Chapter V of his book *State and Revolution*, Lenin discusses *"The Economic Basis of the Withering Away of the State"*. Having dealt with the *"Presentation of the Question by Marx,"* and the *"Tran-*

sition from *Capitalism to Communism*," Lenin goes on to deal with the question of the "First Phase of Communist Society". In this first phase of communist society, says Lenin:

"The means of production are no longer private property of individuals. The means of production belong to the whole of society. Every member of society, performing a certain part of the socially-necessary work, receives a certificate from society to the effect that he has done such and such amount of work. And with this certificate he receives from the public store of articles of consumption a corresponding quantity of products. After a deduction is made of the amount of labour which goes to the public fund, every worker, therefore, receives from society as much as he has given to it.

"Equality' apparently reigns supreme."

But, "Equal right" here is still a "bourgeois right," which has not yet been abolished in its entirety; so inequality still prevails.

Continues Lenin:

"Equal right', says Marx, we indeed have here; but it is still a 'bourgeois right', which, like every right, presupposes inequality. Every right is an application of an equal measure to different people who in fact are not alike, are not equal to one another; that is why 'equal right' is really a violation of equality and an injustice. Indeed, every man, having performed as much social labour as another, receives an equal share of the social product (after the above mentioned deductions).

"But people are not alike: one is strong, another is weak; one is married, another is not; one has more children, another has less, and so on. And the conclusion Marx draws is:

"... with an equal performance of labour, and hence an equal share in the social consumption fund, one will in fact receive more than another, one will be richer than another, and so on. To avoid all these defects, right instead of being equal would have to be unequal."

"Hence, the first phase of Communism cannot yet produce justice and equality: differences, and unjust differences, in wealth will still exist, but the exploitation of man by man will have become impossible, because it will be impossible to seize the means of production, the factories, machines, land, etc., as private property. While smashing Lassalle's petty-bourgeois confused phrases about 'equality' and 'justice' in general Marx shows the course of development of communist society, which is compelled to abolish at first only the

'injustice' of the means of production having been seized by individuals, and which is unable at once to eliminate the other injustice, which consists in the distribution of articles of consumption according to the amount of labour performed' (and not according to needs).

"The vulgar economists, including the bourgeois professors and 'our' Tugan among them, constantly reproach the Socialists with forgetting the inequality of people and with 'dreaming' of eliminating this inequality. Such a reproach, as we see, only proves the extreme ignorance of Messrs the bourgeois ideologists.

"Marx not only most scrupulously takes account of the inevitable inequality of men, but he also takes into account the fact that the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole of society (commonly called 'Socialism') does not remove the defects of distribution and the inequality of 'bourgeois right' which continues to prevail as long as products are divided 'according to the amount of labour performed'. Continuing, Marx says:

"But these defects are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structure of society and its cultural development conditioned thereby'.

"And so, in the first phase of communist society (usually called Socialism) 'bourgeois right' is not abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production. 'Bourgeois right' recognises them as the private property of individuals. Socialism converts them into common property. To that extent - and to that extent alone - 'bourgeois right' disappears.

"However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labour among the members of society. The socialist principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat', is already realised; the other socialist principle: 'An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour', is also already realised. But this is not yet Communism, and it does not yet abolish 'bourgeois right', which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (really unequal) amounts of labour, equal amounts of products.

"This is a 'defect', says Marx, but it is unavoidable in the first phase of Communism; for if we are not to indulge in utopianism, we must not think that having overthrown capitalism people will at once learn to work for society

without any standard of right; and indeed the abolition of capitalism does not immediately create the economic premises for such a change.

"And there is no other standard than that of 'bourgeois right'. To this extent, therefore, there still remains the need for a state, which, while safeguarding the public ownership of the means of production, would safeguard equality in labour and equality in the distribution of products."

After the above remarkably profound analysis, that giant, Lenin, proceeds to state the following conclusions, which flow from the preceding analysis. Professor Thomson, MF, and suchlike bourgeois dabblers in the working-class movement would do well to note these conclusions carefully and grasp (that is, if they are at all capable of such a thing) the real meaning of these profound conclusions. Here are these conclusions of Lenin's:

"The state withers away in so far as there are no longer any capitalists, any classes, and consequently, no class can be suppressed."

"But the state has not yet completely withered away, since there still remains the safeguarding of 'bourgeois right', which sanctifies actual inequality. For the state to wither away completely complete Communism is necessary."

Thus it is perfectly clear that Lenin was firmly of the view that the state would continue to exist after the first phase of Communism had been achieved, even though there were "no longer any capitalists, any classes, and consequently, no class" that "can be suppressed." Let Professor Thomson, and others who agree with him, now say: *"Here the exploiting classes have been eliminated; the class struggle, it would seem, is at an end."* We must assume that both MF and Professor Thomson are well aware of the contents of *State and Revolution*, in particular the above conclusions that appear on page 113. MF himself quotes Lenin's *State and Revolution* and one of the quotations that he uses in his article is separated from the above conclusions by no more than a couple of pages; it must be presumed that he was actually able to read as far as page 113. And, as for Professor Thomson, whose book *From Marx to Mao Tse-tung* consists of nothing but a collection of quotes from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, interspersed with a few distortions, these distortions being his only contribution to the study of 'revolutionary dialectics', we must presume that he, Thomson the 'Leninist', too has read page 113 of Lenin's *State and Revolution*. Yet both of them attack Stalin for departing from Leninism when, as a matter of fact, Stalin was only following in the footsteps of Lenin. Actually, if these courageous fellows must attack someone for holding 'anti-Marxian' views on the question

of classes and class struggle under socialism, they ought to be attacking Comrade Lenin as well, in whose wake Comrade Stalin was following. We look forward to a display of such courage from you, Messrs 'critics'!

It can thus be seen that either our 'critics' - who are critics merely because of the amount of rhetorical horsepower they use rather than by the depth of their analysis - have not read page 113 of Lenin's *State and Revolution*, or they have read it but not understood it, or they have read and understood what appears on this page but are deliberately keeping quiet and directing their blows at Stalin while actually meaning to hurt Lenin. For, if their 'criticism' of Stalin is correct then, as shown above, this same 'criticism' becomes equally true of Lenin. It can now clearly be seen that these people are not only enemies of Stalin, they are enemies also of Lenin; that they are not just anti-Stalinists, they are in fact anti-Leninists. This is the truth and no amount of rhetorical horsepower can get rid of this truth.

Thus it turns out that when Stalin said that the exploiting classes had been eliminated, he found himself in quite good company, that of Comrade Lenin. Thus it is clear that Stalin was saying nothing new; he was only repeating what Lenin had said at the beginning of 1917. Stalin was only recording the establishment in the Soviet Union as a fact of what Lenin had spoken by way of an anticipation. If the Thomsons and MFs of this world think that Stalin was being anti-Marxian on the question of classes, in all fairness they must level the same allegation against Comrade Lenin. In all fairness, they must say that on the question of classes in socialist society, Lenin was just as 'anti-Marxian' as was Stalin. In all fairness they must extend the 'logic' of their argument in its application from Stalin to Lenin, so that all may clearly see through the 'logical' absurdity of these anti-Leninist 'annihilators' of Stalin. Perhaps in attacking Stalin the Thomsons, MFs and other mealy-mouthed 'communists' of this world are indirectly but intentionally directing their blows against Lenin? In that case, why don't they have the courage to say so? What prevents them from making such an open admission? We can only assume that it is their desire not to be detected as enemies of Leninism which prevents them from openly attacking Lenin. They want to carry on doing the dirty work of 'annihilating' Leninism, while paying ritual respect to the name of Comrade Lenin. They even call themselves Leninists. This is really 'mutiny on one's knees', to use Lenin's expression.

Thus it is clear that either these people are unaware of the complete

coincidence, complete agreement, between the views of Lenin and Stalin on the question of classes in a socialist society, or they are aware of it but have not got the courage and honesty to hurl at Lenin the very same accusation that they hurl at Stalin, or, worse still, they are making a poorly concealed attempt to attack Leninism on a very important theoretical question - a question which is of far-reaching practical significance to the world proletarian movement. In this they are only following the trail blazed by the Trotskyists who, whenever they want to attack Leninism (and this they do every day), partly out of cowardice and partly out of diplomatic considerations i.e., a desire not to be detected as anti-Leninist counter-revolutionary Trotskyites that they are, attack 'Stalinism' - and invariably in the name of Lenin.

NOTE

1: Professor George Thomson's attacks were dealt with in more detail in the Preface to Stalin's works *On Collectivisation*, which is reproduced earlier in the present volume.

Chapter 22

Intensification of Class Struggle under Socialism

Did Stalin adhere to the theory of subsidence of class struggle under socialism? Did he make the *"assumption that restoration could only occur through outside intervention"*?

Just because Stalin said that antagonistic classes did not exist in the USSR, does it mean that he was thereby asserting that the class struggle itself had come to an end and that from then on the Soviet people could rest on their laurels? No, it does not mean that.

According to the bourgeois critics, however, Stalin believed that class struggle had come to an end in the Soviet Union. Therefore, they assert, Stalin believed that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union could take place **ONLY** through external intervention against the Soviet Union.

Professor Thomson, for example, quotes the following extracts from Stalin's speech on the Draft Constitution:

"The landlord class, as you know, had already been eliminated as a result of the victorious conclusion of the civil war. As for the other exploiting classes, they have shared the fate of the landlord class. The capitalist class in the sphere of industry has ceased to exist. The kulak class in the sphere of agriculture has ceased to exist. Thus, all the exploiting classes have now been eliminated."

And: *"The draft of the new Constitution of the USSR proceeds from the fact that there are no longer any antagonistic classes in society."*

Thomson then proceeded to make the following strange comment by way of criticism of Stalin:

"Here the exploiting classes have been eliminated; the class struggle, it would seem, is at an end." (p. 131).

Would it indeed? Since when has the elimination of the exploiting classes, in the sense spoken above, been equated with the elimination of class struggle? If they ever have been equated, this has entirely been the

work of the bourgeois Professors such as Professor Thomson, rather than that of Marxist-Leninists like Comrade Stalin. Never did Comrade Stalin say that the class struggle in the Soviet Union was at an end; all he said was that the exploiting classes had been eliminated. But the elimination of the exploiting classes on the one hand and the elimination of the class struggle on the other hand are two different things. As to the former, it has been shown above that they had been eliminated; as to the latter it will shortly be shown that, far from being eliminated, the class struggle not only continued but became fiercer. That this was Stalin's view will be fully proved in the pages that follow.

To turn to another 'critic', namely MF, writing in the MLQ, the theoretical journal of the CFB, MF quotes the following passage from Comrade Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*:

"But overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the power of the proletariat does not yet guarantee the complete victory of socialism. After consolidating its power and leading the peasantry after it, the proletariat of the advanced country can and must build up a socialist society. But does that mean that in this way the proletariat will secure a complete and final victory for socialism, i.e., does it mean that with the forces of a single country it can finally consolidate socialism and fully guarantee that country against intervention, which means against restoration? Certainly not. That requires victory for the revolution in at least several countries. It is therefore the essential task of the victorious revolution in one country to develop and support the revolution in others. So the revolution in a victorious country ought not consider itself as a self-contained unit, but as an auxiliary and a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries."

Having quoted the above paragraph, MF comments:

"We shall consider later what is meant by socialism's 'final' victory, and relate that to STALIN'S ASSUMPTION THAT RESTORATION COULD ONLY OCCUR THROUGH OUTSIDE INTERVENTION." (Emphasis added).

Only people who have lost all sense of shame and honesty can interpret the above remarks of Comrade Stalin's in the way MF has interpreted them. Only people who have broken with Marxism- Leninism, who have lost the last remnants of ordinary human logic, never mind Marxism-Leninism, can give Comrade Stalin's above-quoted remarks the meaning given to them by MF.

To return to Comrade Stalin's remarks, what exactly is the meaning contained in the passage above? What exactly is Comrade Stalin saying?

Comrade Stalin is emphasising, first, the necessity of building socialism in the USSR, the only socialist country at that time. He is emphasising, second, that socialism in the USSR cannot be consolidated, nor can the land of socialism be fully guaranteed against intervention, unless the revolution in a single country (the USSR) is joined by victorious revolution "*in at least several countries*". Comrade Stalin is emphasising, third, that a successful intervention against the USSR can mean only one thing, namely, restoration of capitalism, for the interventionist bourgeois states harbour no other interest. And finally he is emphasising that for all the above reasons, if for no other reason, the revolution in the USSR must consider itself part and parcel of the revolution in other countries, "*as an auxiliary and a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries*" and not "*as a self-contained unit*".

In brief, it was necessary to build socialism in the USSR; left to itself the Soviet Union could successfully build socialism; it was improbable that the USSR would be left alone; a successful intervention would mean restoration of capitalism; and the only guarantee against intervention and for consolidation of socialism in the USSR was "*victory for the revolution in at least several countries*."

Where, then, is Stalin's alleged "*assumption that restoration could only occur through outside intervention*"? Nowhere.

It is obvious that this 'assumption' is a pure fabrication of MF's imagination. Stalin says that an intervention, if successful, would inevitably mean the restoration of capitalism - which is correct. MF distorts this remark and accuses Stalin of the "*assumption that restoration could ONLY occur through outside intervention*", which is incorrect, and is something that Stalin never said. Yet all this is presented to us as an analysis of the "*origin and development of revisionism in the Soviet Union*"! The kind of downright bourgeois trickery employed by MF in his 'analysis' is clear for everyone to see.

Before proceeding any further it is necessary to emphasise one point, namely, that MF's distortion about "*Stalin's assumption that restoration could only occur through outside intervention*" is based, as shown above, on a deliberate misinterpretation of a quotation from Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*, which is a collection of lectures Stalin delivered at the Sverdlov University at the beginning of April 1924. This date is very important. To

say on the basis of Comrade Stalin's 1924 speech, as does MF, that according to Stalin *"restoration could only occur through outside intervention"*, is to say that according to Stalin the internal class struggle had come to an end in 1924. This is precisely what MF is actually saying. This accusation runs like a crimson thread throughout his article. Having attributed to Stalin, on the basis of a quotation from *Foundations of Leninism*, the *"assumption that restoration could only occur through outside intervention"*, MF goes on to say: *"Stalin's position was in accord with the views expressed by Lenin as early as 1915."* Only one conclusion can be drawn from this comment of MF's, namely, that as early as 1915 it was Lenin's *"assumption that restoration could only occur through outside intervention"*! How strange!

MF will be found repeating on page 16 of his article this same accusation against Comrade Stalin in the following terms:

"It emerges from this [the section of Comrade Stalin's speech to the 18th Congress of the CPSU(B) quoted by MF] that the internal class struggle was at an end in the Soviet Union in 1939." The year 1939 is added for good measure, by way of military ruse, in order to make the reader believe that MF is accusing Stalin of *"the assumption that restoration could only occur through outside intervention"* only as from 1939. As a matter of fact, as has been shown above, MF's accusation is as from the year 1924. The accusation is baseless in any case, but the period from 1924 to 1939 is too important to be left undealt with. Here are a few facts from this period relating to the question of class struggle (and its intensification) under socialism.

If Stalin had believed in 1924, as is alleged by MF and suchlike creatures, that the *"internal class struggle was at an end in the Soviet Union"* and that *"restoration could only occur through outside intervention,"* then his struggle against the bourgeois tendencies - tendencies which, if allowed to gain ascendancy, would have led to the restoration of capitalism - against Bukharinism and Trotskyism would be completely inexplicable.

Stalin's struggle against Trotskyism and Bukharinism is only explicable on the basis that Stalin adhered to the theory of intensification of class struggle under socialism.

What are the facts? The facts are that Stalin waged ruthless struggle against the 'left' opportunist trend of Trotskyism. Had Trotskyism been victorious in its struggle against the policy of the Bolshevik Party, the result would inevitably have been the restoration of capitalism. We have shown

that in our pamphlets on Trotskyism.¹

Stalin also led the Party in waging a fierce and merciless struggle against the Right opportunist trend of Bukharinism. Had Bukharinism been victorious in its struggle against the policy of the Bolshevik Party, the result would just as inevitably have been the restoration of capitalism.

Bukharinism, which held that class struggle under socialism was bound to subside, put forward the theory of the capitalists' *"peaceful growth into socialism."* Bukharin's theory was a disguised and very sophisticated form of advocacy of the restoration of capitalism in the USSR.

Stalin waged fierce struggle against Bukharin's kulak theory. Here are a few quotations - quotations which show that not only did Stalin not hold the view *"that restoration could only occur through outside intervention"*, but also that he firmly adhered to the Marxist-Leninist theory of intensification of class struggle under socialism - from Comrade Stalin's speeches in his arduous, fierce, consistent and merciless struggle against Bukharinism:

"A victory of the Right deviation in our Party would mean an enormous strengthening of the capitalist elements in our country. And what does the strengthening of the capitalist elements in our country mean? It means weakening the proletarian dictatorship and increasing the chances of restoration of capitalism."

"Consequently, a victory of the Right deviation in our Party would mean a development of the conditions necessary FOR THE RESTORATION of capitalism in our country." (Collected Works, Vol 11 p.235 - emphasis added).

Can anyone who has not yet parted company with his senses construe the above remarks to mean that Stalin held the view that *"restoration could only occur through outside intervention"*? No, such a conclusion cannot be derived by any sane person. If MF draws the conclusion he does, it hardly needs saying that his head is in need of being seen to.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the above remarks of Stalin's is that restoration could also take place through the strengthening of the capitalist elements in the USSR, which is where a victory of the Right deviation would inevitably have led.

Furthermore, comparing the Right deviation with the 'Left' (Trotskyist) deviation in the CPSU(B), and emphasising that both these deviations led, although through different directions, to the same result, namely, restoration of capitalism, Comrade Stalin said this:

"Where does the danger of the Right, frankly opportunist, deviation in our Party lie? In the fact that it underestimates the strength of our enemies, the strength of capitalism; it does not see the danger of the restoration of capitalism; it does not understand the mechanism of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and therefore so readily agrees to make concessions to capitalism, demanding a slowing down of the rate of development of our industry, demanding concessions for the capitalist elements in town and country, demanding that the question of collective farms and state farms be relegated to the background, demanding that the monopoly of foreign trade be relaxed, etc., etc.

"There is no doubt that the triumph of the Right deviation in our Party would unleash the forces of capitalism, undermine the revolutionary positions of the proletariat and increase the chances of the restoration of capitalism in our country.

"Where does the danger of the 'Left' (Trotskyist) deviation in our Party lie? In the fact that it overestimates the strength of our enemies, the strength of capitalism, but cannot see the possibility of building socialism by the efforts of our country; it gives way to despair and is obliged to console itself with chatter about Thermidor tendencies in our Party.

"From the words of Lenin that 'as long as we live in a small-peasant country, there is a surer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for communism', the 'Left' deviation draws the false conclusion that it is impossible to build socialism in the USSR at all; that we cannot get anywhere with the peasantry; that the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry is an obsolete idea; that unless a victorious revolution in the West comes to our aid the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR must fall or degenerate; that unless we adopt the fantastic plan of super-industrialisation, even at the cost of a split with the peasantry, the cause of socialism in the USSR must be regarded as doomed.

"Hence the adventurism in the policy of the 'Left' deviation. Hence its 'superhuman' leaps in the sphere of policy.

"There is no doubt that the triumph of the 'Left' deviation in our Party would lead to the working class being separated from its peasant base, to the vanguard of the working class being separated from the rest of the working-class masses, and, consequently, to the defeat of the proletariat and to facilitating conditions for the restoration of capitalism.

"You see, therefore, that both these dangers, the 'Left' and the Right, both

these deviations from the Leninist line, the Right and the 'Left', lead to the same result, although from different directions." (Collected Works, Vol 11 pp. 240-241).

Is it not clear from the above that Stalin was firmly of the view that restoration of capitalism could also take place through the victory of either Bukharinism or Trotskyism, i.e., without foreign intervention? It is perfectly clear. Where, then, is to be found "*Stalin's assumption that restoration could only occur through outside intervention*"?

Further:

Stalin: "*Until now, we Marxist-Leninists were of the opinion that between the capitalists of town and country, on the one hand, and the working class, on the other hand, there is an irreconcilable antagonism of interests. That is what the Marxist theory of class struggle rests on. But now, according to Bukharin's theory of the capitalists' peaceful growth into socialism, all this is turned upside down, the irreconcilable antagonism of class interests between the exploiters and the exploited disappears, the exploiters grow into socialism.*"

Rosit: "*That is not true, the dictatorship of the proletariat is presumed.*"

Stalin: "*BUT THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS THE SHARPEST FORM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.*" (Collected Works, Vol 12 p. 32 - emphasis in capitals added).

Continuing, Comrade Stalin asked:

"*Can the capitalists be ousted and the roots of capitalism destroyed without a fierce class struggle?*" He answered: "*No, they cannot.*" (Ibid. p. 34).

"*Can classes be abolished if the theory and practice of the capitalists growing into socialism prevails? No, they cannot. Such theory and practice can only cultivate and perpetuate classes, for this theory contradicts the Marxist theory of the class struggle.*" (Ibid. pp. 34-35).

"*What can there be in common between Bukharin's theory of kulaks growing into socialism and Lenin's theory of the dictatorship as a fierce class struggle? Obviously, there is not, and cannot be, anything in common between them.*

"*Bukharin thinks that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the class struggle must die down and come to an end so that the abolition of the classes may be brought about. Lenin, on the contrary, teaches us that classes can be abolished only by means of a stubborn class struggle, which under the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes even fiercer than it was before the dictatorship*

of the proletariat." (ibid. p. 35).

Even before the struggle against the Right deviation - Bukharinism - began in earnest, Comrade Stalin had had occasion to remark that the whole advance of socialism proceeded through fierce class struggle. For developing socialism, which was squeezing out the capitalist enemies of the working class, could not but call forth the resistance of the dying classes. Here is what Comrade Stalin had to say in his speech on 9 July 1928 to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B):

"We often say that we are promoting socialist forms of economy in the sphere of industry. But what does that imply? It implies that, by our advance towards socialism, we are squeezing out and ruining, perhaps without ourselves noticing it, thousands upon thousands of small and medium capitalist manufacturers. Is it to be expected that these ruined people will keep silent and not attempt to organise resistance? Of course not.

"We often say that it is necessary to restrict the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks in the countryside, that they must be heavily taxed and the right to rent land limited, that kulaks must not be allowed the right to vote in the election of Soviets, and so on and so forth. But what does that imply? It implies that we are gradually pressing upon and squeezing out the capitalist elements in the countryside, sometimes driving them to ruin. Is it to be presumed that the kulaks will be grateful to us for this and will not endeavour to organise part of the poor peasants or middle peasants against the Soviet government's policy? Of course not.

"Is it not obvious that our whole forward movement, our every success of any importance in the sphere of socialist construction, is an expression and result of the class struggle in our country?

"But it follows from all this that the more we advance, the greater will be the resistance of the capitalist elements and the sharper the class struggle, while the Soviet government, whose strength will steadily increase, will pursue a policy of isolating these elements, a policy of demoralising the enemies of the working class, a policy, lastly, of crushing the resistance of the exploiters, thereby creating a basis for the further advance of the working class and the main mass of the peasantry.

"It must not be imagined that the socialist forms will develop, squeezing out the enemies of the working class, while our enemies retreat in silence and make way for our advance, that then we shall again advance and they will again retreat until 'unexpectedly' all the social groups without exception, both kulaks

and poor peasants, both workers and capitalists, find themselves 'suddenly' and 'imperceptibly', without struggle or commotion, in the lap of a socialist society. Such fairy tales do not and cannot happen in general, and in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.

"It never has been and never will be the case that a dying class surrenders its positions voluntarily without attempting to organise resistance. It never has been and never will be the case that the working class could advance towards socialism in a class society without struggle or commotion. On the contrary, the advance towards socialism cannot but cause the exploiting elements to resist the advance, and the resistance of the exploiters cannot but lead to the inevitable sharpening of the class struggle.

"That is why the working class must not be lulled with talk about the class struggle playing a secondary role." (Collected Works Vol 11 pp. 179-180).

Not being content with the distortion already dealt with, MF goes on to cite (page 15) the following passages from Stalin's Report to the Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU(B) as 'proof' of his assertion that Stalin believed "that the internal class struggle was at an end in the Soviet Union in 1939".

"The second phase was the period from the elimination of the capitalist elements in town and country to the complete victory of the Socialist economic system and the adoption of the new Constitution. The principal task in this period was to establish the Socialist economic system all over the country and to eliminate the last remnants of the capitalist elements, to bring about a cultural revolution, and to form a thoroughly modern army for the defence of the country. And the functions of our Socialist state changed accordingly. The function of military suppression inside the country ceased, died away; for exploitation had been abolished, there were no more exploiters left, and so there was no one to suppress. In place of this function of suppression the state acquired the function of protecting Socialist property from thieves and pilferers of the people's property. The function of defending the country from foreign attack fully remained; consequently, the Red Army and the Navy also fully remained, as did the punitive organs and the intelligence service, which are indispensable for the detection and punishment of the spies, assassins and wreckers sent into our country by foreign espionage services. The function of economic organisation and cultural education by the state organs also remained, and was developed to the full. Now the main task of our state inside the country is the work of peaceful economic organisation and cultural education. As for our army, punitive organs, and intelligence service, their edge is no

longer turned to the inside of the country but to the outside, against external enemies.

"As you see, we have an entirely new, Socialist state, without precedent in history and differing considerably in form and functions from the Socialist state of the first phase."

From the above quotation from Stalin's speech, MF concludes:

"It emerges from this that the internal class struggle was at an end in the Soviet Union in 1939."

In our view, no such conclusion as the one drawn by MF is legitimate. The following points are relevant to understanding the meaning contained in the above-quoted remarks of Comrade Stalin's:

First, it is essential to understand the context in which Comrade Stalin made his remarks. There were certain people in the Party who were demanding the relegation of the Soviet state *"to the museum of antiquities"* as the exploiting classes had already been abolished. Stalin in his reply was MAINLY concerned to show the erroneous nature of such demands by emphasising the necessity of retaining the dictatorship of the proletariat. And *"the dictatorship of the proletariat is the sharpest form of class struggle."*

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the continuation of class struggle in new conditions. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn struggle - bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative - against the forces and traditions of the old society, against the external capitalist enemies, against the remnants of the exploiting classes at home, against the shoots of a new bourgeoisie that springs from the soil of commodity production which has not yet been eliminated." (From the Programme of the Comintern).

How, then, can one say, as does MF, that *"it emerges from this that the internal class struggle was at an end in the Soviet Union in 1939"*? Did Stalin ever assert that the dictatorship of the proletariat - this *"sharpest form of class struggle"* - had already become by 1939 unnecessary and antiquated? Did he ever say that the soil of commodity production had already by 1939 been eliminated in the Soviet Union? No, he never did. On the contrary, he emphasised the necessity of retaining the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1939 in his speech to the 18th Congress of the CPSU(B). And as regards the elimination of commodity production - this was far from being achieved even in 1952, never mind 1939. One has only to read Comrade Stalin's

pamphlet *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* to make this 'discovery', which has proved so difficult for MF and creatures like him.

Stalin, countering the opportunist distortions of Lenin's writings, once said:

"But to take Lenin in part, without desiring to take him as a whole, is to misrepresent Lenin." (*Collected Works*, Vol 11 p. 171).

It must now be added: But to take Stalin in part, without desiring to take him as a whole, is to misrepresent Stalin.

This is precisely what MF and people like him, whose profession it is to find snippets of Stalin's writings, quote them out of context, connect various bits that do not admit of any such connection, and come up with eclectic rubbish, actually do. They take Stalin in part, without desiring to take him as a whole, precisely because they want to distort him - misrepresent him. And all these fraudulent misrepresentations they present to the movement in the name of 'analysis' of the *Origin and Development of Revisionism in the Soviet Union!*

Second, in emphasising the necessity for retaining the Soviet state, Comrade Stalin characterised the phases in its development, characterised the changes in the FORM of class struggle in the USSR. It is in this context that the above-quoted remarks from Stalin's speech to the 18th Congress of the CPSU(B) appear; and it is these remarks which our professional misrepresenter, MF, has tried his best to distort. In these remarks of his, Comrade Stalin is doing no more than giving expression to the real change in the external and internal position of the USSR; he is emphasising that AT THAT TIME the principal danger to the Soviet Union came from abroad, i.e., from fascist Germany, whereas internally the Soviet working class had temporarily emerged victorious in its struggle against the remnants of the former exploiting classes, which led as a matter of fact to a TEMPORARY, but nevertheless real, subsidence of class struggle INTERNALLY, i.e., in the USSR. The same, however, was not true of the external - the international - situation of the USSR, which in fact presented a picture of feverish intensification of class struggle. Consequently Stalin was absolutely justified in emphasising the class struggle EXTERNALLY, which emphasis, in the circumstances, was bound to appear as though it had been made at the expense of the class struggle INTERNALLY. But actually it was not made at the expense of the class struggle internally. Stalin was absolutely right in maintaining that, IN THE CONDITIONS PREVAILING AT THAT

TIME, the way to deal with the class struggle EXTERNALLY was military preparedness on the part of the Soviet Union, while INTERNALLY the best method of dealing with it was the arrest, trial and punishment of the enemies of the Soviet regime - spies, assassins, wreckers, etc. Stalin would indeed have made a mistake had he failed to shift the emphasis from the class struggle internally to the class struggle externally.

Just because Stalin emphasised the changes that had taken place in the FORM of the class struggle, does this mean that he thereby put forward the theory of subsidence of class struggle under socialism? No, it certainly does not mean that. Not once did Comrade Stalin, during the whole of his speech to the 18th Congress of the Party, or anywhere else for that matter, maintain that under the conditions of socialism, i.e., under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle was bound to subside. Just the opposite. Stalin again and again emphasised the Marxist-Leninist theory of intensification of class struggle under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Forms of this struggle may change, but the struggle as such remains for the entire historical epoch of this dictatorship. Here, for example, is what Comrade Stalin said in 1937 - only a few months after the adoption of the 1936 Constitution, i.e., the period under review in Stalin's speech to the 18th Congress:

"It is necessary to shatter and discard the rotten theory to the effect that with every step of progress which we make the class struggle here is bound to die down more and more, that in proportion to the growth of our successes the class enemy becomes more and more tamed.

"This is not only a rotten theory, but also a dangerous theory, for it lulls our people to sleep, it leads them into a snare, while allowing the class enemy the possibility of rallying for the struggle against the Soviet power.

"On the contrary, the greater our progress, the greater our successes, the more embittered the remnants of the smashed exploiting classes will become, the more quickly they will resort to sharper forms of struggle, the more they will do damage to the Soviet state, the more they will clutch at the most desperate means of struggle as the last resort of the doomed.

"We must bear in mind that the remnants of the routed classes in the USSR are not alone. They have direct support from our enemies beyond the borders of the USSR. It would be a mistake to assume that the sphere of the class struggle is bounded by the frontiers of the USSR. While one end of the class struggle operates within the USSR, its other end extends into the bourgeois

states around us. The remnants of the routed classes cannot be unaware of this. And just because they are aware of it, they will go on with their desperate sallies.

"This is what history teaches us. This is what Leninism teaches us. We must remember all this and be on guard." (On the Defects in Party Work and the Measures for Liquidating Trotskyist and Other Double Dealers).

And further:

"It is necessary to shatter and discard a fifth rotten theory which alleges that the Trotskyite wreckers have no more reserves, which alleges that they are rallying their last cadres.

"This is not true, comrades. This theory could be invented only by naive people. For the Trotskyite wreckers have their reserves. They consist ABOVE ALL IN THE REMNANTS OF THE ROUTED EXPLOITING CLASSES IN THE USSR. They consist of a number of groups and organisations beyond the borders of the USSR that are hostile to the Soviet Union" (Ibid - emphasis added).

Now even the blind can see that Stalin held firmly to the theory of the continuation and intensification of class struggle under socialism. This theory was put into practice by the CPSU throughout the period of Stalin, that is, both before 1937 and after. In 1937-38 it was put into effect against the Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites; it was restated again and again at appropriate times in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, and it continued to be the basic position of the CPSU(B) until after the death of Stalin. Only at the 20th Party Congress were the modern Khrushchevite revisionists able to give effect to the *"rotten theory ... that with every step of progress ... the class struggle is bound to die down ..."* They needed this rotten and dangerous theory in order to lull the Soviet people to sleep, in order to lead them into a snare, while themselves getting on with the job of restoring capitalism in the USSR.

Thus it is perfectly clear that Stalin did not hold the view that the class struggle WITHIN the USSR was at an end; on the contrary, he adhered firmly to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the intensification of class struggle under socialism. What is more, he had profound understanding of the relationship of the class struggle within the USSR and the *"extension of this struggle into the bourgeois states around"* the USSR; of the internal and external class struggle. He understood very well that the sphere of class struggle had no boundaries; *"it would be a mistake,"* he said, *"to assume that the*

sphere of class struggle is bounded by the frontiers of the USSR". And the remnants of the exploiting classes could not but be aware of this.

Though the remnants of the exploiting classes showed an awareness of the great truth that class struggle has no boundaries, it appears that a certain disreputable Marxist from the CFB, to wit MF, is completely unaware of it. Why otherwise would he attack Stalin for switching the emphasis, in accordance with the actual changes in the situation internally and externally, from the internal to the external class struggle? The MFs of this world have no idea of what an *"unpleasant phenomenon"*, not just an empty phrase, capitalist encirclement is.

Perhaps MF thinks that despite the real, if temporary, subsidence of class struggle in 1939 in the USSR, Stalin and the Soviet government and the Party ought to have fanned the flames of class struggle - whipped up class struggle? Well! Neither the Soviet Party and government nor Stalin were stupid enough to pursue such a policy. It was not their policy to fan the flames of class struggle.

"Of course, our policy must by no means be regarded as a policy of fanning the class struggle. Why? Because fanning the class struggle would lead to civil war. Because, inasmuch as we are in power, and inasmuch as we have consolidated our power and the key positions are in the hands of the working class, it is not in our interest that the class struggle should assume the forms of civil war. But this in no way implies that the class struggle has been abolished, or that it will not grow sharper. Still less does it imply that the class struggle is not the decisive factor in our advancement. No, it does not." (Collected Works, Vol 11, p. 178).

Class struggle under socialism intensifies not because of the fanning of the class struggle by the Party and the government, but because of the objective law of development of socialism; every advance of socialism is achieved at the expense of the exploiting classes - both internal and external - and this cannot but call forth their desperate resistance. But it is equally true that after the defeat of the exploiting classes in open battle, a TEMPORARY respite can be gained; the class struggle internally or externally may TEMPORARILY subside. After the defeat of the interventionist forces, the Soviet Union gained a temporary respite in regard to external class struggle, but the internal class struggle became more and more fierce until 1939 when once again the emphasis had to be shifted because of real changes in the class struggle at home and abroad, to the external class

struggle. None of this, it goes without saying, implies "that the internal class struggle was at an end in the Soviet Union in 1939," any more than the defeat of the interventionists had implied the end of the external class struggle.

MF must have realised that his slanders would not go unanswered. Stalin's writings, let alone the history of the period under consideration, would be more than sufficient to refute MF's slanders. So, guided by considerations of this kind, it must be presumed, MF states in a subsequent issue of the MLQ (no. 4):

"To understand revisionism in the Soviet Union is to understand how and why the workers' power established in 1917 came to be overthrown. No understanding is possible unless it is recognised that the period of transition to the classless society is, in the world-historic sense and in the case of each particular country, a period of intense class struggle. The nature of proletarian dictatorship as a period of transition involving acute class conflict was stressed by Lenin - particularly in his polemic with Kautsky. The idea of a 'socialist establishment' - of socialism as a complete system as distinct from a transitional society - became widely accepted from the early 1930s ² and although there was no explicit disjuncture ³ between the two concepts, the objective reality of Soviet society was theorised by Stalin in a confused and contradictory [sic] way. Our main concern is not to establish whether he recognised the existence of classes and class contractions [sic] ⁴ between classes (at times he wrote as though he did; at other times as though he didn't), but whether the policies pursued by Stalin and the Soviet leadership were consistently proletarian policies pursued by proletarian leadership in struggle against the class enemy. We cannot be concerned with questions of policy disjoined from the realities of class power. How real was the political power of the working class in the Soviet Union between the death of Lenin and the death of Stalin?" ⁵

Here you have a thoroughly opportunist formulation of the question - a formulation which, in every respect, is 'perfect' in that it talks about everything and yet has the 'advantage' of not committing its author to any specific point of view, of leaving him some room for manoeuvre to wriggle out of any possible difficulties. MF is like a man who talks a great deal and yet says nothing. On the one hand, he says, in the above paragraph, no understanding of the triumph of revisionism in the Soviet Union is possible at all "unless it is recognised that the period of transition to the classless society is ... a period of intense class struggle," on the other hand, a couple of sentences further down the same paragraph, the same MF says: "our main concern is

not to establish whether he [i.e., Stalin] recognised the existence of classes and contradictions between classes [note how desperately MF is trying here to avoid using the expression 'class struggle'] ... " Aren't we really concerned with the question of classes and "contradictions between classes," Mr MF? How, then, is it possible to understand "revisionism in the Soviet Union" when, according to your own prescription, "No understanding [of revisionism] is possible unless it is recognised that the period of transition to the classless society is ... a period of intense class struggle"? Why, then, was all the fuss made about classes and class struggle?

Having spread his slanders in number 2 of the MLQ, MF, the Trotskyite that he is, trots on in typical Trot fashion, to shift the emphasis in number 4 of the MLQ from classes and class struggle to whether or not the policies of Stalin and the CPSU(B) were *"consistently proletarian revolutionary policies."* That is 'dialectics' for you! And this is the only application of 'dialectics' that MF and other opportunists are familiar with, in that with their changing opportunist needs, they are forced to be ever-shifty in their allegations and the stances they adopt. The spectacle of these 'dialectical' acrobatics of these opportunists is very laughter-provoking indeed.

And the utter confusion in which MF has landed himself by no means prevents MF from asserting, with the bold ignorance characteristic of him, that *"the objective reality of Soviet society was theorised by Stalin in a confused and contradictory way."* Isn't it funny? We leave it to the reader to judge who is theorising "objective reality" in a "confused and contradictory way" - MF or Stalin?

The thoroughly elusive, diffuse - and thoroughly opportunist - manner of MF's above formulation brings to memory Lenin's characterisation of the opportunist in general. This characterisation is important for us not only because of its general significance but also because it fits MF perfectly. Here is what Comrade Lenin says about the specific features of opportunism and of opportunists:

"When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget the feature characteristic of the whole of present-day [and it is just as much true in our time] opportunism in every sphere, namely, its indefiniteness, diffuseness, elusiveness. An opportunist, by his very nature, always evades formulating an issue decisively, he seeks a middle course, he wriggles like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view, trying to 'agree' with both and to reduce his differences of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, righteous and innocent

suggestions, and so on and so forth." (*One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*).

There you have the characterisation of the opportunist who dreads a clear and definite formulation of issues, for clearness and definiteness spell doom for the opportunist and for his opportunism. Indefiniteness, diffuseness and elusiveness, on the other hand, furnish precisely the soil and climate for the luxuriant growth of opportunism.

It is the duty of the proletarian revolutionaries to fight not only against the content of present-day opportunism, but to fight also against the form that his opportunism makes its appearance in, namely, its diffuseness, elusiveness and indefiniteness. We must continue to insist on a clear and definite formulation of disagreements, issues and points of principle. Only such an insistence can be of help to the movement in its task of eradication of confusion and clarification of issues.

NOTES

1: See the series *Some Questions Concerning the Struggle of Counter-revolutionary Trotskyism Against Revolutionary Leninism* which appear in this book immediately after the Preface.

2: This slander in no way prevented MF from saying in MIQ 2 that Stalin "believed it was possible to build communism in one country". Which one is it Mr MF? Either Stalin believed that Soviet society was proceeding in the direction of communism, in which case it was a transitional society - was in a state of transition - or he believed that it was not proceeding in that direction, i.e., it was a "socialist establishment" - "a complete system as distinct from a transitional society"?

3: The English dictionary does not contain this word. This only goes to show that Mr MF is not only enriching and developing Marxism, he is also enriching and developing the English language.

4: Like MF we are not at all sure if Stalin recognised class 'contractions' in every sense of this expression. If, however, MF means to say class contradictions, these Comrade Stalin certainly recognised, as shown above.

5: As to whether the political power of the working class was less real in the Soviet Union between the death of Lenin and the death of Stalin, on the one hand, and between the October Revolution and the death of Lenin on the other, we let the reader, who cannot by any stretch of the imagination be more ignorant than MF as regards the history of the period under consideration, judge for himself. On our part, we shall simply say this: our understanding is that the political power of the working class is greater after the elimination of exploiting classes than before; and this elimination took place "between the death of Lenin and the death of Stalin." Now even MF ought, in all fairness, to be able to put two and two together and make four, i.e., that the political power of the working class was more real between the death of Lenin and the death of Stalin.

Chapter 23

Communism in One Country

MF has upgraded the controversy surrounding *socialism* in one country to "*communism in one country*." This is what he has to say by way of continuation:

"And turning to the future Stalin declared:

"But the development cannot stop there. We are going ahead, towards communism. Will our state remain in the period of communism also?"

"And he answered:

"Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared."

Here is MF's comment on the above remarks of Comrade Stalin's:

"It emerges from that part of Stalin's report quoted above that he believed it was possible to build communism in one country. Such a proposition departs radically from the whole argument about 'socialism in one country' that had been conducted with the Trotskyists in the 1920s. It also departs radically from Marxism-Leninism. To talk about the state still remaining in a communist society is an absurdity, made even more absurd by qualifications concerning the possibility of a hostile encirclement. Communist society presupposes the ending of classes and the withering away of the state and is, as Mao says, dependent on 'the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe.' It is only possible to speak of final victory once communism has been achieved." (p.16).

One cannot but laugh at the absurd spectacle of one of the 'theoreticians' - one of the leading lights - of the semi- Menshevik, semi-Trotskyite CFB (must not forget to add -ML) presuming to teach Comrade Stalin that "*Communist society presupposes the ending of classes and the withering away of the state.*" This formula is no discovery of the CFB. Marx is the only man who made this discovery. And Stalin long ago, even without the paternalistic care and help of the CFB, had managed to grasp the essence of this formula - not merely learnt it by rote as the CFB have done, which does not prevent them from endeavouring to convert Stalin to their method of rote

learning of phrases and formulas.

What exactly is Stalin saying in the remarks quoted above? Stalin is here raising the purely abstract, theoretical question of the POSSIBILITY of building communism in the USSR while the capitalist encirclement had still not been liquidated. In the abstract such a formulation of the question is quite possible and legitimate. By 1939, as has been stated above, the exploiting classes had been abolished, but development had not stopped there. Soviet society was going ahead towards communism all the time, as indeed must any socialist society from the day of revolution. What if development were to continue without the capitalist countries militarily attacking the USSR? What if the USSR were to continue alone for decades - maybe for centuries - on the road to communism without having been joined by victorious revolution in other countries? What if, in the course of its development it should reach the material and cultural conditions, the achievement of which would enable the putting into effect of the formula 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'? In such a case Soviet society would have become communist society, but the state could as yet not be abolished because of capitalist encirclement. And it is no use trying to apply to the above unique situation we have just described the correct, but in this situation inapplicable, formula: *"Communist society presupposes the ending of classes and the withering away of the state"*, for this formula does not envisage the situation that has just been postulated.

Just because Stalin raised the abstract, purely theoretical question of the possibility of building communism in the USSR while capitalist encirclement still existed, does this mean that this is what he thought would happen? No, it certainly does not. The realm of possibility is much wider than actuality. Possibility is not even probability, let alone actuality. While it is possible in the abstract to think, and that is all Comrade Stalin ever did, of a situation in which one country reaches the communist stage while capitalist encirclement still is around, in practice things are different. Long before any one country reaches the higher phase of communist society, more probably than not, either the revolution will spread to other countries or, EVENTUALLY, failing revolution elsewhere, socialism will be destroyed in that given country as well by the encircling capitalist states, for *"with the forces of a single country"* it is very difficult indeed for the proletariat *"to secure a complete and final victory for socialism"* to *"finally consolidate socialism and fully guarantee that country against intervention, which means against restoration"*, as Stalin pointed out in *Foundations of Leninism* long before

the CFB had ever been thought of; for *"it would be foolish to believe that international capital will leave us in peace."* (Collected Works Vol 11 p. 58).

There is also no doubt that in a given socialist society development proceeds in the direction of a completely communist society, but the development in this direction proceeds through such contradictions - external and internal - that BEFORE complete communism is achieved either there will be world revolution or the advance of the society proceeding in the direction of communism will be halted.

Therefore, while not denying in the abstract, while conceding in the abstract and thinking of such a situation as envisaged by Comrade Stalin, one must not count on it taking place, one must not reject the tasks of class struggle facing one in a socialist society, one must not abstract oneself - detach oneself - from real life in the name of dreams. There is not even the tiniest shred of evidence to suggest that Comrade Stalin rejected the tasks of the class struggle then facing Soviet society in the name of dreams. On the contrary, one must not forget that his remarks are taken from that part of his speech to the 18th Congress in which he is rebuking certain comrades in the Party who were then demanding the relegation of the Soviet state to the *"museum of antiquities"*; one must not forget that in this part of his speech, as shown above, he was MAINLY concerned to emphasise the necessity of maintaining the state. The remarks over which MF has made so much fuss were by way of an abstract, theoretical formulation of the question, and not by way of rejection of the problems of class struggle. He is simply saying to the comrades erroneously demanding the abolition of the state: Comrades, one way or another, the Soviet state is bound to stay for a considerable period; the task of abolition of the state belongs to the future; get on more with the problems of class struggle and fighting against the external and internal enemies of Soviet society, and less with the abolition of the state right now.

Before leaving the question of 'communism in one country', we think it would be quite fruitful here to refer to Lenin's views on Kautsky's theory of 'ultra-imperialism', for it has a certain definite bearing on the question we are dealing with, namely, the relationship between possibility and probability. In order not to be misunderstood, we repeat that it is only to reveal the relationship of possibility to probability that we shall be comparing Kautsky's counter-revolutionary theory of ultra-imperialism with Comrade Stalin's references to the possibility of communism in the USSR. Beyond that there is no similarity between the two.

Lenin's implacable hostility to Kautsky's theory of 'peaceful' ultra-imperialism is well known. Lenin maintained, absolutely correctly, that only the *"open break with Marxism"* of Kautsky could have led the latter to *"dream about a 'peaceful capitalism'"*. Lenin attributed Kautsky's ultra-imperialism to the latter's petty-bourgeois desire to refuse to face - to run away from - the *"political conflicts, convulsions and transformations that particularly characterise the imperialist epoch,"* and to seek refuge in essentially petty-bourgeois dreams and *"innocent contemplations regarding 'peaceful' ultra-imperialism."* In other words, the basis of Kautsky's theory of 'peaceful ultra-imperialism' was nothing but the reactionary desire of a philistine to eliminate the conflicts that are most unpleasant, most disturbing and distasteful to the petty-bourgeois, such as wars, political convulsions, etc., *"a desire to turn away from the already-arrived imperialist epoch - an epoch full of conflicts, catastrophes, convulsions, wars and revolutions - and to turn to 'innocent dreams of a comparatively peaceful, comparatively conflictless, comparatively non-catastrophic ultra-imperialism."* In practice the theory of *"peaceful ultra-imperialism"* meant abandonment of the exacting revolutionary tasks posed by the epoch of imperialism and turning instead to wishful dreaming about the imminent demise of the present, imperialist, epoch and its supersession by *"a comparatively 'peaceful' epoch of ultra-imperialism which demands no such 'sharp' tactics"* from the proletariat.

Thus it can be seen that Leninism is irreconcilably opposed to Kautsky's nonsensical theory of *"peaceful ultra-imperialism"* because this theory lulls the proletarian masses to sleep with essentially petty-bourgeois dreams about the approaching *"ultra-imperialism"* which, it is alleged, is comparatively peaceful, comparatively free of conflict, comparatively free of convulsions and of the upheavals characteristic of the present epoch - precisely at a time when it is necessary to prepare the masses to face the tasks posed by the present, imperialist, epoch which is far from peaceful. The irreconcilability of Leninism to the rubbish contained in Kautsky's theory of *"ultra-imperialism"* notwithstanding, we find the following paragraph in the very same article by Comrade Lenin, namely, *Preface to NI Bukharin's Imperialism and World Economy*, from which the lines and expressions which appear in quotation marks in the paragraph immediately preceding are taken:

"Can one, however, deny that in the abstract a new phase of capitalism to follow imperialism, namely, a phase of ultra-imperialism, is 'thinkable'? No. In the abstract one can think of such a phase. In practice, however, he who rejects the hard tasks of today in the name of dreams about easy tasks of the fu-

ture becomes an opportunist. Theoretically it means to fail to base oneself on the developments now going on in real life, to detach oneself from them in the name of dreams. There is no doubt that the development is going in the direction of a single world trust that will swallow up all enterprises and all states without exception. But the development in this direction is proceeding under such stress, with such a tempo, with such contradictions, conflicts, and convulsions - not only economic, but also political, national, etc., etc. - that before a single world trust will be reached, before the respective national finance capitals will have formed a world union of 'ultra-imperialism', imperialism will inevitably explode, capitalism will turn into its opposite."

In other words, IN THE ABSTRACT Lenin was not prepared to deny EVEN a new phase of capitalism to follow imperialism, namely, a phase of ultra-imperialism. Such a phase, said Lenin, was thinkable, for development was proceeding "in the direction of a single world trust that will swallow up all enterprises and all states without exception." If such a phase is thinkable, as Lenin maintains correctly, why is it unthinkable IN THE ABSTRACT, then, that communism in one country (the USSR) was possible to achieve (without the abolition of the state because of capitalist encirclement) when development in that country was proceeding "in the direction" of communism? In actual practice, however, in all PROBABILITY, neither the stage of ultra-imperialism nor that of 'communism in one country' will be reached. Long before that capitalism everywhere will turn into its opposite, i.e., socialism.

The question of ultra-imperialism has been brought in so as to show the relationship between possibility and probability; so as to show that the relationship between possibility and probability is the same in both cases, i.e., ultra-imperialism and communism in one country. In our view ultra-imperialism, though thinkable in the abstract, is as impossible in PRACTICE to achieve as is 'communism in one country', which is also thinkable in the abstract.

There is, however, one significant respect in which Stalin's abstract formulation of the possibility of 'communism in one country' differs from Kautsky's formulation of ultra-imperialism, namely, whereas Kautsky was putting forward his theory in order to lull the proletariat to sleep with essentially petty-bourgeois dreams about the approaching peaceful ultra-imperialism, in order to evade the tasks of class struggle, Stalin, on the other hand, by emphasising the necessity of not only maintaining but also strengthening the

dictatorship of the proletariat, was preparing the proletariat of the USSR as well as of the whole world for the class struggles of the day, while, at the same time, allowing himself to think, and while not denying IN THE ABSTRACT the possibility, of communism in the USSR. Moreover, Stalin, by raising the theoretical possibility of building communism in the USSR, was helping the march forward of the Soviet people towards communism. In the situation in which the Soviet Union found herself when she had eliminated the exploiting classes and had not yet been joined by victorious revolution in other countries, only the POSSIBILITY of building a communist society, of marching in the direction of a communist society with seven-league strides, could be the basis for the further development of Soviet society. The only alternative would have been to deny this POSSIBILITY and thus vegetate and stagnate while waiting for world revolution before advancing any further in the direction of communism, for you cannot advance in that direction if you deny EVEN THE POSSIBILITY of achieving it.

Thus it can be seen that the context in which Stalin is raising his possibility (i.e., the possibility of building complete communism in the USSR) is diametrically opposed to the context in which Kautsky raises his possibility (the possibility of peaceful ultra-imperialism). Whereas the effect of Stalin raising the POSSIBILITY of building communism (while at the same time preparing for and facing the gigantic external and internal class struggles, while strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat - this sharpest form of class struggle) was to help consolidate and further advance the building of socialism and the movement in the direction of communism; therefore, no criticism of Stalin for raising this possibility is justified.

Kautsky, on the other hand, by raising the possibility of a peaceful ultra-imperialism, was spreading opportunism, lulling the masses to sleep, hiding the features of the imperialist - far from peaceful - epoch, and evading the tasks facing the proletariat in this epoch. Hence Lenin was perfectly justified in attacking Kautsky for raising the possibility (a possibility which Lenin himself did not deny in the abstract), for that possibility had been raised by Kautsky by way of a diversion, by way of a repudiation of the revolutionary tasks facing the revolution.

Chapter 24

'Nationalist degeneration'

The second allegation is that of 'nationalist degeneration' in the Soviet Union. Is there any evidence to prove that nationalist degeneration had overwhelmed the Soviet Union during the time of Stalin? There is no such evidence even to support, let alone prove, that the Soviet Union during that period was guided by the norms of bourgeois nationalism rather than by those of proletarian internationalism. What, then, are the facts on which MF bases his allegation? MF's 'facts' (which are literally MF's facts, for he is the sole manufacturer of them) are as follows:

On page 18 of his article he writes: *"From approximately the time of launching the Popular Front movement, it can be said that the concern with the national position of the USSR had taken precedence in policy over the interests of the international communist and workers' movement."*

Can it indeed?

If one links this unsubstantiated general allegation with an earlier one (on pages 10, 12 and 13) about the *"lop-sided relationship that came to prevail in the Comintern"* between the Bolshevik Party *"and the weaker parties abroad that had been brought into existence largely on the initiative of the Bolsheviks"*, one cannot but come to the conclusion that, according to MF, throughout the period under consideration, the Bolshevik Party USED (in the worst sense of the expression) the Comintern, and abused the confidence and trust of fraternal member Parties, in the national interests of the USSR and at the expense of revolution elsewhere. How does MF prove this allegation? By asserting it. What proof has he furnished in substantiation of his allegation? None whatever, for none is available. MF has not given a single fact - a single instance - to prove that the Comintern was a mere instrument, a puppet, for the pursuit of the national interests of the USSR; he has given no evidence to show that the delegations of other Parties simply *"uncritically"* accepted the *"directives"* that came down from the CPSU. He has furnished no proof, nor could he have furnished any, for no such proof is available.

Evidence to the contrary, however, exists in ample abundance to show

that issues in the Comintern were decided upon after free and thorough debate. The evidence shows that the Comintern was not a peaceful and dull gathering of the faithful coming together from time to time to receive their marching orders (directives, if you please) from the Bolsheviks (whom MF sarcastically characterises as "*repositories of all wisdom*") and then go out to defend Soviet *national* interests at the cost of betraying revolution everywhere else. The evidence shows that polemics in the debates of the Comintern, far from being absent, were very common and, what is more, that these polemics were in no way confined to those between the Soviet delegation on the one hand and some other delegation on the other. The evidence shows that there were times when the Soviet delegation found itself in the unenviable position of having to introduce amendments to the theses signed and distributed by a highly-placed member of the CPSU(B).¹

Of course, there were plenty of occasions on which the theses put forward by the CPSU(B) were accepted by other Parties, accepted for no other reason than that these theses were correct. What is wrong with that? Perhaps MF thinks that in the interests of 'democracy' and in order not to appear to be recipients of "*Bolshevik Party directives*", the delegations of other Parties in the Comintern should from time to time have rejected correct theses put forward by the CPSU(B)? 'Democracy' of that kind, however, would be counter-revolutionary in essence and opposed to the interests of the international proletariat.

To the superficial extent that MF does examine the policies of the Comintern, he is unable to find any fault with them; but that does not prevent him from asserting that it would be a "*rash assumption*" that Comintern policies were generally correct.

Every time he begins to come to grips with the policies of the Comintern, he shies away, realising that the Comintern policies were correct and that it is, after all, impossible to attack these policies except in a most general and unsubstantiated way - e.g. by intoning how "*it would be a rash assumption to make that the policies of the Comintern were generally correct.*" Every time MF is forced to leave the sphere of general accusations and to enter upon a discussion of actual policies of the Comintern, he is forced also to beat a retreat. Time and again he flees, admitting that the policies of the Comintern were "*dictated by real considerations. The conditions of international struggle had changed, and in country after country the Social-democrats had revealed themselves in the hour of capitalist crisis as staunch defenders of*

the tottering status-quo" (p. 12); and that *"the concept of the United Front as defined by Dimitrov, was, in the main, correct"* (p. 13); that *"Dimitrov had stressed that the defence of bourgeois democracy against fascism was only a part of the long-term struggle to end bourgeois democracy and to establish workers' power and workers' democracy"* (p.14), and so on and so forth.

It turns out, then, that the policies pursued by the Comintern were correct. Nevertheless it would be a *"rash assumption"* to make that these policies were correct! It turns out, then, that the policies of the Comintern were correct. Nevertheless Parties other than the CPSU(B) should not have accepted these policies, for to do so implied accepting the *"directives"* of the CPSU(B). It turns out, then that the Comintern was pursuing a policy based on *"the conditions of international struggle."* Nevertheless it was wrong to pursue such a policy for, apart from helping the struggle of the proletariat in other countries, it might also help the position in the USSR; and this would be a crime indeed, as it would be tantamount to using the Comintern to serve the nationalist interests of the USSR. It turns out Enough!

MF has not been able to produce a single fact to prove his assertion. When, where and which Soviet Union during the period under consideration used the Comintern to promote its nationalist interests? When, where and which Soviet Union during the period under consideration betrayed the *"international communist and workers' movement in order to safeguard its nationalist interests"*?

If there are no facts - and, as shown above, there are none - to prove MF's allegation, what then is the basis of it? Delving deep into MF's shallow article what is clear is that the basis of his malicious, slanderous and baseless accusations is not his pretended concern for world revolution but his real unconcern for the Soviet revolution. It is perfectly apparent from his article that he could not give a damn whether the Soviet Union would or would not have been endangered in its existence if it had not followed the complicated, but thoroughly scientific and thoroughly revolutionary policy that it actually did follow. It is perfectly clear that MF does not understand the relationship of the Soviet revolution to world revolution. It is perfectly clear, notwithstanding even MF's slanderous accusations against Stalin to the effect he did not regard the Soviet revolution as an auxiliary - a part - of world revolution, that it is MF and those like him who have always regarded the world revolution in isolation from the revolutionary USSR of those days,

as though the world revolution had nothing to do with the only state (at that time) of the working class. They continue to counterpose the interests of world revolution to the revolutionary interests of the Soviet Union. They demand everything from the Soviet Union, even that it ought to have made other people's revolutions for them, but consider that the proletariat of other countries owed no duties to the Soviet revolution. There has never been any dearth of 'internationalism' of the type preached by the MFs of this world, who have never understood and never will understand the relationship of the Soviet revolution to the world revolution and who, therefore, in Trotskyite fashion, go round denouncing the Soviet Union for pursuing a 'nationalist' policy, failing to understand that the fight put up by the world proletariat in defence of the socialist USSR was no less an assistance to *"the international communist and workers' movement"* than it was to the Soviet revolution. In the same way the assistance given by the USSR (of which there was plenty) to revolutionary movements abroad was no less of an assistance to the Soviet revolution than it was to these movements. Indeed, what would be the *"international communist and workers' movement"* of those days if from this movement we were to lop off the Soviet revolution, if we were to abstract, in arbitrary fashion, the interests of the Soviet revolution?

MF is not the first person, nor will he be the last, to raise this question. In Stalin's days too there were in existence, in some circles surrounding the Comintern, 'internationalists' of the MF type who considered that the programme of the Comintern in its inner substance was not quite international - that it was 'too Russian' in character. It is extremely useful to be able to reproduce here Stalin's refutation of the false internationalism of these people. Here is what Comrade Stalin said:

"What could have furnished grounds for such an opinion [that the programme of the Comintern was 'too Russian']?"

"Is it, perhaps the fact that the draft programme contains a special chapter on the USSR? But what can be bad in it? Is our revolution, in its character, a national and only a national revolution and not pre-eminently an international revolution? If so, why do we call it a base of the world revolutionary movement, an instrument for the revolutionary development of all countries, the motherland of the world proletariat?"

"There were people among us - our oppositionists, for instance - who considered that the revolution in the USSR was exclusively or mainly a national

revolution. It was on this point that they came to grief. It is strange that there are people round about the Comintern, it appears, who are prepared to follow in the footsteps of the oppositionists.

"Perhaps our revolution is, in type, a national and only a national revolution? But our revolution is a Soviet revolution, and the Soviet form of proletarian state is more or less obligatory for the dictatorship of the proletariat in other countries. It is not without reason that Lenin said that the revolution in the USSR had ushered in a new era in the history of development, the era of Soviets. Does it not follow from this that, not only as regards its character but also as regards its type, our revolution is pre-eminently an international revolution, one that presents a pattern of what, in the main, a proletarian revolution should be in any country?

"Undoubtedly, the international character of our revolution imposes upon the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR certain duties towards the proletarians and oppressed masses of the whole world. This is what Lenin had in mind when he said that the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR exists in order to do everything possible for the development and victory of the proletarian revolution in other countries. But what follows from this? It follows, at least, that our revolution is part of the world revolution, a base and an instrument of the world revolutionary movement.

"Undoubtedly, too, not only has the revolution in the USSR duties towards the proletarians of all countries, duties which it is discharging, but the proletarians of all countries have certain fairly important duties towards the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR. These duties consist in supporting the proletariat of the USSR in its struggle against internal and external enemies, in war against a war designed to strangle the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR, in advocating that imperialist armies should directly go over to the side of the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR in the event of an attack on the USSR. But does it not follow from this that the revolution in the USSR is inseparable from the revolutionary movement in other countries, that the triumph of the revolution in the USSR is a triumph for the revolution throughout the world?

"Is it possible, after all this, to speak of the revolution in the USSR as being only a national revolution, isolated from and having no connection with the revolutionary movement throughout the world?

"And, on the other hand, is it possible, after all this, to understand anything at all about the world revolutionary movement, if it is considered out of con-

nection with the proletarian revolution in the USSR?

"What would be the value of the programme of the Comintern, which deals with the world proletarian revolution, if it ignored the fundamental question of the character and tasks of the proletarian revolution in the USSR, its duties towards the proletarians of all countries, and the duties of the proletarians of all countries towards the proletarian dictatorship of the USSR?" (The Programme of the Comintern, speech delivered on 5 July 1928, Collected Works, Vol 11 pp. 157-159).

Thus it is perfectly clear that MF does not understand anything at all about the world revolutionary movement of the period under consideration, for he considers it out of connection with the proletarian revolution in the USSR.

It is also perfectly clear to those who, unlike our poor but pompous MF, have actual knowledge of the history of that time, in particular of the history of the Comintern, that the Programme as well as the policies of the Comintern were not the programme and policies of any one national party. They were not the programme and policies of only the 'civilised' nations, to use Comrade Stalin's expression. On the contrary, they covered all the Communist Parties of the world, all nations, all peoples, both black and white.

Having uttered a heap of distortions about the Comintern, MF trots along, in typical Trot fashion, to utter a few distortions which are nothing short of counter-revolutionary Trotskyite distortions, about the German-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression. He says on page 18 of his article:

"While in the circumstances prevailing the Soviet Government had no alternative but to sign such a pact, the conduct of the Soviet and Comintern policy between November 1939 and June 1941 can be regarded as nothing other than an abandonment of proletarian internationalism."

How does MF prove the above allegation? By asserting it. There is literally not a single word in his article in proof of this allegation.

As a matter of fact the only people who have hitherto attacked Stalin for the German-Soviet Pact of Non-Aggression and for the conduct of Soviet policy during the period mentioned by MF have been the Trotskyites and imperialists. That these people should attack the Soviet policy is perfectly understandable. The Soviet policy turned the tables on imperialism when it had been hoping to crush Bolshevism but now found itself locked into a bitter war against itself. The imperialists of Britain who had hoped to turn Nazi

Germany against Soviet Russia were now obliged to fight against Nazi Germany. The conduct of the Soviet and Comintern policy contributed in no small measure to bringing about the situation in which imperialists of different countries were forced to wage a war of destruction against each other instead of uniting in a war of extermination against the SOCIALIST USSR. In the light of this, is it surprising that the imperialists should have attacked Comrade Stalin, the CPSU(B) and the Comintern? Can we expect the imperialists to be grateful to the CPSU(B), the Comintern and Stalin for weakening imperialism? As for the Trotskyites we have shown in our earlier publications ² that in the 1930s they had become an agency of fascism and worked for the defeat of the USSR. It was not therefore surprising that Trotskyites should attack the *"Stalinist bureaucracy"* for frustrating the plans of Trotskyist agents of fascism. Hitherto, however, Marxist-Leninists and progressive people all over the world have regarded the conduct of Soviet and Comintern policy during the period under discussion as a model for the application of the tactics of Leninism to an extremely complicated and dangerous international situation, which led to the defeat of fascism and to the weakening of international imperialism. Now it seems there have grown up 'Marxist-Leninists' in the anti-revisionist movement in Britain who regard *"the conduct of Soviet and Comintern policy between November 1939 and June 1941 ... as nothing other than the abandonment of proletarian internationalism."* One can only conclude that these 'Marxist-Leninists' are not really Marxist-Leninists at all, but hidden Trotskyites and agents of imperialism in the anti-revisionist movement, who are still angry and who have still not forgiven Comrade Stalin for leading the struggle against imperialism and for weakening imperialism.

Summary of facts about German-Soviet non-aggression pact

Here are the incontrovertible facts summarising very briefly the USSR's position on the question of war with imperialism.

First, it was the endeavour of the Soviet Union not to embroil herself in a war with imperialism.

Second, since it was not entirely up to her to avoid such war, then, if imperialism should be bent on waging a war against the Soviet Union, the latter should NOT find herself in the position of having to fight alone, let alone face the combined onslaught of the principal imperialist countries - Germany, Britain, France, USA, Italy and Japan.

Third, to this end, divisions between the fascist imperialist states on the one hand and the democratic imperialist states on the other should be exploited to the hilt. These divisions between the two groups of imperialism were not a figment of Stalin's imagination. They were real, based on the material interests of the two groups of states under consideration. Uneven development of capitalism causes some states to spurt ahead and others to lag behind. The old division of the world no longer corresponds with the balance of forces, thus making necessary a new division of the world. This is precisely what the First World War was about; and this is precisely what Germany, Italy and Japan, having spurted ahead in the capitalist development of their economies, were clamouring for. Whereas the old imperialist countries, notably Britain and France, having lagged behind in the capitalist development of their economies in comparison with the newcomers, notably Germany, were quite happy with the old division of the world. In demanding a new division, the fascist states were encroaching upon the material interests of the democratic imperialist states. There was thus scope for this conflict of interests to be exploited by the USSR.

Fourth, to this end, the USSR, pursuing a very complicated foreign policy, did its best to conclude a collective security pact with the democratic imperialist states to deter aggression by the fascist states, providing, in the event of such aggression taking place, for collective action against the aggressors.

Fifth, when the democratic imperialist states, overcome by their hatred of communism, refused to sign a collective security pact with the USSR and continued their policy of appeasement of the fascist states, in particular that of Nazi Germany, in an effort to direct her aggression in an eastwardly direction against the Soviet Union, the latter was forced to try some other method of protecting the interests of the socialist motherland of the international proletariat. The USSR turned the tables on the foreign policy of the democratic imperialist states by signing on 23 August 1939 the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact.

Sixth, in signing this pact, the USSR not only ensured that she would not be fighting Germany alone, but also that the latter would be fighting against the very powers who had been trying, by their refusal to agree on collective security, to embroil the USSR in a war with Germany. On 1 September 1939, Hitler invaded Poland. Two days later the Anglo-French ultimatum expired, and Britain and France were at war with Germany.

Seventh, the provisions of the additional secret protocol went far enough to safeguard the Soviet 'spheres of interest', which, as will be seen, proved vital to Soviet defences when the war actually reached her.

Finally, the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact bought the Soviet Union an extremely valuable period of two years for strengthening her defence preparedness before she entered a war she knew she could not stay out of forever.

When the war was finally forced on the Soviet Union she made the most heroic contribution in the crowning and glorious victory of the allies against Nazi Germany and her allies. The Red Army and the Soviet people showed their tenacity, and the tenacity and superiority of the socialist system, by defeating the Nazis in the USSR and pursuing them all the way to Berlin, liberating in the process country after country from the Nazi jackboot occupation and bringing socialism to eastern Europe.

All revolutionary and honest bourgeois historians and politicians agree on the above summary. Only the most die-hard anti-communists, particularly the Trotskyites, ever dare to dispute it. What follows is a substantiation of the above summary.

Soviet Union well aware of the coming war

Of course, it is utter nonsense to say that Stalin and the CPSU did not realise that the Soviet Union might have to fight Germany and that she relied on Nazi goodwill. The fact is that the *"Soviet Union was menaced in the east and west, and the conduct of foreign relations became more complex and demanding as he [Stalin] sought to deflect or at least delay the inevitable war. He carried enormous responsibilities, and only a man of exceptional physical stamina, sharp and disciplined intelligence, and iron self-control could have met such demands."* (Ian Grey, *op cit.*, p.293).

"Fundamental to Stalin's policies, internal and external, was the conviction that war was imminent and might devastate Soviet Russia before she was able to gather strength. It was this thought that had demanded immediate collectivisation and headlong industrialisation. There was no time to lose ... " (Ibid, pp.295-296).

As early as January 1925, addressing the Central Committee, Stalin, having said that *"The preconditions of war are ripening ... "* went on to warn: *"Our banner is still the banner of Peace. But if the war begins, we shall hardly be*

able to sit with folded arms. We shall have to come out, but we ought to be the last to come out. And we should come out to throw the decisive weight on the scales, the weight that should tilt the scales." (Stalin, *Collected Works*, Vol 7 pp.13-14).

Everyone is, of course, aware of his 1931 speech containing the following statement which even Deutscher calls "a prophesy brilliantly fulfilled":

"We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or we shall go under." (Stalin, *The Tasks of Business Executives*, *Collected Works* Vol 13, p.41).

In his autobiography, *My Struggle*, Hitler had clearly and candidly outlined the foreign policy of the Nazis:

"We National Socialists consciously draw a line beneath the foreign policy tendency of our pre-war period ... We stop the endless German movement to the South, and turn our gaze towards the land in the East..."

"If we speak of soil in Europe today, we can primarily have in mind only Russia." (Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, London 1984, pp.598 and 604).

Soviet efforts at achieving collective security and appeasement policy of the non-aggressive imperialist states

The Soviet Union can hardly have relished the spectacle of Nazi accession to power in January 1933, which created for the USSR an unprecedentedly dangerous situation. Hence the emphasis of Soviet foreign policy in this period on the preservation of world peace and efforts at concluding a collective security pact with the democratic imperialist countries which had, as already mentioned, an objective interest in the maintenance of the then existing division of the world.

"In the conduct of foreign policy, Stalin showed great caution, restraint and realism. He needed time to build up Russia's industry and military strength. He was constantly provoked in the east and the west, and in ways that must have infuriated him, but he never lost sight of the overriding need to delay the outbreak of war as long as possible. It was for this reason that he placed the greatest emphasis on peace and disarmament in world affairs. At the same time he pursued a policy of collective security ... " (Ian Grey, *op. cit.* p.296).

The policy of collective security was pursued because the socialist Soviet Union had every interest in averting war and getting on with the task of socialist construction, which required peace, and because the non-aggressive

imperialist countries had an interest in averting a war by the aggressive states or in ensuring their early defeat.

Addressing the 18th Congress of the CPSU in March, 1939, and arguing that the war had already started, Stalin said:

"The war is being waged by aggressor states, who in every way infringe upon the interests of the non-aggressor states, primarily England, France and the USA. While the latter draw back and retreat, making concession after concession to the aggressors.

"Thus we are witnessing an open redivision of the world and spheres of influence at the expense of the non-aggressive states, without the least attempt at resistance, and even with a certain connivance on their part." (Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1953, p.753).

Although having an objective interest in entering into a collective security arrangement with the USSR, nevertheless, overcome by their hatred of socialism, Britain and France, led by the governments of Neville Chamberlain and Edouard Daladier respectively, refused to conclude such an alliance.

"Is it [the policy of appeasement by the non-aggressive states] to be attributed to the weakness of the non-aggressive states?" asked Stalin. He went on to answer thus:

"Of course not! Combined, the non-aggressive, democratic states are unquestionably stronger than the fascist states, both economically and militarily.

"... The chief reason is that the majority of the non-aggressive countries, particularly Britain and France, have rejected the policy of collective security, of collective resistance to the aggressors, and have taken up a position of non-intervention, a position of neutrality.

"The policy of non-intervention reveals an eagerness, a desire ... not to hinder Germany, say, ... from embroiling herself in a war with the Soviet Union, to allow all the belligerents to sink deeply in the mire of war, to encourage them surreptitiously in this; to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another, and then, when they have become weak enough, to appear on the scene with fresh strength, to appear, of course, 'in the interests of peace', and to dictate conditions to the enfeebled belligerents.

"Cheap and easy!" (*Ibid.*, p. 754).

Further, referring to the Munich agreement which surrendered Czechoslovakia to the Nazis, Stalin continued:

"... One might think that the districts of Czechoslovakia were yielded to Germany as the price of an undertaking to launch war on the Soviet Union ..." (Ibid. p.756).

Outlining the tasks of Soviet foreign policy, Stalin stressed the need "to be cautious and not allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull chestnuts out of the fire for them" (Ibid. p.759).

The Soviet government was not even consulted about, let alone included in, the Munich conference which, gathering on 28-30 September, 1938, surrendered Czechoslovakia to the tender mercies of fascist Germany. At the same time the Western powers refused to respond to the Soviet proposals for a grand collective security alliance under the aegis of the League of Nations. This is what Winston Churchill had to say in this context:

"The Soviet offer was in effect ignored. They were not brought into the scale against Hitler and were treated with an indifference - not to say disdain - which left a mark on Stalin's mind. Events took their course as if the Soviet Union did not exist. For this we afterwards paid dearly." (W.S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol 1, p.104).

In the same volume Churchill admits that the Soviet plan would have averted, or at least delayed, war for a considerable time, and it was time that the Soviet Union was playing for. (See pages 234-251).

But the non-aggressive states' anti-communism won a temporary victory. Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary, told Hitler in November 1937 that: " ... he and other members of the British government were well aware that the Fuehrer had attained a great deal ... Having destroyed communism in his country, he had barred the road of the latter to Western Europe and Germany was therefore entitled to be regarded as a bulwark of the West against Bolshevism ...

"When the ground has been prepared for an Anglo-German rapprochement, the four great West European powers must jointly set up the foundation of lasting peace in Europe." (Documents on German Foreign Policy: 1918-45, Vol 1, London 1954, p.55).

The Soviet Union persists in her policy

Knowing, as the CPSU leadership did, that the policy of appeasement, which was in conflict with the interests of British and French imperialism,

would sooner or later be opposed by powerful representatives of imperialism in these countries, it persisted in its efforts to conclude a collective security alliance.

On 15 March 1939, Hitler marched into Czechoslovakia. Public opinion in the West was outraged by the rape of Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain was visibly shaken by the angry public and parliamentary reaction. On instructions from the British government, the British ambassador in Moscow called on the Soviet Foreign Minister, Maxim Litvinov, to inquire what the Soviet reaction would be if Germany were to attack Romania. Litvinov responded the same evening with the proposal that representatives of Britain, France, the USSR, Poland and Romania should meet urgently to forestall this danger. The British government rejected this proposal and instead proposed a declaration that in the event of further aggression the four countries would consult with each other. Although annoyed by this response, the Soviet government agreed to it, provided that Poland was also a signatory. The Polish foreign minister, Col Beck, as anti-Soviet as Chamberlain, refused to sign, proposing instead a Polish-British mutual assistance pact.

On 31 March 1939, without prior consultation with the Soviet Union, the Polish-British Pact, giving a unilateral British guarantee to defend Poland against aggression, was announced. On 13 April it was extended to include Greece and Romania. As Ian Grey correctly observes: *"If Germany attacked Poland or Romania, Britain could do nothing without the support of the Soviet Union, and in a way that was gratuitously insulting, both governments having carefully ignored the Soviet government. Churchill, Eden and others were quick to point out the stupidity of Chamberlain's policy."* (Ian Grey, *op. cit.* p.306).

Under extreme domestic pressure, the British government, on 15 April, proposed to the Soviet Union that the latter should give unilateral guarantees. The Soviet government turned down this proposal as it provided no assistance for the USSR in the event of a German attack. On 17 April, the Soviet government proposed a British-French-Soviet pact of mutual assistance, which was to include a military convention and to guarantee the independence of all states bordering on the Soviet Union from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Chamberlain and Halifax rejected it on the spurious ground that it might offend Poland and Germany, and because it would commit Britain to the defence of Finland and the Baltic states.

"For Stalin the inescapable conclusion was that the leaders of the British

government were so blinded by hostility towards the Soviet regime that not even to avert the horrors of war would they consider an alliance with Soviet Russia against Germany." (Ian Grey, *ibid.*, p.307).

"And it was evident that to the British and the French ruling circles, the thought of a coalition with the Soviets was still repugnant ... ; that some leading western statesmen looked upon Nazism as upon a reliable barrier against Bolshevism; that a few among them did toy with the idea of turning that barrier into a battering ram; and that, finally, even among those who saw the inescapable need for an alliance with Russia, some wondered whether it would not be sound policy to let Germany come to grips with Russia first." (Deutscher, *op.cit.* pp.413-414).

On 3 May Litvinov was replaced as Commissar for Foreign Affairs by Molotov. This should have served as a clear warning to Britain and France, for Litvinov's name was very closely associated with efforts for a collective security. Even now the USSR persisted in its policy of working for a collective security alliance. The British government was under increasing public pressure to negotiate with the Soviet Union. On 2 June, the Soviet government submitted a new draft agreement, specifying the countries to be guaranteed and the extent of the commitment of the three signatories. Expressing interest in the Soviet proposals, the British government decided to send a representative to Moscow to speed up the negotiations. Although Chamberlain and Halifax had personally gone to Berlin, they sent a junior official from the Foreign Office to Moscow, a deliberate affront which gave "actual offence" (Churchill, *ibid.*, p.304).³

On 17 July Molotov announced that there was little point in continued discussion on the political treaty in the absence of a military convention being concluded. The British government responded to Molotov's announcement by agreeing to send a military mission to Moscow. Instead of sending Lord Gort, chief of the imperial staff, as the Soviet government had hoped, Chamberlain appointed an elderly retired admiral, Admiral Reginald Plunkett-Erle-Drax, who proceeded on 23 July by the slowest means of transportation and the slowest route (having been into the bargain instructed "to go very slowly with the conversations") and who arrived in Moscow on 11 August. What is more, the Soviet side discovered to its amazement that the British delegation had come merely to 'hold talks', with no authority to negotiate.

"What is certain is that, if the western governments had wanted to drive him

[Stalin] into Hitler's arms, they could not have set about doing so more effectively than they did. The Anglo-French military mission delayed its departure for eleven precious days. It wasted five days more en route, travelling by the slowest possible boat. When it arrived in Moscow its credentials and powers were not clear. The governments whose prime ministers had not considered it beneath their dignity to fly to Munich almost at Hitler's nod, refused to send any official of ministerial standing to negotiate the alliance with Russia. The servicemen sent for military talks were of lesser standing than those sent, for instance, to Poland and Turkey. If Stalin intended an alliance, the way he was treated might almost have been calculated to make him abandon his intention." (Deutscher, *ibid.* p.425).

All the same, on 12 August the talks on a military convention began. Marshal Voroshilov, leader of the Soviet delegation, informed the delegates that without Soviet troops being permitted to enter Poland it would be impossible for them to defend it. The Poles declared that they did not need, and would not accept, Soviet aid.

"If Stalin is to be judged by his conduct at the time [around September, 1938] there is nothing with which he can be reproached." (*Ibid.* p. 419).

And further: "The unwritten maxim of Munich was to keep Russia out of Europe. Not only the great and seemingly great powers of the West wished to exclude Russia. The governments of the small east European nations as well squealed at the great bear: 'Stay where you are, stay in your lair.' Sometime before Munich, when the French and the Russians were discussing joint actions in defence of Czechoslovakia, the Polish and the Rumanian governments categorically refused to agree to the passage of Russian troops to Czechoslovakia. They denied the Red Army - and even the Red Air Force - the right of passage not merely because they were afraid of communism; they fawned on Hitler.

"It must have been shortly after Munich that the idea of a new attempt at a rapprochement with Germany took shape in Stalin's mind ... " (*Ibid.* p.419).

The French and British governments too rejected this provision. It was pointless in the circumstances to continue the discussions, which were adjourned indefinitely on 21 August. After this the Soviet government, realising the stubborn persistence of the British and French governments in their refusal to conclude an alliance with the USSR, resolved to conclude the non-aggression pact with Germany.

"His [Stalin's] foremost concern was still to gain time so that Soviet industry and the armed forces could gather strength. Reluctantly he turned now to

the possibility of an agreement with Hitler." (Ian Grey, *op. cit.* p.309 and Churchill, *op. cit.* p.306).

As to why Stalin agreed to the Non-Aggression pact with Germany, Deutscher says: *"That he [Stalin] had little confidence in Hitler's victory is equally certain. His purpose now was to win time, time, and once again time, to get on with his economic plans, to build up Russia's might and then throw that might into the scales when the other belligerents were on their last legs."* (*Ibid.* p.430).

Soviet-German non-aggression pact signed

Although Germany had approached the Soviet Union as early as 17 April 1939 for a normalisation of German-Soviet relations, and subsequent approaches had been made to the Soviet government through the German embassy in Moscow, the German Ambassador, Count Fritz von der Schulenburg reported as late as 4 August:

"My overall impression is that the Soviet government is at present determined to sign with England and France, if they fulfil all Soviet wishes ... It will take a considerable effort on our part to cause the Soviet government to swing." (Churchill, *op. cit.*, p.305).

On 14 August Joachim von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, instructed Schulenburg by cable to call on Molotov and to read him the following communication:

"There is no question between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea which cannot be settled to the complete satisfaction of both countries ... I am prepared to make a short visit to Moscow ... to set forth the Fuehrer's views to M Stalin ... only through such a discussion can a change be brought about..." (Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918-45, Series D, Vol 7, London 1956, p.63).

On 16 August, Schulenburg saw Molotov and read to him Ribbentrop's communication. The same night he reported to Berlin Molotov's *"great interest"* in the communication, adding that Molotov *"was interested in the question of how the German government were disposed towards the idea of concluding a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union."* (*Ibid.* p.77).

Ribbentrop answered the same day, instructing Schulenburg to see Molotov again to convey to him that:

"Germany is prepared to conclude a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union."

"I am prepared to come by aeroplane to Moscow at any time after Friday, August 18, to deal, on the basis of full powers from the Fuehrer, with the entire complex of German-Russian relations and, if the occasion arises, to sign the appropriate treaties." (ibid., p.84).

On 17 August Molotov handed a written reply to Schulenburg proposing a trade agreement to begin with, to be followed *"shortly thereafter"* by the conclusion of a non-aggression pact. On 18 August Ribbentrop informed Schulenburg telegraphically that the *"first stage"*, that of signing a trade agreement, had been completed and requested that he be allowed to make an *"immediate"* trip to Moscow.

On 19 August Schulenburg answered that Molotov had agreed that:

"... the Reich Foreign Minister could arrive in Moscow on August 26 or 27.

"Molotov handed me the draft of a non-aggression pact." (Ibid. p.134).

On 20 August Hitler sent an urgent personal telegram to Stalin, accepting the Soviet draft non-aggression pact, with the plea that Ribbentrop be received in Moscow on 22 August or at the latest on the 23rd.

Stalin replied on 21 August agreeing to the visit:

"The Soviet government have instructed me to inform you that they agree to Herr Von Ribbentrop's arriving in Moscow on August 23" (Ibid. p.168).

Ribbentrop arrived in Moscow at the head of a delegation on 23 August. On the same night he was received by Stalin. According to a reliable account, the meeting was cold and far from amicable. Gauss, chief assistant to Ribbentrop, who accompanied him, recorded:

"Ribbentrop himself had inserted in the preamble a rather far-reaching phrase concerning friendly German-Soviet relations. To this Stalin objected, remarking that the Soviet government could not suddenly present to their public a German-Soviet declaration of friendship after they had been covered with pails of manure by the Nazi government for six years. Thereupon this phrase in the preamble was deleted." (Churchill, *op. cit.* p.306).

The pact was signed. Under the secret protocol it was agreed that in the Baltic *"the northern frontier of Lithuania shall represent the frontier of the spheres of interest both of Germany and the USSR ..."* and in the case of Poland, *"... the spheres of interest both of Germany and the USSR shall be bounded approximately by the line of the rivers Narew, Vistula and Sau"* (Documents on German Foreign Policy, *op. cit.* p.264).

In other words, the Curzon line was to be this boundary, and in the area east of it, which had been seized by Poland from the Soviet Union after the October Revolution, Germany had agreed to the USSR taking whatever action it liked.

Why the Soviet Union signed the 23 August pact

Addressing the Supreme Soviet on 31 August, Molotov dispelled the *"fiction that the conclusion of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression treaty had upset the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations:*

"Attempts are being made to spread the fiction that the conclusion of the Soviet-German pact disrupted negotiations with Britain and France for a mutual assistance pact ... In reality, as you know, the very reverse is true... The Soviet Union signed the non-aggression pact with Germany, amongst other things, because negotiations with France and Great Britain had ... ended in a failure through the fault of the ruling circles of Britain and France." (Molotov, *Soviet Peace Policy*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, p. 20).

Even the historian Edward Carr, decidedly an anti-Soviet writer, is obliged to admit that the Soviet Union's decision to sign the non-aggression pact with Germany was a most reluctant and enforced second choice:

"The striking feature of the Soviet-German negotiations ... is the extreme caution with which they were conducted from the Soviet side, and the prolonged Soviet resistance to close the doors on the Western negotiations." (E.H. Carr, *From Munich to Moscow: II*, in *Soviet Studies*, Vol I, October 1949, p.104).

The same Edward Carr, noting that the Chamberlain government *"as a defender of capitalism"* turned down an alliance with the USSR against Germany, made the following estimation of the gains made by the Soviet Union as a result of signing the Non-Aggression treaty with Germany:

"In the pact of August 23rd, 1939, they [the Soviet government] secured: (a) a breathing space of immunity from attack; (b) German assistance in mitigating Japanese pressure in the Far East; (c) German agreement to the establishment of an advanced bastion beyond the existing Soviet frontiers in Eastern Europe; it was significant that this bastion was, and could only be, a line of defence against potential German attack, the eventual prospect of which was never far absent from Soviet reckonings. But what most of all was achieved by the pact was the assurance that, if the USSR had eventually to fight Hitler, the

western powers would already be involved." (Ibid. p.103).

After the above correctly, succinctly and brilliantly summarised gains for the Soviet Union, consequent upon signing the 23 August pact, it is difficult to imagine that there are still people around who assert that in signing this Non-Aggression pact with Germany the Soviet Union was guilty of *"an abandonment of proletarian internationalism."* Unfortunately, there still are such people. It is difficult to say whether it is ignorance or malice that causes them to think and utter such foul thoughts. All we can say is that there are none so deaf as those who will not hear.

Hostile as he is, even Deutscher is obliged to admit another gain, i.e., the moral advantage gained by the Soviet Union through signing the 23 August pact with Hitlerite Germany:

"Her [the USSR's] moral gain consisted in the clear awareness of her peoples that Germany was the aggressor and that their own government had pursued peace to the very end."

For our part, we will always look back with admiration and gratitude at this master stroke of Soviet foreign policy which contributed so significantly to freeing humanity from the horrors of Nazi Germany. The results were just what the USSR had expected. Just one week after the signing of the pact, i.e., on 1 September, the Nazis invaded Poland. Two days later, their ultimatum having expired, Britain and France declared war on Germany. While the imperialists, all of whom had planned to throttle the Soviet Union, fought each other, the latter secured two valuable years to prepare herself for the eventual war, which came at 0400 hours on 22 June 1941, with the German invasion in the form of Operation Barbarossa, launched by Hitler with 162 divisions, 3,400 tanks and 7,000 guns. The Soviet Union's heroic defence, the titanic battles she fought, her legendary victories, have passed into folklore and require no further comment here.⁴

One final point: circles hostile to the Soviet Union have always equated the Soviet march into Poland east of the curzon line with the Nazi invasion and occupation of the rest of Poland. The two are qualitatively different. First, the Soviet forces moved only into territory which was theirs before it had been snatched by Poland after the October Revolution. Second, and much more importantly, the Soviet Union waited for 16 days after the Nazi invasion of Poland.

"When, on 5 September [1939], Ribbentrop began to press the Russians to march into their share of Poland, Stalin was not yet ready to issue the march-

ing orders ... He would not ... lend a hand in defeating Poland, and he refused to budge before Poland's collapse was complete beyond doubt." (Deutscher, op.cit. p.432).

When it became absolutely clear that the Polish state had collapsed, then the Soviet forces entered Poland (on 17 September) in order to safeguard her defences and the people of territories invaded by Soviet forces alike. The truth is that the Soviet army were greeted by the local population as liberators and heroes.

In his speech to the Supreme Soviet on 31 October 1939, Molotov said:

"Our troops entered the territory of Poland only after the Polish State had collapsed and actually ceased to exist. Naturally we could not remain neutral towards these facts, since as a result of these events we were confronted with urgent problems concerning the security of our state. Furthermore, the Soviet government could not but reckon with the exceptional situation created for our brothers in Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, who had been abandoned to their fate as a result of the collapse of Poland." (Molotov, op. cit. pp.31-32).

And further:

"When the Red Army marched into these regions it was greeted with general sympathy by the Ukrainian and Byelorussian population who welcomed our troops as liberators from the yoke of the gentry, from the yoke of the Polish landlords and capitalists." (Ibid. p.33).

The Soviet march into these areas had the effect of rescuing 13 million people, including one million Jews, from the horrors of Nazi occupation and extermination. It can only be surmised that those opposed to the Soviet entry into the territories east of the Curzon line would rather have seen these areas overrun by the Nazis! A very queer 'internationalism' indeed! Such people are actually to the right of even some Conservatives. Let the following words, spoken in the House of Commons on 20 September 1939 by Conservative MP Robert Boothby, put such 'socialists' and 'internationalists' to eternal shame:

"I think it is legitimate to suppose that this action on the part of the Soviet government was taken ... from the point of view of self-preservation and self-defence ... The action taken by the Russian troops ... has pushed the German frontier considerably westward ...

"I am thankful that Russian troops are now along the Polish- Romanian

frontier. *I would rather have Russian troops there than German troops.*" (Quoted by Bill Bland in his *The German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939*, an excellent paper presented to the Stalin Society in 1992).

Stalin accused of bourgeois nationalism

But MF, as on all other matters, found himself attracted by a semi-Trotskyite line of hostility to Stalin, whose calculations he probably could not have begun to understand even if he had tried. On page 19 of his article he continues to lambast Stalin:

"During the war there was, understandably, an upsurge of national feeling against the Nazi aggressors, but Stalin encouraged this far beyond a point compatible with proletarian internationalist principles on which the Soviet state was based. He invoked the spirits of Russia's imperial past in the early days of the war:

"Let the manly images of our great ancestors - Alexander Nevsky, Dmitry Donskoy, Kazuma Minin, Dmitry Pozharsky, Alexander Suvorov and Mikhail Kutsov - inspire you in this war! May the victorious banner of the great Lenin be your lodestar!"

These lines that MF quotes are taken from Stalin's speech at the Red Army Parade on Red Square, Moscow, 7 November 1941. The context in which those remarks were made was this: that the Soviet Union was bound to win because of her material strength and the justness of her cause, because she was waging a war of liberation not only for the Soviet people but also the enslaved peoples of Europe who had fallen under the yoke of fascist oppressors. Here is the context in which Comrade Stalin made his remarks:

"Comrades, men of the Red Army and Red Navy, Commanders and political instructors, men and women guerrillas, the whole world is looking to you as the forces capable of destroying the plundering hordes of German invaders. THE ENSLAVED PEOPLES OF EUROPE WHO HAVE FALLEN UNDER THE YOKE OF THE GERMAN INVADERS LOOK TO YOU AS THEIR LIBERATORS. A great liberating mission has fallen to your lot. Be worthy of this mission! THE WAR YOU ARE WAGING IS A WAR OF LIBERATION. A JUST WAR. Let the manly images of our great ancestors, Alexander Nevsky, Dmitry Donskoy, Kazuma Minin, Dmitry Pozharsky, Alexander Suvorov and Mikhail Kutsov - inspire you in this war! May the victorious banner of the great Lenin be your lodestar!" (Emphasis added).

Is it permissible to conclude from the above remarks of Stalin's that he encouraged an upsurge of national feelings which went *"far beyond a point compatible with proletarian internationalist principles"*? No, it is not. The first point to be remembered here - and this is a point which all 'socialists' of the MF type forget - is that the nation to be defended was a socialist one. Second, Stalin is speaking here about the Soviet Union which was waging a just war, a war of liberation against foreign aggression. It was in this context that the names of great Russian patriots (*"The spirits of Russia's imperial past"* MF prefers to call them) were mentioned. For these *"great ancestors"* had also in their time fought for the defence of Russia against external aggression. In the context of the great patriotic war of the people of the USSR, it was perfectly legitimate to invoke the names of *"great ancestors"* who had in their day shown their patriotism in defence of their country. The Albanian Party of Labour and the entire Albanian people continue to *"invoke the spirit"* of Scanderbeg, a feudal lord, who fought for Albanian independence. Does MF regard the Albanian Party of Labour as encouraging Albanian nationalism *"far beyond a point compatible with the proletarian internationalist principles"*? Third, Comrade Stalin is giving a call to the men and women of the Soviet armed forces and guerrilla units to fight for the liberation not of the Soviet people alone, but also for the liberation of *"the enslaved peoples of Europe"* - a very strange nationalism this! And fourth, MF 'forgets' to comment on the fact that Stalin in his speech not only *"invoked the spirits of Russia's imperial past"*; he also invoked the spirit of the great Lenin:

"The spirit of the great Lenin and his victorious banner animate us now in this patriotic war just as they did twenty- three years ago [i.e., during the Civil War and the War of Intervention in 1918].

"May the victorious banner of the great Lenin be your lodestar!

"Under the banner of Lenin, forward to victory!"

On the invocation of Lenin's spirit, MF says not a word. He shuns this part of Comrade Stalin's speech like the devil shuns holy water.⁵ Or perhaps MF regards Lenin's spirit as one of the spirits of *"Russia's imperial past"*?

Finally, if one reads this speech of Comrade Stalin's in the context of all his speeches on the great patriotic war, one can come to one, and only one, conclusion, namely, that if Stalin's speeches contain any appeal to national feeling, such appeal is never carried *"far beyond a point compatible with*

proletarian internationalist principles". Genuine proletarian patriotism, love for one's socialist motherland, has never been, and never will be, incompatible with proletarian internationalism.

The MFs of this world, however, are used to learning phrases and formulas by rote. They never ponder for a moment over their meaning. They have evidently heard that during the first imperialist war Lenin denounced the slogan of defence of the fatherland as a disgraceful betrayal of socialism. They think, therefore, that Lenin was opposed for all time and under all conditions to the defence of the fatherland, irrespective of whether the fatherland was socialist or imperialist, an oppressed or oppressor fatherland. They are unable, therefore, to differentiate just wars from unjust wars, inter-imperialist wars from wars against imperialism. Hence their hysterical denunciations of Stalin for encouraging defence of the socialist fatherland. If defence of the fatherland in *all* circumstances were to be regarded as an evil, as it is by certain half-baked 'Marxists' like MF, then wars of national liberation (e.g., like the struggle of the Vietnamese people) against imperialism and wars in defence of proletarian revolution against imperialist intervention (such as the war of the USSR against intervention and aggression) would have to be denounced as betrayals of socialism. This is precisely the conclusion that the MFs explicitly or implicitly, intentionally or unintentionally, reach - and in reaching such a conclusion they make their break with Marxism-Leninism total, absolute and irrevocable.

From reading Comrade Stalin's speeches and the history of the time, it becomes perfectly clear that the Soviet people were mobilised on the slogans of fighting against fascism for the defence and liberty of the socialist motherland, and for the defence and liberty of the enslaved people of Europe who had fallen under the yoke of fascist aggressors. The accusation of nationalism levelled by MF, therefore, does not stand up to the test of verification.

In support of his allegation concerning the "*nationalist degeneration*" of the Soviet Union, MF on page 20 comes up with yet another item of 'proof'. This 'proof' consists in MF quoting Ilya Ehrenburg who maintained that he entertained no hopes of a popular uprising in Germany because:

"For a popular movement you need people. But what we have in Germany is millions of Fritzes and Gretchens, a greedy and stupid mass, some brazen, others timorous, but still incapable of thinking or feeling"

Has this anything to do with the policy of the CPSU(B), the Soviet gov-

ernment or that of Stalin? It has nothing to do with it whatsoever. Ehrenburg belonged to a Russian Jewish organisation, and he reacted in a very emotional way to the persecution of Jews by the German fascists. Ehrenburg was not a member of the CPSU(B).

As far as the CPSU(B) and Stalin were concerned the German people, far from being regarded as *"a greedy and stupid mass ... incapable of thinking or feeling"* were, on the contrary, considered a revolutionary force which was bound to disrupt and *"overwhelm"* the rear of the Hitlerite fascists. Soviet official propaganda during the war reflected this correct position of the CPSU and Stalin. Here is one example - of the many examples one could allude to - of Stalin's references to the revolutionary role of the German proletariat:

"Only the Hitlerite fools fail to understand that not only the European rear BUT ALSO THE GERMAN REAR OF THE GERMAN TROOPS REPRESENTS A VOLCANO WHICH IS READY TO ERUPT AND OVERWHELM THE HITLERITE ADVENTURERS." (Speech delivered on 6 November, 1941 - Emphasis added).

There are innumerable examples in Stalin's speeches on the Great Patriotic War, as well as in Soviet propaganda, where the above sentiment is repeated again and again. Who but the most bare-faced liars and professional slanderers (such as MF) could, in the light of all this, assert that the *"constant repetition"* of Soviet *"propaganda line which dismissed all Germans as brutalised sadists could not but prevent any real understanding of fascism."*?

MF's trick of whipping Stalin for the sins of Ilya Ehrenburg can now clearly be seen for what it is, i.e., a bourgeois trick, and a dishonest trick at that. It will simply not do, Mr MF - certainly not outside the semi-Trotskyite and semi-revisionist circles of the CFB and similarly 'Marxist' organisations!

The next 'proof' produced by MF:

"Presumably in order to invest bourgeois nationalism with some dignity, Stalin expressed the peculiar opinion that the Nazis were not really nationalists: 'Can the Hitlerites be regarded as nationalists? No they cannot. Actually the Hitlerites are not now nationalists but imperialists.'"

Once again, plumbing new depths before which the standards and practices even of gutter Fleet Street journalism look pretty decent, MF has torn the above remark of Stalin's from out of its context. The Hitlerite fascists

were invading country after country, subjecting peoples to robbery, murder, plunder, pillage and pogroms - all in the interests of German imperialism, in order to create a 'great German empire'. In order to hide their reactionary, Black-Hundred, imperialist essence from the German and other peoples, the fascists continued to commit their heinous crimes - the subjugation of the peoples abroad and of the German people at home - by calling themselves 'National Socialists'. Stalin in his speech refuted the claims of these fascists to be either socialists or nationalists. The fascists, he said, were not socialists, for they were the most vicious enemies of the working class of Germany and of other countries. Nor were they nationalists, for they were not engaged in defending Germany but, on the contrary, in subjugating other peoples in the interests of German imperialism. Hitlerites, he said, should therefore be called by their proper name, i.e., imperialists. Space does not permit quotation of the entire section of Comrade Stalin's speech, from which MF has torn the above remark, but the following important paragraphs will be sufficient to restore it to its proper and legitimate context:

"Who are the 'National Socialists'?"

"In our country the German invaders, i.e., the Hitlerites, are usually called fascists. The Hitlerites, it appears, consider this wrong and obstinately continue to call themselves 'National Socialists'. Hence the Germans want to assure us that the Hitlerite Party, the party of the German invaders, which is plundering Europe and has organised the villainous attack on our socialist state, is a socialist party. Is this possible? What can there be in common between socialism and the bestial Hitlerite invaders who are plundering and oppressing the nations of Europe?"

"Can the Hitlerites be regarded as nationalists? No, they cannot. Actually, the Hitlerites are now not nationalists but imperialists. As long as the Hitlerites were engaged in assembling the German lands and reuniting the Rhine district, Austria, etc., it was POSSIBLE with a certain amount of foundation to call them nationalists. But after they seized foreign territories and enslaved European nations - the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Belgians, French, Serbs, Greeks, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the inhabitants of the Baltic countries, etc. - and began to reach out for world domination, the Hitlerite party ceased to be a nationalist party, because from that moment it became an imperialist party, a party of annexation and oppression.

"The Hitlerite party is a party of imperialists, and the most rapacious and

predatory imperialists among all the imperialists of the world.

"Can the Hitlerites be regarded as socialists? No, they cannot. Actually, the Hitlerites are the sworn enemies of socialism, arrant reactionaries and Black-Hundreds who have robbed the working class and the peoples of Europe of the most elementary democratic liberties.

"... In point of fact the Hitler regime is a copy of that reactionary regime which existed in Russia under tsardom. It is well known that the Hitlerites suppress the rights of workers, the rights of the intellectuals and the rights of the nations as readily as the tsarist regimes suppressed them, and that they organise medieval Jewish pogroms as readily as the tsarist ⁶ regime organised them.

"The Hitlerite party is a party of enemies of democratic liberties, a party of medieval reaction and Black-Hundred pogroms," (Emphasis in capitals added).

What then is wrong, in the above context, with Stalin denying the fascists the title of 'National Socialists'? Perhaps MF would not want to dispute the right of the bestial Hitlerites to be called 'National Socialists'? If that is so, MF should have the courage openly to proclaim this right of the fascists, rather than admit this right only slyly, imperceptibly and implicitly under cover of a barrage of abuse flung at Comrade Stalin. If this is MF's position - and it does appear to be - then he should be asked: Mr MF, whose side are you on? Are you on the side of the forces of fascism and dark reaction, or are you on the side of the forces of proletarian revolution and national liberation?

In view of what has been stated above, it may, without a shred of doubt, be concluded that MF's allegation regarding the 'nationalist degeneration' of the USSR during the period under consideration is totally unfounded.

NOTES

1: At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern (July 17-Sept 1, 1928), Bukharin distributed his theses on the international situation. These theses, contrary to the general rule, had not been examined by the CPSU(B) delegation. In the event these theses proved unsatisfactory on a number of points, and the CPSU(B) delegation was obliged to introduce about twenty amendments to them.

2. See the series Concerning the Struggle of Counter-revolutionary Trotskyism against Revolutionary Leninism, published elsewhere in this collection.

3. At the time of making their absurd accusation against Stalin, MP and the organisation he belonged to, the RCL, prided themselves on being the leading Maoists in Britain. It is, however, clear that their ignorance of Marxism-Leninism is only matched by their ignorance of the writings of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Had they taken the trouble to read Mao Tse-tung's article 'The Identity of Interests between the Soviet Union and all Mankind' dated 28 September, 1939, i.e., just a month after the signing of the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, they would have realised the utter falsity of their accusations. While inviting everybody to read this excellent article which is to be found in Vol.2 pp 275-83 of the 'Selected Works' of Mao Tse-tung, we reproduce here a few of the significant paragraphs from it:

"Some people say that the Soviet Union does not want the world to remain at peace because the outbreak of a world war is to its advantage, and that the present war was precipitated by the Soviet Union's conclusion of a non-aggression treaty with Germany instead of a treaty of mutual assistance with Britain and France. I consider this view incorrect. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union over a very long period of time has consistently been one of peace, a policy based on the close links between its own interests and those of the overwhelming majority of mankind. For its own socialist construction the Soviet Union has always needed peace, has always needed to strengthen its peaceful relations with other countries and prevent an anti-Soviet war; for the sake of peace on a world scale, it has also needed to check the aggression of the fascist countries, curb the war-mongering of the so-called democratic countries and delay the outbreak of an imperialist world war for as long as possible. The Soviet Union has long devoted great energy to the cause of world peace. For instance, it has joined the League of Nations, signed treaties of mutual assistance with France and Czechoslovakia and tried hard to conclude security pacts with Britain and all other countries that might be willing to have peace. After Germany and Italy jointly invaded Spain and when Britain, the United States and France adopted a policy of nominal 'non-intervention' but of actual connivance at their aggression, the Soviet Union opposed the 'non-intervention' policy and gave the Spanish republican forces active help in their resistance to Germany and Italy. After Japan invaded China and when the same three powers adopted the same kind of 'non-intervention' policy, the Soviet Union not only concluded a non-aggression treaty with China but gave China active help in her resistance. When Britain and France connived at Hitler's aggression and sacrificed Austria and Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union spared no effort in exposing the sinister aims behind the Munich policy and made proposals to Britain and France for checking further aggression. When Poland became the burning question in the spring and summer of this year and it was touch-and-go whether world war would break out, the Soviet Union negotiated with Britain and France for four months, despite Chamberlain's and Daladier's complete lack of sincerity, in an endeavour to conclude a treaty of mutual assistance to prevent the outbreak of war. But all these efforts were blocked by the imperialist policy of the British and French governments, a policy of conniving at, instigating and spreading war, so that eventually the cause of world peace was thwarted and the imperialist world war broke out. The governments of Britain, the United States and France had no genuine desire to prevent war; on the contrary, they helped to bring it about. Their refusal to come to terms with the Soviet Union and conclude a really effective treaty of mutual assistance based on equality and reciprocity proved that they wanted not peace but war. Everybody knows that in the contemporary world rejection of the Soviet Union means rejection of peace. Even Lloyd George, that typical representative of the British bourgeoisie, knows this. It was in these circumstances, and when Germany agreed to stop her anti-Soviet activities, abandon the Agreement Against the Communist International and recognise the inviolability of the Soviet frontiers, that the Soviet-German non-aggression treaty was concluded. The plan of Britain, the United States and

France was to egg Germany on to attack the Soviet Union, so that they themselves, "sitting on top of the mountains to watch the tigers fight", could come down and take over after the Soviet Union and Germany had worn each other out. The Soviet-German non-aggression treaty smashed this plot. In overlooking this plot and the schemes of the Anglo-French imperialists who connived at and instigated war and precipitated a world war, some of our fellow-countrymen have actually been taken in by the sugary propaganda of these schemers. These crafty politicians were not the least bit interested in checking aggression against Spain, against China, or against Austria and Czechoslovakia; on the contrary, they connived at aggression and instigated war, playing the proverbial role of the fisherman who set the snipe and clam at each other and then took advantage of both. They euphemistically described their actions as 'non-intervention', but what they actually did was to "sit on top of the mountain to watch the tigers fight". Quite a number of people throughout the world have been fooled by the honeyed words of Chamberlain and his partners, failing to see the murderous intent behind their smiles, or to understand that the Soviet-German non-aggression treaty was concluded only after Chamberlain and Daladier had made up their minds to reject the Soviet Union and bring about the imperialist war. It is time for these people to wake up. The fact that the Soviet Union worked hard to preserve world peace to the very last minute proves that the interests of the Soviet Union are identical with those of the overwhelming majority of mankind."

4. The Austrian Professor Topitsch, whose anti-communist credentials and pro-imperialist sympathies are impeccable, and who cannot therefore be accused of harbouring any soft corner for Stalin or the USSR that he led, has this to say on the issue under consideration:

"... [T]horough analysis of the interplay of the main events has led me to the conviction that ... Stalin was not only the real victor, but also the key figure in the war; he was, indeed, the only statesman who had at the time a clear, broadly-based idea of his objectives." (Ernest Topitsch, *Stalin's War*, London, Fourth Estate, 1987, p. 4).

Further: "The events of the summer of 1939 show the fateful consequences of Hitler's lack of statesmanlike qualities and a world-oriented political vision, and make him look very inferior to his Russian counterpart. With regard to political intelligence and political style, their relationship is like that of a gambler to a chess grandmaster, and the assertion that the Führer fell like a schoolboy into the trap set for him by Moscow can hardly be called exaggerated. The dethroned Georgian had clearly needed to apply a hundred times more cunning in the internal struggles of the Soviet Communist Party that was required to bamboozle Hitler, not to mention the leaders of the Western powers." (Ibid. p. 7).

On the Hitler-Stalin Pact the same author writes:

"After the conclusion of this treaty Hitler and Ribbentrop may have regarded themselves as statesmen of the highest calibre; instead their actions betrayed a frightening lack of political intelligence. Whereas Stalin had thoroughly pondered over the content and phraserology of the agreements, his opposite numbers were obviously incapable even of carefully reviewing the consequences which might result for Germany from these fateful documents. In point of fact, the two treaties fitted in perfectly with Soviet long-term strategy, to involve Germany in a war with the British and the French, make it dependent on Russia and, if the opportunity should arise, bring about its extinction as an independent power. Far-sighted as he was, Stalin was already thinking at this early stage of obtaining a favourable starting point for the realisation of such plans." (p.4).

Countering the legend, fairly widespread in Trotskyist and bourgeois circles, that the USSR was not ready for war and was caught unawares, and referring to the Soviet feeling of supe-

riority, Topitach says: " — It was by no means completely unjustified and did to some extent derive from the actual strength of the Red Army and the efficiency of the armaments industry. The real potential of both these was proved in the war when the Russians showed themselves capable of recovering with extraordinary speed from the heavy losses of the first months and then thrusting at the enemy ever-increasing masses of men and material. These achievements are all the more astonishing because at the time important industrial and raw-materials-producing areas had been lost and could not be replaced by the transfer of numerous armaments factories up to and beyond the Urals —

"Numerically this superiority can only be defined approximately, but in many areas it was quite distinct, as is shown by a comparison of the strength of the attacker with the Russian losses in the first year of the war. At the beginning of the campaign, the German army had in the east a total of more than 3,050,000 men, 7,184 pieces of artillery, 3,580 tanks and 2,740 aircraft. On the other side, according to German figures relating only to the encirclement actions of Bialystok-Minsk and Smolensk till the middle of July, no less than 642,000 prisoners were brought in, while 4,929 pieces of artillery and 6,537 tanks were captured or destroyed. If these figures are prone to inaccuracy or exaggeration, they nevertheless appear credible in view of evidence from Soviet sources, since the Soviet Information Office gives the following losses in the first year of the war: 4,500,000 men killed, wounded or taken prisoner, 22,000 heavy guns, 15,000 tanks and 9,000 aircraft. This is also the verdict of the British military expert John Erickson: 'If one applies Stalin's figures, based on Soviet sources, Soviet superiority amounted to seven to one in tanks, at least; in aircraft the Germans were inferior in the ratio of four or five to one.'

"Even though a large number of the aircraft and tanks were out of date, there were also a considerable number of new types available at the outbreak of war. In the first six months of 1941 alone, 2,653 bomber and fighter aircraft were built to modern designs; by the middle of June the army had received 1,861 tanks of the KW and T34 types. The legendary T34 was definitely superior to its German equivalent and almost invulnerable to the current anti-tank weapons of its opponents. From January 1939 to 22 June 1941 more than 7,000 armoured vehicles were delivered, and in the year 1941 about 5,500 tanks of all types were delivered. To equip the motorized units — those in the planning stage as well as those already operational — 16,600 of the new tanks were available, with about 32,000 projected — an enormous number. It seems most improbable that this avalanche of tanks was only intended for defence purposes. The only type of German tank in any way comparable with the new Soviet design was the Panzer IV, but of these only 618 were operational at the beginning of the Eastern campaign; otherwise motorized were equipped mainly with Kampfwagen II and III (armoured cars).

"At the beginning of 1941 monthly production amounted to only 250 tanks and heavy field guns.

"Soviet superiority in artillery was the most marked. Archive documents reveal that from 1 January 1939 to 22 June 1941 the Red Army received a total of 29,637 field guns and 52,407 trench mortars, making, together with the tanks guns, a total of 92,578 big guns and mortars. Of these the rocket launchers ('Stalin's Organs') were a particularly unpleasant surprise for the attacker.

"These and other figures show clearly enough that the Soviet belief in the military and industrial strength of the Fatherland was far more than a mere 'false morgue'. The Soviet Union of this period already contained the nucleus of a future superpower." (pp. 73-74).

Topitsch correctly points out that Operation Barbarossa was based on an overestimation of German, and an underestimation of Soviet, military might as well as other assumptions, which began to come apart from the moment the German army crossed the Soviet frontier:

"When the Germans crossed the border into the east the feeling often came over them - from the Führer down to the common soldier - that they were thrusting open a door into the unknown, behind which Stalin had wicked surprises in store for them, and that in the end doom might be lurking in the endless wastes beyond." (*ibid.* p. 103).

After their initial successes, gained through the tactical advantage of their surprise attack on the USSR, the Nazis began to believe that victory was already theirs and indulged in fantastic plans for the future. "But gradually it became clear that the Soviet Union was anything but a 'Colossus with feet of clay'. In spite of enormous losses, this vast empire could keep hurling new masses of men and material at the invader, and soon increasing numbers of the new types of tanks and the dreaded rocket-launchers appeared on the battlefields. The fourteen-day victory developed into a war lasting at least four years, fought with the greatest bitterness on both sides, and the dramatic victories of the first weeks turned out to be the beginning of the end for the Third Reich." (p. 113).

"... Stalin's ruthless energy made sure that all reserves within the depths of the country were mobilised. Indeed, during the course of this frightful struggle the Soviet Union extended itself and took a decisive step towards becoming a superpower. By contrast, Germany was effectively diminishing itself with every step in its exhausting campaign in the east." (p. 115).

Topitsch also comments on the April 1941 Treaty of Neutrality with Japan.

By signing it, the Soviet Union successfully managed to achieve in the east that which it had achieved in the west through the Non-Aggression Pact of August 1939 with Germany. Let Professor Topitsch speak on the subject:

"It is worth noting that the wording of this pact was such that - according to one possible interpretation - the Japanese would be obliged to observe neutrality even in the case of a Soviet attack against Germany, as were the Russians in the event of a Japanese action in the Pacific. Stalin was, of course, seeking to secure his rear before the collision with Germany, but he was perhaps also pursuing other more important aims.

"Stalin's astute move soon brought about the desired result. Directly after the signing of the pact and encouraged by the fact that an agreement had been reached, the Japanese army and navy began to intensify their expansion to the south, in order to improve the nation's strategic position and its supply of raw materials, and also to put pressure on the Chinese from this direction. They were prepared to face the consequences if this action resulted in a clash with Britain and the USA.

"Stalin's plans went further, however, as Grigore Galencu has pointed out with particular clarity: Japanese penetration to the south would free eastern Siberia from the Japanese threat, relieve China, which was finding it difficult to breathe in the stranglehold exerted by Tokyo, and involve Japan in a war with the USA. In the long run, this would spell disaster for Japan, but it would also reveal the weakness of the British Empire, strengthen the nationalist feeling of the broad mass of the people in central Asia, and further Asia's fight for freedom.

"Just as the pact with Hitler was to unleash the 'imperialist war' in the west, so the neutrality pact with Japan would serve the same purpose in Asia. The Kremlin hoped that the

bitter struggles between Britain, the USA and Japan would anger and arouse the mass of the people in Asia and so make them ripe for a revolution under Soviet leadership.

"The neutrality pact therefore formed an integral part of Stalin's broad strategy of diverting the expansionist policies of the aggressive capitalist powers away from the Soviet Union and on to the 'non-aggressive' powers. ... Having already succeeded in entangling Hitler in a kind of proxy war with the Western democracies by agreeing not to engage him in the east, it was now intended to offer similar protection to the Japanese in order to entice them into a confrontation with the British and Americans. In this manner, once again using a neutrality pact, another potential attacker was made into an instrument of Soviet interests and used against the capitalist states ..." (pp. 95-96).

"To what extent the new agreement with the Soviet Union encouraged Tokyo in its decisions is debatable. But at the time Japan had nothing to fear from this direction, especially since the Soviet forces were tied down in the conflict with Germany. In any case - just as Stalin had intended with the neutrality pact - the Japanese became involved in a war with the Western power." (p. 124).

"Pearl Harbour," continues Topitsch, "was an especially great triumph for Stalin. At last the Soviets were freed from the danger of a war on two fronts; the British and the Americans were now involved in one instead." (p. 125).

"According to Stalin's plans Japan - a continual source of tension and trouble for the Soviet Union - was to be turned round and employed against the British and Americans. This goal was assisted by the neutrality treaty of 13 April 1941 by which Moscow was guaranteed the cover in the east that it needed for the war with Germany and at the same time gave similar assurances to Japan, thus freeing that country for an armed conflict with the British and Americans. Roosevelt's harsh policy towards Japan fell completely in line with Kremlin intentions and eventually led to the attack on Pearl Harbour - which signalled the outbreak of the 'imperialist war' in the Far East and gave evidence that the manipulative concept devised by Lenin and developed by Stalin had largely been realised." (p.135).

Topitsch, who is a right-winger and an anti-communist to boot, is rightly indignant at the successes of the Leninist diplomacy of the Soviet Union and complains bitterly in the following terms:

"In this way the Soviet Union was able [to] inflict a heavy defeat on the Western powers in the Second World War using purely political and strategic means. The Red Army never needed to cross swords with British or American forces: this was done for them by the Germans and the Japanese. Britain and America, indeed, shipped abundant supplies to the Soviet Union - far more than were needed to prevent a German victory in the east. Under the influence of the emotions engendered by the war against Hitler and the psycho-strategical tricks of Stalin - the myth of the unprovoked fascist attack and the continual demands for a second front - neither politicians nor public in the great democracies appreciated that the most dangerous enemy isn't necessarily the one directly embroiled in military conflict. Through this art of indirect, concealed and undramatic advances, which Stalin developed in masterly fashion, the cunning Georgian achieved his greatest success. The weakness of the Western powers was not due to a lack of the instruments of power, but to a deficiency in political intelligence."

Only the Trotskyite counter-revolutionaries and some 'anti-revisionist' dupes have difficulty in seeing the Non-Aggression Pact with Germany, and the Treaty of Neutrality with Japan, in their proper historical context.

5. It was with some trepidation that this expression was used, as accusations of invoking religious spirits seemed a likely consequence of doing so.

6. No doubt MIF would find some way of regarding this sentence of Comrade Stalin's as another invocation of "the spirits of Russia's imperial past in the early days of the war."

Chapter 25

Absence of a Mass Line

The third accusation comes from, among others, two individuals, namely MF and Professor G Thomson. Here is what MF has to say:

"In word what was lacking was a real 'mass line'" (page 20).

"There is no evidence that the Soviet state apparatus really did begin to 'merge with the masses' or 'embrace the millions of working people'. In the absence of a mass line the degeneration of the Party and the State was inevitable sooner or later ... "

In the absence of a mass line the "party becomes increasingly divorced from the masses and social contradictions are inevitably mishandled ... " And so on and so forth.

What is MF's evidence for this grave allegation? MF's evidence again consists of his own assertion: *"There is no evidence that the Soviet state apparatus really did begin to 'merge with the masses' or 'embrace the millions of working people'"* If this queer method of 'proof' by assertion were to be accepted as valid there would then be nothing strange in answering MF's allegation by simply saying: *"There is no evidence"* that MF's allegation has any foundation at all. It is hoped in the present article to do rather better than that, but before dealing with MF, the confused Professor Thomson should also be heard on this score.

In his book *From Marx to Mao Tse-tung - A Study in* [it should be AGAINST] *Revolutionary Dialectics*, the Professor comes up with the following bouquet:

"... Capitalist ownership had been replaced [in the USSR] by socialist ownership, small-scale production by large-scale production. But the socialist transformation of the political and ideological superstructure still remained to be carried through. A new state apparatus had been created, controlled through the Party by the proletariat, but the masses were not yet fully involved in it. On the contrary, it had become to some extent alienated from the masses ... Bureaucratic tendencies were also growing in the Party itself. The old exploiting classes had been expropriated, but by no means eliminated." (p. 134).

This last sentence - leaving aside for the moment everything else contained in the above paragraph - is a gem, the meaning of which can only be known to the Professor of Classics himself, i.e., Professor Thomson. For the benefit of some of us who, unlike the Professor, cannot claim to have had the benefit of being 'edickated', would the Professor be kind enough to enlighten us as to the meaning of this sentence: *"The old exploiting classes had been expropriated, but by no means eliminated?"* Hitherto Marxists, including Lenin for example, have considered the expropriation of the exploiting classes as being the same as the elimination of these classes. The Professor, it seems, thinks otherwise. He does so precisely because, as shown above, he confuses the elimination of the exploiting classes with the elimination of class struggle. Since the class struggle under socialism continues (and this even our Professor knows), he comes, by a process of backward reasoning, to the conclusion that the exploiting classes had not been eliminated for, according to him, class struggle must come to an end if the exploiting classes have been eliminated (see page 131 of his book). Perhaps by elimination of the exploiting classes the Professor means the physical extermination of all the members of the former exploiting classes? If he has that in mind, he ought to say so. Perhaps he would have liked to see their physical extermination. Had such extermination taken place - which actually it did not - we would still not be rid of the Professor, for he would be confronting us with yet another 'Left' deviation on the part of Stalin. Such is the way of the Thomsons of this world.

To proceed, Professor Thomson on page 135 continues as follows: *"If the masses had been roused to take the class struggle into their own hands and carry it through to the end, taking care to distinguish between friends and enemies, they would have been able to isolate the counter-revolutionaries in their midst and at the same time to provide a check on the activities of the security police."*

And further: *"... Enemies were treated as friends and friends as enemies."*

What evidence has the Professor furnished in proof of these assertions? A few more assertions. He takes it for granted that his assertions are eternal and immutable truths; on the basis of this assumption he goes on to make a few more assertions, which are supposed to furnish an explanation as to the 'errors' attributed to Stalin in the above-quoted assertions.

Stalin was divorced from the masses, asserts the Professor. Why? *"... perhaps because he was himself inclined to rely too much on 'pure administra-*

tion", answers our archive rat, Thomson. Why was Stalin *"inclined to rely too much on 'pure administration'"* we ask? The answer furnished by the Professor of Classics is: because Stalin had made the *"error"* of believing that in 1936 the class struggle in the USSR was at an end; he did not, therefore, realise that *"far from dying away, the resistance of the expropriated classes was continuing and assuming new forms, which were more insidious than the old and therefore even more dangerous. In these circumstances, it was vitally necessary to maintain and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Lenin had foreseen."* (p. 135).

The most bare-faced lie contained in the above paragraph has already been refuted in this article. It has clearly been shown that Stalin, far from believing in the subsidence of class struggle under socialism, held the contrary view that class struggle grew fiercer under the dictatorship of the proletariat; that he conducted merciless struggle against those who put forward this *"rotten"* and *"dangerous"* theory of the subsidence of class struggle. It is the ever-so-clever and yet ever-so-stupid Professor who has made the error and who, in his confusion and conceit, is presenting his own error as *"Stalin's error"*. It is the Professor who is, as shown earlier, confusing the elimination of the exploiting classes with the elimination of class struggle.

As to the implication that the 1936 Constitution weakened the dictatorship of the proletariat, this is untrue. Far from weakening it, the new Constitution strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat by broadening its basis, in accordance with the changes in the class structure of Soviet society. Stalin dealt in his speech on the Constitution with this criticism:

"The fourth group of critics, in attacking the draft of the new Constitution, characterise it as a 'swing to the Right', as the 'abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat', as the 'liquidation of the Bolshevik regime.' 'The Bolsheviks have swung to the Right, that is a fact', they declare in a chorus of different voices. Particularly zealous in this respect are certain Polish newspapers, and also some American newspapers.

"What can one say about these critics, so-called?"

"If the broadening of the basis of the dictatorship of the working class and the transformation of the dictatorship into a more flexible, and, consequently, a more powerful system of guidance of society by the state is interpreted by them not as strengthening the dictatorship of the working class but as weakening it, or even abandoning it, then it is legitimate to ask: Do these gentlemen really know what the dictatorship of the working class means?"

"If the legislative embodiment given to the victories of socialism, the legislative embodiment given to the successes of industrialisation, collectivisation and democratisation is represented by them as a 'swing to the Right', then it is legitimate to ask: Do these gentlemen really know the difference between left and right?"

As noted above, the Professor says: During the 1930s and afterwards enemies "were treated as friends and friends as enemies." Why? Because Stalin did not understand the distinction between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions. So says the professor. What is the proof of this assertion? Here is what is proffered by the puffed-up Professor in the hope that his readers will be as credulous as the university students that the Professor is used to, and accept this as 'proof':

"In this connection, it is noteworthy that in his 'Dialectical and Historical Materialism' (1938) Stalin did not distinguish between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, nor did he point out that, according as they are handled, antagonistic contradictions may become non-antagonistic contradictions and non-antagonistic contradictions may become antagonistic."

If we were to set ourselves the task of listing all that is not to be found in Stalin's *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, then it would become particularly 'noteworthy' that such a task not only requires the lives of thousands of Professors, but is also futile. We have no intention of commissioning professorial gentry - just to keep them in lucrative employment - to do such a task at high cost to the already highly-taxed British working class, not to speak of the super-exploited peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The fact that in *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* Stalin does not deal with antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions does not prove anything, least of all that he did not understand the distinction between these two types of contradiction. Only mentally invalid gentlemen from the seats of 'higher learning', who are used to being spoonfed with textual formulae, could come to such a conclusion. Lenin was once asked by someone like our Professor: *"Which book did Marx and Engels write on Dialectical and Historical Materialism"* To this question Lenin answered: *"Which book did they not write on dialectical and historical materialism?"*

Understanding of dialectical and historical materialism, and of contradictions of different types, is not gained just by writing about them. It is gained primarily by their actual application to the study of society, to the

solution of problems. If one applies this - the only legitimate test - to Stalin, one cannot but conclude that not only had he heard of the various types of contradiction (which is all that our Professors know about contradictions), but he fully grasped and understood them and, more importantly, applied this understanding to solve problems of world-historic importance during the 30-odd years of his life after the death of Lenin. It was only by correctly understanding different types of contradiction that Stalin and the CPSU(B) were able successfully to lead the struggle for industrialisation of the USSR, the collectivisation of its agriculture and for the defeat of fascism. Does Professor Thomson think that it would have been possible to collectivise agriculture, for example, in the USSR without the Soviet government, the CPSU(B) and Stalin being able to distinguish the contradictions between the proletarian dictatorship and the kulaks (an antagonistic contradiction) from the contradiction between the proletarian dictatorship and the middle and poor peasantry (a non- antagonistic contradiction)? There is no doubt whatsoever in our minds that any lumping-together in practice of these two different kinds of contradiction would have led not to the collectivisation of agriculture, but to the defeat of the proletarian dictatorship and to the restoration of capitalism. This is what the whole controversy with the Trotskyites and Bukharinites was all about. What applies to collectivisation applies equally, if not even more, to other spheres - industrialisation, foreign policy, etc.

If, however, a correct understanding of different types of contradiction, and a correct application of this understanding to reality does not satisfy the Professor, if nothing less than a textual statement on the subject of contradiction would pacify him, the following statement from Comrade Stalin's second letter to Comrade Ch. might perhaps assist. *"In this connection it is noteworthy"* that this letter is dated 7 December 1930, i.e., roughly eight years before the appearance of Stalin's *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*. Here is what Comrade Stalin wrote in his letter to Ch:

"Comrade Ch

"In your first letter you played with the word 'contradictions' and lumped together contradictions outside the bond (that is contradictions between the proletarian dictatorship and the capitalist elements of the country) and those within the bond (that is contradictions between the proletariat and the main mass of the peasantry). You could have avoided this, for a Marxist impermissible, game if you had taken the trouble to understand the basic causes of

the disputes between the Party and the Trotskyists." (Collected Works, Vol 13 p. 22).

It is perfectly clear, then, that Stalin not only fully understood the distinction between different kinds of contradiction, he also administered some sharp rebukes to those like Ch who lumped together contradictions outside the bond (antagonistic contradictions) and contradictions within the bond (non-antagonistic contradictions). Professor Thomson *"could have avoided this, for a Marxist impermissible, game"* of making false allegations had he taken the trouble to check his facts, had he *"taken the trouble to understand the basic causes of the disputes between the Party (the CPSU(B)) and the Trotskyites"* ¹

MF as well as Professor Thomson emphatically assert that *"what was lacking was a real 'mass line'"* in the USSR; that the Party was *"divorced from the masses"*; that the Party's ties with the masses were *"corroded by 'bureaucratic rust'"*; that there was too much of *"pure administration"* - *"over-administration."* In the light of this pleasant bouquet hurled against Comrade Stalin and the CPSU he led, it is self-evident that both our 'worthy critics' attribute the successes of the Soviet Union in every field - industrial, agricultural, scientific, cultural, educational, defence and diplomatic - to *"pure administration"*, to *"over-administration"*, to *"bureaucratic rust"*, to alienation from the masses and the inevitable *"mishandling of contradictions"*; in short, to the *"absence of a mass line"* and *"the degeneration of the Party and the State"*. Strange, is it not, comrades? Both our 'critics' have by this accusation made themselves indistinguishable from the Trotskyites who, while shouting about the *"bureaucratic degeneration"* of the Party and the State, ascribed all successes of the USSR to the *"socialist property relations created by the October Revolution"*. It is more like the devoutly religious people who ascribe every failure to the imperfect and sinful nature of man while attributing every success to the greatness of God.

Whatever MF and Professor Thomson may think, it is impossible to build socialism by issuing decrees and by administrative measures; the building of socialism is the living activity of millions upon millions of people. It was only by fighting against bureaucracy, by constantly purging the Party and the Soviet apparatus of this dross, and by mobilising the masses in this fight, that the resistance of the class of kulaks and other class enemies of the proletariat was broken, was socialism built:

"It would be foolish to think that the production plan is a mere enumera-

tion of figures and assignments. Actually, the production plan is the living and practical activity of millions of people. The reality of our production plan lies in the millions of working people who are creating a new life. The reality of our programme lies in living people, you and I, our will to work, our readiness to work in the new way, our determination to fulfil the plan. Have we that determination? Yes, we have. Well then, our production programme can and must be fulfilled." (Stalin, *Collected Works* Vol 13 p. 82).

The fact that the Soviet people built socialism, that they defeated fascism, is proof enough that the masses were mobilised, that the Party and Soviet apparatus, far from being divorced from the masses, were, on the contrary, inseparably linked with the masses. Let the Trotskyite and revisionist snivellers (the agents of imperialism in the working-class movement) and their followers in the anti-revisionist movement - the Thomsons and MFs - shout filth about the "absence of a mass line", and "the degeneration of the Party and the State" during the period being discussed. It cannot affect the truth of the situation.

How NR 'defends' Stalin

Before passing to the next, and last, allegation against Comrade Stalin, it is necessary for the sake of completeness, to make a brief mention of an article in MLQ no. 3 entitled *Discussion: the Origins of Revisionism in the USSR*. This article was written by a gentleman with the initials NR, who is yet another star from the CFB galaxy and is the leading light of the Manchester and Stockport Communist Workers Association. NR's article contains such gems and profundities that literally a volume could be written on it. Despite the temptation, lack of space demands deferral of any exhaustive treatment of NR's article. It is hoped it can be dealt with another day. NR's article is supposed to have been written in defence of Stalin and by way of a reply to MF's article, *The origin and development of revisionism in the Soviet Union* in no 2 of the MLQ (see above). It will now be seen how NR 'defends' Stalin and 'refutes' MF. Here are a few examples of how NR 'defends' Stalin:

The opening sentence of NR's article reads: "Comrade MF's article 'On the origins and development of revisionism in the Soviet Union', **WHILST MAKING MANY VALID AND PERTINENT CRITICISMS** of certain policies and incorrect ideas of Stalin ... in the period 1935-52 nevertheless does not ... contribute to an understanding of why the Soviet Union has degenerated

into an imperialist state." (p. 51 - emphasis added).

"Whilst making the valid and pertinent criticism" that MF's article does not contribute to an understanding of the growth of revisionism² in the Soviet Union and its subsequent degeneration, in NR's words, *"into an imperialist state"*, the above opening sentence of NR's article is a typical example of his rebellion on his knees against MF. It is surrender and submission to MF's counter-revolutionary allegations all the way along the line.

As if the above sentence did not make his surrender perfectly clear, NR says in the second paragraph of his article:

"MANY OF THE POINTS RAISED ARE NOT SERIOUSLY DOUBTED BY MOST MARXIST-LENINISTS, but these points do not in themselves indicate revisionist leadership of the CPSU(B), but rather [please don't laugh] errors committed by good Marxist-Leninists ... In fact the whole article consists of criticisms, MOSTLY VALID, but sometimes erroneous, of Stalin and the CPSU ... " (emphasis added).

It will be remembered that MF's criticisms of Stalin and the CPSU include, among other things, belief in the subsidence of class struggle under socialism, incorrect views on the state, nationalist degeneration, lack of a mass line and alienation from the masses. If these criticisms are *"mostly valid"*, as NR claims they are, then how on earth can the leadership that commits these errors be described as a *"good Marxist-Leninist"* leadership? If such a leadership is a *"good Marxist-Leninist"* leadership, what then is a rotten bourgeois leadership? In order to be a *"good Marxist-Leninist"* leadership, must such a leadership believe in the subsidence of class struggle under socialism? Must it err on the question of the state? Must it be bourgeois nationalist and alienated from the masses? This is precisely what NR is implying. No, Mr NR! Either MF's criticisms are *"mostly valid"*, in which case Stalin and the CPSU did not constitute a *"good Marxist-Leninist"* leadership, or MF's allegations are wrong (and it has been demonstrated above that they are wrong) in which case Stalin and the CPSU did indeed constitute a *"good Marxist-Leninist leadership"*. One thing or the other.

Further, in the third paragraph: *"... Certainly the relationships between the CPSU, the Comintern and the fraternal parties LEFT A LOT TO BE DESIRED, but so did internal party relationships in the CPSU from 1921 onwards ... "* (emphasis added).

See how NR 'defends' Stalin? He thinks that if he adds a few of his own attacks on the CPSU to those of MF this will metamorphose into a defence

of Stalin.

Paragraph four: *"MF mentions also the shifts in policy in 1928, 1935 and 1939 towards the social-democratic parties and says that these policy shifts may have been incorrect. THAT MAY BE SO, but why should such shifts lead to revisionism?"* (Emphasis added).

All the above wonderful gems are contained in the very first page of an article written supposedly in defence of Stalin!! On the next page (52) NR says:

"... MF states that Stalin saw the external rather than internal contradictions as being decisive in the struggle for socialism. There is certainly some evidence that STALIN WAS SUFFERING FROM SOME IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION ON THIS QUESTION ..." (Emphasis added). Look who is speaking!!!

Page 54: *"Some of the issues raised by MF ARE CERTAINLY contributory factors to the rise of revisionism in the Soviet Union, particularly the concessions to the nationalists and the new bourgeoisie [??] during the war, the tremendous pay differentials in the army and the INTRODUCTION OF BOURGEOIS CUSTOMS into the army, the NATIONALIST deviations ... AND THE LACK OF A MASS LINE ..."*

"However, whilst the points raised by MF are valid, it must be stated that MF raises them in an idealist and metaphysical manner ... It CANNOT BE DENIED that these tendencies indicated a SERIOUS ERODING of the proletarian dictatorship ..." (Emphases added).

If MF's "valid" points, instead of being raised "in an idealist and metaphysical manner," had been raised in a materialist and dialectical manner, what then would have been the result? The result would have been to make MF's "valid" points even more "valid" and forceful. Is NR's complaint, then, as 'defender' of Stalin, that MF's attacks on Stalin are not forceful enough? A strange defence indeed of Stalin!

In his zeal to 'defend' Stalin, on page 55, NR reaches the queer conclusion that the Great Socialist October Revolution in Russia in 1917 did not smash the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie: *"Whilst the Russian proletariat seized state power through the Bolsheviks in 1917, they did not smash the state machine ..."*

If the Russian proletariat "did not smash the [bourgeois] state machine," what was the October revolution all about? 'Where did socialism come

from? Only God and NR can know the answer in that case.

Page 56 records this wonderful 'defence' of Stalin: " ... *It seems to me that the new constitution of 1936, seen by many as revisionist, was in effect an attempt by the party leadership to involve the masses more and more. However* [NR's by now famous 'however'], *BECAUSE OF THE IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION OF STALIN on the question of internal contradictions, the new constitution also enabled many dubious elements, the new bourgeoisie [???], whiteguards, kulaks, etc., to worm their way into positions of power ... "* (Emphasis added).

NR then quotes the following lines from MF's article:

"Although Stalin himself was not swept along on the nationalist tide he did not try to stem it, he even encouraged it. Perhaps there was no alternative, but that begs the question about the nature of the policies prior to the war."

Here is NR's comment on the above remarks of MF: *"This statement [of MF's] IS BASICALLY TRUE. There was no alternative, but MF goes on to conclude that erroneous policies were followed prior to the war, whereas I have tried to show [he's not joking] that, although some mistakes were made, the general line was correct."*

The last sentence shows certainly that NR may be bereft of Marxism-Leninism but is certainly not bereft of a sense of humour. Just as we cannot justly accuse him of being a Marxist-Leninist in any degree whatsoever, we cannot accuse him of having no sense of humour either. He may be a complete pauper as far as Marxism-Leninism is concerned, he certainly has a rich fund of jokes. After reading his article, which not only admits all the bourgeois attacks of MF on Stalin but also adds a few more, one almost begins to have a healthy respect for even the filth emanating from MF's pen - and that is saying something.

After reading NR's 'defence' of Stalin, it cannot be *"seriously doubted by most Marxist-Leninists"* that with people like NR as 'friends', Stalin needs no enemies; it cannot also be *"seriously doubted by most Marxist-Leninists"* that with people like NR to 'refute' him, MF needs no friends.

NR unfurls his true Trotskyist flag when, in the end, he fatalistically reaches the conclusion that the triumph of revisionism, of counter-revolution, in the USSR was inevitable: " ... *given the objective circumstances of the socialist construction, such a counter-revolution was inevitable,*" and ironically he adds *"which is in no way to accept Trotsky's concept that socialism*

cannot be built in one country." Really? It would seem that this is precisely what it *does* mean, dear NR!

NOTES

1. But perhaps Professor Thomson believes, as did the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, that Stalin was mistaken in his categorisation of the kulak elements as being in antagonistic contradiction to the proletarian dictatorship during the period of collectivisation? Perhaps Professor Thomson believes, like the Bukharinites, that the contradiction with the kulak elements was fundamentally non-antagonistic and only became antagonistic because of Stalin's 'mistakes' in handling the situation? Alternatively, perhaps Professor Thomson believes that the contradiction between the poor and middle peasantry and the proletarian dictatorship was antagonistic - as did the Trotskyites? If Professor Thomson is in agreement with Bukharin or Trotsky, why does he not say so? Any honest worker reading the various speeches of Stalin reproduced in this pamphlet will be convinced that it was Stalin who understood the difference between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions, not Bukharin or Professor Thomson, not Trotsky or Professor Thomson.

2. Neither MP's nor NR's article contributes to an understanding of the growth of revisionism in the USSR. Revisionism means the restoration of capitalism. Neither of these two articles even mentioned, let alone analysed, the question of whether this had indeed taken place in the USSR at that time. All that was made available were little tidbits torn from their context.

Chapter 26

Stalin and the Intelligentsia

Now the last allegation against Comrade Stalin. This allegation was levelled by the Finsbury Communist Association (FCA) in a letter dated 2 July 1973, addressed to the Association of Communist Workers. The appropriate part of this letter reads thus:

"We should like to hear your opinion of Stalin and Zhdanov's attitude to the Soviet intelligentsia expressed at the 18th Congress and subsequently written into the party rules. The relevant pages of the book [i.e., The Land of Socialism Today and Tomorrow] are pp. 51-53, pp. 180-183, pp. 447-448, Section 1, page 457 Section 1. A few excerpts indicate the nature of the matter.

"Stalin said 'It is therefore all the more astonishing and strange that after all these fundamental changes in the status of the intelligentsia, people should be found within our Party who attempt to apply the old theory, which was directed against the bourgeois intelligentsia, to our new, Soviet intelligentsia, which is basically a socialist intelligentsia. These people, it appears, assert that workers and peasants who until recently were working in Stakhanov fashion in the factories and collective farms and who were then sent to the universities to be educated, thereby ceased to be real people and became second-rate people. So we are to conclude that education is a pernicious and dangerous thing.'

"The resolution adopted on the report of Zhdanov states:

"This new situation makes it necessary to amend the conditions of admission to the Party laid down in the Rules of the CPSU(B). The existing system, as prescribed in the Party Rules, of admitting new members into the Party in accordance with four different categories, depending upon the social status of the applicant, is obviously incompatible with the changes in the class structure of Soviet society resulting from the victory of socialism in the USSR. The need for different categories of admission of new members and of varying probationary periods has disappeared. Accordingly, uniform conditions of admission and a uniform period of probation should be established for all new members, irrespective of whether they belong to the working class, the peasantry or the intelligentsia'.

"Thus the party of the working class became, in effect, a 'party of the whole people'. The intelligentsia, who already held privileged positions in society by virtue of position and education were admitted to the party on equal terms with workers. Small wonder that the Soviet Union degenerated. The latest figures

for membership composition of the CPSU(B) (which you may confirm by referring to Soviet News in Marx House) shows workers 40%, peasants 15%, intelligentsia 45%.

"Would you not agree that this, at any rate, was one mistake of Stalin's?"

To answer the FCA the following points must be made.

A study of the published views of Comrade Stalin, in particular the relevant sections of his Draft Constitution speech and the speech at the 18th Congress of the CPSU, concerning the intelligentsia, convincingly shows that his position on the subject was a Marxist-Leninist position. He correctly held, in accordance with the science of Marxism-Leninism, that the intelligentsia is *a special social stratum*; that the intelligentsia in history has played an important role in the development of culture, science and technology; that it has *mainly* served the interests of the classes in power; that because no ruling class in any social order can do without its own intelligentsia, this is why every class which comes to power devotes special attention to creating an intelligentsia to serve it; that whereas under capitalism the intelligentsia, as a special stratum, is recruited from various classes, mainly from the exploiting classes, and serves the interests of the exploiting classes, under socialism the intelligentsia is recruited mainly from the working class and labouring peasantry, and serves the interests of the working class and labouring masses; that in socialist society the role and composition of the intelligentsia as a social stratum is different from that under capitalism; that *led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party*, the socialist intelligentsia plays a great role in the creation of the material and cultural values of socialist society; that, being *mainly* recruited from the working class and labouring peasantry, the socialist intelligentsia is closely linked with these two classes by common economic, political and ideological interests, by the common aim for the construction of socialism and communism.

Never did Stalin negate, as do the Khrushchevite revisionists in the present-day USSR, the existence of the intelligentsia as a special social stratum; never did he merge it into the fundamental classes of socialist society; never did he consider the entire intelligentsia as a component part of the working class and the labouring peasantry.

In any genuine socialist society - which the USSR was during the time of Stalin - as a result of the unprecedented growth of the productive forces, of the elimination of the exploiting classes, the narrowing of the essential distinctions between the working class and the peasantry, the intelligentsia

grows in number. Its role in the development of society grows and there is a continual rise in the ideological, political, educational, cultural and technical level of the working class and the peasantry. This does not mean, however, that in the conditions of socialism all distinctions disappear and that we can no longer speak of the intelligentsia as a special stratum. The intelligentsia, wrote Lenin, " ... will remain a special stratum until the attainment of the highest level of development of the communist society ... " That this was Stalin's position also can be seen from his speech on the Draft Constitution, his speech to the 18th Congress of the CPSU and from his *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*. Stalin never departed from the correct Marxist-Leninist position which regards the intelligentsia as a special social stratum.

According to the science of Marxism-Leninism, the role played by this special stratum - the socialist intelligentsia - is directly dependent on the leading, vanguard, role played by the working class. Therefore, although the role of the intelligentsia in the process of socialist construction continues to grow, it can never replace the leading role of the working class. Reflecting this correct position, Stalin fought all his life against the twin evils - of the concepts and manifestations of intellectualism and intellectual conceit and arrogance on the one hand, and of the vulgar concepts which negate and undervalue the work and role of the intelligentsia on the other hand.

It was not until after the Khrushchevite revisionists usurped power in the USSR that the role of the intelligentsia changed. The revisionists put forward such rotten theses as the 'State of the whole people' and 'the Party of the whole people' as a cover for the restoration of capitalism. It was only after the revisionists had succeeded in changing the colour of the CPSU, turning it from a revolutionary into a rotten revisionist party, that they succeeded also in changing the role of the intelligentsia in the USSR, that they succeeded in absolutising the role of the intelligentsia. The attempts of the revisionist theoreticians to obliterate, to wipe out, all distinctions between the intelligentsia and the working class are aimed precisely at negating the leading role of the working class. For, once it is granted that there are no distinctions between the working class on the one hand, and the entire intelligentsia on the other hand, a convenient formula has already been found for negating the leading role of the working class, for pushing it more and more into the background, and for pushing the intelligentsia more and more into the forefront. Such obliteration, such wiping out, of all distinction be-

tween the working class and the intelligentsia, however, never took place in the USSR during the time of Stalin. At that time the intelligentsia continued to be considered a special stratum, just as the working class continued most definitely to be considered the leading class.

The 'logic' of the FCA is hopelessly illogical when from the above-quoted remarks of Stalin, and from the resolution adopted on the report of Zhdanov, it concludes:

"Thus the Party of the working class became, in effect, a 'party of the whole people'. The intelligentsia, who already held privileged positions in society by virtue of position and education were admitted to the party on equal terms with workers. Small wonder that the Soviet Union degenerated. The latest figures for membership composition of the CPSU(B) ... shows workers 40%, peasants 15%, intelligentsia 45%."

First, in the paragraph quoted by FCA, Stalin is simply explaining the difference between the Soviet socialist intelligentsia and the bourgeois intelligentsia. He is emphasising that one cannot have the same attitude towards the socialist intelligentsia, recruited mainly from the working class and the labouring peasantry, and imbued, as it was, with the ideals of socialism and communism, that one is used to entertaining with regard to the bourgeois intelligentsia, which was recruited mainly from the exploiting classes and served the interests of these classes. He is far from saying that all distinctions between the working class and the intelligentsia had been wiped out; he is far from negating the leading role of the working class. How can one, then, come to the conclusion, as does the FCA, that *"Thus the party of the working class became, in effect, a 'party of the whole people'"*? Uniform conditions of admission, brought into operation to meet the new situation, could not - and did not - by itself lead to the party of the proletariat becoming a 'party of the whole people'. No such thing could take place as long as the leading role of the proletariat was not negated. This negation of the leading role of the proletariat took place after the usurpation of power by the Khrushchevite revisionists and not before. Uniformity of conditions of membership does not give an automatic right of membership to the Party; people have to be admitted into the Party; they cannot simply enrol themselves into it. So long as the Party continued to be a revolutionary Party, it made sure that only those of the intelligentsia were admitted into the Party as satisfied the requirements of the revolutionary Party. But with the victory of Khrushchevite revisionism, things changed; and those of the intelligentsia

most suffering from intellectualist conceit were brought in on an increasing scale. The revisionists, while in actual practice reversing the construction of socialism, putting into effect more and more bourgeois economic norms with a view to the restoration of capitalism, hypocritically put forward the theory that all distinctions between the intelligentsia and the working class had been obliterated. The Party, they asserted, had become a 'Party of the whole people' and the Soviet state 'the State of the whole people'.

It is interesting to note that FCA in support of its allegation produces only the *"latest figures for membership composition of the CPSU(B)"*. What have these latest figures to do with Stalin and the CPSU(B) he led. If the FCA is making the point that the CPSU(B) has become a revisionist party since the death of Stalin - since the victory of Khrushchevite modern revisionism - then this point is indisputable. If, however, it is asserting that the CPSU became revisionist, that the Soviet Union degenerated before the death of Stalin, then it is up to the FCA to prove it. It has done no such thing. All it has done is to produce the *"latest figures for membership composition of the CPSU(B)"*, which only confirm the fact that the degeneration of the Soviet Union took place after the death of Stalin. Let the FCA quote the figures for membership composition of the CPSU(B) for the period leading up to Stalin's death. In the absence of any substantiation by the FCA, there is no case to answer, particularly in view of what has been said above about the viewpoint held by Stalin concerning the intelligentsia as a special social stratum and the leading role of the working class.

Chapter 27

Conclusion

In view of the foregoing it may now be concluded that all four allegations levelled against Stalin are untrue. The 'critics' have by their 'criticisms' of Stalin only helped to expose their own hopeless confusion. In his article in MLQ no. 2, MF says: *"The revolutionary movement is at present suffering from a serious lack of theoretical clarity."* (page 3). The rest of his article seems to have been written (the author may not have realised this) just to furnish proof of this statement. In all fairness the author, MF, must be congratulated on his brilliant success in revealing in such a remarkable way such *"a serious lack of theoretical clarity"* as he is suffering from. On this score, congratulations are also due to Professor Thomson and NR.

Our 'critics' started with a desire to explain the *Origin and development of revisionism in the Soviet Union*. They achieve nothing of the kind. They end up by making a few anti-communist, anti-Soviet and anti-Stalin assertions. The anti-communist movement is expected by these gentlemen to accept these revisionist assertions as an analysis of the origin and development of revisionism in the USSR! In view of what has been said above to refute these 'critics', one has the right (and can afford) to laugh at the coarse invective levelled against Comrade Stalin by these gentlemen, pouring forth their ignorance in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility. The answer to the question of what precisely were the reasons for the triumph of Khrushchevite revisionism in the USSR after the death of Stalin is not yet known. Nevertheless it is necessary to hammer a final nail into the coffin of pretentious bourgeois assertions and pseudo-scientific explanations masquerading as analysis of *"the origin and development of revisionism in the Soviet Union."*

The usurpation of power by the revisionists in 1956 at the 20th Party Congress can in no way be cited as proof that the 'critics' of Stalin are right in their criticisms of him. Such a method of arguing would be a disgrace to Marx's dialectical method and his materialist theory, and it would be impermissible for Marxists. Nevertheless, this is precisely the way in which the MFs do argue. This only goes to show that in dealing with them we are face to face with petty-bourgeois fortune hunters and not with thoroughgoing materialists, i.e., Marxists. The type of person we are dealing with in MF

becomes clear from the following profundity:

"If on his death, Stalin left behind him a proletarian dictatorship, it had certainly undergone a good deal of erosion. It has been said that the biggest criticism that can be made of Stalin is that he was followed by Khrushchev. And that speaks volumes."

In other words, the usurpation of power in the Soviet Union by the Khrushchevite revisionists means that Stalin is responsible for this revisionist victory; it means that 30 long years of Comrade Stalin's struggle against revisionism must thereby stand discredited; it means that revisionism became triumphant in the Soviet Union not in spite of Stalin but because of him. Why? Because revisionism was successful in the end, say the MFs of this world. What if revisionism had not been successful? All would have been well with Stalin, according to this 'logic'. This is the kind of rubbish that is presented by the MFs of this world to the movement in the name of historical analysis! Would it not be more apt to describe MF's diatribes against Comrade Stalin as hysterical analysis rather than historical analysis? These gentlemen simply work backwards from certain events. *"The biggest criticism that can be made of Stalin is that he was followed by Khrushchev. And that speaks volumes."* If one extends the logic of their argument, which one has every right to do, one reaches the following conclusion: *"The biggest criticism that can be made of Lenin is that he was followed by Stalin, who in turn was followed by Khrushchev. And that speaks volumes."* And when you do that poor old Marx and Engels must begin to shudder in their graves at the thought: Whose turn next?

According to the above 'logic' - if it can be called that - if at some future date revisionism were to gain ascendancy in China, which it is to be hoped will never happen, then it would be the fault of Mao Tse-tung. In such an event all the struggles waged by Comrade Mao Tse-tung against revisionism would have to be discounted as not being worthy of note on the part of Marxists such as MF. ¹

Let this preface conclude by quoting a few excerpts from an Editorial of *Zeri I Popullit* on the 20th Anniversary of the death of Comrade Stalin:

"J.V. STALIN - GREAT REVOLUTIONARY AND MARXIST-LENINIST

"J.V. STALIN, THIS GLORIOUS DISCIPLE OF V.I. LENIN, WHO STOOD FOR THIRTY YEARS AT THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY AND STATE, DIED TWENTY YEARS AGO. ALL REV-

OLUTIONARIES AND FREEDOM LOVING peoples remember Stalin as a great revolutionary and an outstanding Marxist Leninist who devoted his whole life to the defence of the victories of the revolution and of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, to the cause of the liberation of the proletariat and of all the oppressed peoples.

"Closely linked with Stalin's name are the brilliant victories of the Soviet people following the October Socialist Revolution, the building of socialist society in the Soviet Union, the glorious victory in the second world war against the fascist hordes, the development of the communist and workers, national liberation and democratic movements in the world. J.V. Stalin developed and enriched Leninism, the theory of the construction of socialism, of the struggle against opportunism, revisionism and imperialism. After Lenin's death he defended Leninism with firm determination against all the enemies of the working class - Trotskyists, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists, modern revisionists; he further developed the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin about the party, the revolution and the state, and applied them with persistence and farsightedness. He became a comrade, teacher and great defender of all the oppressed, of all those who were fighting for social and national liberation.

"BECAUSE STALIN WAS SUCH, THE IMPERIALISTS, THE MODERN REVISIONISTS AND ALL THE ENEMIES OF COMMUNISM AND OF THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLES HAVE SOUGHT WITH ALL THEIR FORCES TO TARNISH HIS IMAGE AS A DAUNTLESS REVOLUTIONARY AND TO DENIGRATE HIS GLORIOUS PERFORMANCE."

NOTE

1. In fact the developments in China, since the death of Mao Tse-tung, have caused some of these 'anti-revisionists' to swing around and make exactly such accusations.

Appendix 1

Lenin's Testament

As is clear from the preceding pages, Lenin held a very poor view of Trotsky and fought against Trotsky's opportunist Menshevism and Kautskyism. It is also well known that Lenin held Stalin in very high esteem as a staunch revolutionary of impeccable credentials. Here are a few quotations expressing Lenin's regard, enthusiasm and affection for Stalin:

As early as February 1913, in a letter to Maxim Gorky, Lenin wrote:

"We have a marvellous Georgian who has set down to write a big article for Prosveshcheniye, for which he has collected ALL the Austrian and other materials." (Collected Works, Vol 35, p.84).

In December of the same year, Lenin refers to Stalin as the Party's leading Marxist theoretician on the national question:

"The situation and the fundamentals of a national programme for Social-Democracy have recently been dealt within Marxist theoretical literature (the most prominent place being taken by Stalin's article)" (Collected Works, Vol 19, p.539).

When in March 1922, at the 11th Party Congress, Preobrazhensky criticised Stalin for holding the posts of People's Commissar of Nationalities as well as People's Commissar of State Control, Lenin defended Stalin in the following terms:

"The Turkestan, Caucasian and other questions ... are all political questions. These are questions that have engaged the attention of European states for hundreds of years... We are settling them; and we need a man to whom the representatives of any of these nations can go and discuss their difficulties in all detail. Where can we find such a man? I don't think Comrade Preobrazhensky could suggest any better candidate than Comrade Stalin.

"The same thing applies to Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. This is a vast business; but to be able to handle investigations we must have at the head of it a man who enjoys high prestige, otherwise we shall become submerged in and overwhelmed by petty intrigue." (Collected Works, Vol 33, p.315).

And it was on the proposal of no less a person than Lenin himself that,

following the 11th Party Congress, in April 1922, the Central Committee created the supreme Party post of General Secretary and elected Stalin to it.

"It is ... fanciful for some historians, official and unofficial, to suggest that Stalin was NOT Lenin's personal choice for the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee to which he was elevated in April 1922." (A.B. Ulam: *Stalin: the Man and his Era*, London, 1989, p. 205).

"The obvious and indeed the only man with the knowledge, efficiency and authority for this key post [of General Secretary] was Stalin ... There can be no doubt that Lenin supported the nomination, which he probably initiated." (Ian Grey, *Stalin: Man of History*).

Something must have happened in late 1922 to cause Lenin radically to change his long-held views of Stalin and Trotsky. In his letter to the Party Congress, Lenin expressed himself thus:

"Stalin is too rude, and this defect ... becomes intolerable in a Secretary-General. That is why I suggest that the comrades think about removing Stalin from that post." (Collected Works, Vol 36, p. 596).

In the same letter, Lenin spoke of Trotsky as possessing " ... outstanding ability. He is perhaps the most capable man in the present Central Committee." (*Ibid.* p. 595).

On the basis of the above single pronouncement, Trotskyist and bourgeois mythology has tried to build up a picture according to which the relations between Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party were based on trust and confidence; that Trotsky's difficulties with the Bolshevik Party arose only after the assumption of its leadership by Stalin. That this is not so, we have already demonstrated beyond any shred of doubt. The question that must be answered, however, is why Lenin altered his views of Stalin and Trotsky. Two factors seem to have played a part in this regard: first the question of Georgian nationalism, and, second, Lenin's illness.

Georgian nationalism

Concerned at the rise of nationalism in the Communist Party of Georgia, and in an effort to counter it, Lenin, in complete agreement with Stalin, proposed that " ... a federation of the Transcaucasian republics [comprising Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia] is absolutely correct in principle, and should be implemented without fail." (Lenin, *Memo to J.V. Stalin*, 28 November

1921, Collected Works Vol 33 p.127).

Lenin's proposal was unanimously adopted by the Political Bureau and confirmed by three subsequent decisions of the Central Committee. Consequently the Transcaucasian Federation was founded on 12 March, 1922, and existed until 1936. The Transcaucasian Federation was formed as an *"organ of national peace"* in an area which, under the Tsars, Mussavatists, Dashnaks and Mensheviks, had been characterised by *"massacre and strife"*:

"From very early times Transcaucasia has been an arena of massacre and strife and, under the Mensheviks and Dashnaks, it was an arena of war ...

"That is why the Central Committee has on three occasions affirmed the necessity of preserving the Transcaucasian Federation as an organ of national peace...

"The point is that the bonds of the Transcaucasian Federation deprive Georgia of that somewhat privileged position which she could assume by virtue of her geographical position ... Georgia has her own port - Batum - through which goods must flow from the West; Georgia has a railway junction like Tiflis, which the Armenians cannot avoid, nor can Azerbaijan avoid it ... If Georgia were a separate republic, if she were not part of the Transcaucasian Federation, she could present something in the nature of a little ultimatum both to Armenia, which cannot do without Tiflis, and to Azerbaijan, which cannot do without Batum ...

"There is yet another reason. Tiflis is the capital of Georgia, but the Georgians there are not more than 30% of the population, the Armenians not less than 35%, and then come all the other nationalities... If Georgia were a separate republic, the population could be reshifted somewhat... Was not a well-known decree adopted in Georgia to ... reshift the population so as to reduce the number of Armenians in Tiflis from year to year, making them fewer than the Georgians, and thus convert Tiflis into a real Georgian capital?" (Stalin, Report on National Factors in Party and State Affairs, 12th Congress of the RCP(B) in Works Vol 5, FLPH, Moscow, 1953, pp.256-259).

The wisdom of Stalin's remarks can readily be appreciated in the light of present-day nationalist strife and fratricidal warfare engulfing these areas since the break-up of the USSR. But the formation and continuation of the Transcaucasian Federation were opposed by a group of prominent Georgian nationalists, headed by Budu Mdivani and Filipp Makharadze (known as the 'Georgian deviators'), within the Communist Party of Georgia. Many of these Georgian deviators were to join the Trotskyite anti-Party opposition.

The cause of Georgian deviation was not Russian chauvinism but a desire on the part of the Georgian nationalists not to lose the geographical advantages which would accrue to an independent Georgia - thus creating *"a privileged position for the Georgians in Transcaucasia. Therein lies the whole danger ...*

"The Georgian deviators ... are pushing us on to the path of granting them certain privileges at the expense of the Armenian and Azerbaijanian Republics. But that is a path we cannot take, for it means certain death to ... Soviet power in the Caucasus." (Stalin, Works Vol 5, p.258-261).

The Georgian deviators, while constituting a majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, represented only a tiny minority of the Party in Georgia. Taking advantage of their dominant position on the Central Committee, the Georgian deviators did everything in their power to block the implementation of the Federation and to prevent the economic integration of the three republics - even going to the length of installing military guards on the frontiers of the Georgian republic.

As preparations were afoot to form the USSR, in accordance with the policy of maintaining the Federation, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party decided, on 6 October 1922, to have Transcaucasia enter the Union as one unit. The Georgian deviators' protest in this regard was unanimously rejected by the Central Committee.

Having met with no joy from the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, a group of Georgian deviators telegraphed a direct protest to Lenin, making in the process a special target of Ordzhonikidze. In his telegraphic reply, Lenin rebuked the deviators and defended Ordzhonikidze in the following terms:

"I am surprised at the indecent tone of the direct wire message sent by Tsin-sadze and others ... I was sure that all the differences had been ironed out by the Central Committee Plenum resolutions with my indirect participation and with the direct participation of Mdivani. That is why I resolutely condemn the abuse against Ordzhonikidze and insist that your conflict should be referred in a decent and loyal tone for settlement by the RCP CC Secretariat." (Collected Works, Vol. 45, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, p.582).

Following Lenin's rebuke, the Georgian deviators, representing 9 of the 11 members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, resigned in protest on 22 October, 1922, whereupon Ordzhonikidze appointed a new Central Committee.

The Politburo resolved on 25 November 1922 to send a Commission, headed by Felix Dzerzhinsky, to Georgia to work out measures to establish tranquillity in the Georgian Communist Party. On 12 December 1922, Dzerzhinsky reported the findings of his Commission to Lenin, including the decision of the Commission *"to recall to Moscow the leaders of the former Georgian Central Committee, who were held responsible for everything"* (M. Lewin, *Lenin's Last Struggle*, London, 1969, p. 68).

Then suddenly, at the end of December, 1922, Lenin, who had so vehemently rebuked the Georgian deviators and equally vehemently defended Ordzhonikidze against their assault, reversed his position. In a document, which has come to be known as *Lenin's Testament*, dictated to his secretary Maria Volodicheva, Lenin strongly implies that the accusation of 'Georgian nationalism' against the Georgian deviators was an 'imaginary' product of Russian chauvinism on the part of Dzerzhinsky, placing the main blame on Stalin:

"Comrade Dzerzhinsky, who went to the Caucasus to investigate the 'crime' of those 'nationalist-socialists', distinguished himself there by his truly Russian frame of mind (it is common knowledge that people of other nationalities who have become Russified overdo this Russian frame of mind)..."

Lenin went on to say it was necessary *"... to defend the non-Russian from the onslaught of that really Russian man, the Great Russian chauvinist, in substance a rascal and a tyrant ... I think that Stalin's ... spite against the notorious 'nationalist-socialism' played a fatal role here. In politics spite generally plays the basest of roles..."*

And Stalin is described as *"... the Georgian who ... casually flings about accusations of 'nationalist-socialism', whereas he himself is a real and true 'nationalist-socialist' and even a vulgar Great-Russian bully ... The political responsibility for all this truly Great-Russian nationalist campaign must, of course, be laid on Stalin and Dzerzhinsky."* (Lenin, *The Question of Nationalities, or 'Autonomisation'*, Collected Works Vol 36).

In March 1923, Lenin dictated a letter to Trotsky asking him to defend the Georgian case in the Central Committee - a task which Trotsky declined on a plea of ill-health. A day after writing to Trotsky, Lenin also wrote to the 'Georgian deviators' expressing his support for their cause. In spite of Lenin's change of position, however, the Politburo of the party refused, on the 26th of March 1922, by 6 votes to 1, to change its position on the Transcaucasian Federation or the political character of the Georgian deviators, as

invited to do so by a motion presented by Trotsky.

Lenin's illness

Towards the end of 1921, Lenin fell seriously ill and was forced to rest for several weeks. On 23 April 1922, he underwent surgery for the treatment of one of the bullets fired at him in an assassination attempt by the Socialist Revolutionary, Fanya Kaplan, on 30 August 1918. On 26 May 1922, his right hand and leg became paralysed and his speech was impaired. On 16 December, 1922, Lenin suffered two dangerous strokes, with yet another attack on December 23rd. On 10 March, 1923, a new stroke paralysed half his body, depriving him of the capacity to speak and putting an end to his political activity. On 21 January, 1924, this remarkable giant passed away.

The document known as *Lenin's Testament* was dictated by him between 23 and 31 December, 1922, with a further supplement on 4 January, 1923 - that is, after suffering four severe strokes which not only adversely affected his health, but left him totally isolated from the outside world.

On 18 December 1922, a plenum of the Central Committee made Stalin personally responsible for the observance of the regime prescribed by the doctors. According to Robert McNeal: " ... *though virtually Lenin's legal guardian, Stalin never saw his charge in person ...* " after 13 December 1922, which was " ... *the last time Stalin saw Lenin alive*" (R.H. McNeal, *Stalin: Man and Ruler*, Basingstoke, 1988, p.73).

According to the strict rules established, no visitors were to be allowed. Except for the doctors and his immediate family, Lenin was permitted to see only his secretaries. In these circumstances, a crucial role was played by Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Krupskaya, whose " ... *long personal antipathy to Stalin*" is spoken of by Robert McNeal, her biographer.

After Lenin's death, Krupskaya was an open and active member of the Trotskyist opposition:

"The 14th Party Congress [in December 1925] itself was the pinnacle of Krupskaya's career in the opposition ... It was left to her to begin the opposition's critique.

"Krupskaya remained in the opposition ... until October 1926 ... She signed the major political manifesto that the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition produced in this period, the Declaration of the Thirteen, ... along with another protest against Soviet policy in the English General Strike of 1926." (R.H. McNeal,

Bride of the Revolution: Krupskaya and Lenin, London, 1973, pp. 250-256).

Although Stalin hinted at the 15th Conference of the CPSU in November 1926 that Krupskaya had left the opposition, it was not until six months later that Krupskaya personally confirmed this.

"Is it not a fact Comrade Krupskaya, for instance, is leaving the opposition bloc? (Stormy applause)" (Stalin, Works Vol 8, p.371).

"On May 20, 1922, Pravda carried a short note from Krupskaya to the editor. In it she gave the Party and the public at large the first confirmation that she had left the opposition ... There was no word of repentance on any specific issue." (McNeal, *Bride of the Revolution*, pp. 261-262).

Lenin's biographer, Robert Payne, though violently hostile to Stalin, nevertheless makes this observation regarding Krupskaya's behaviour during the illness of Lenin:

"... Krupskaya ... showed not the slightest intention of carrying out the orders of the doctors and the Politburo; and so small scraps of information were fed to Lenin ... while he lay ill, she was his ears and eyes, his sole powerful contact with the 'outside world'" (R Payne, *The Life and Death of Lenin*, London, 1964, pp. 555-556).

And these "scraps of information" were doubtless hostile to Stalin and favourable to Trotsky and the Georgian deviators. Her biographer concurs that Stalin was justified in his suspicion that she had influenced Lenin's attitude towards him during the period of his illness:

"She may have influenced Lenin's attitude toward Stalin, intentionally or otherwise ... Stalin is justified in suspecting that she had, as he later intimated." (McNeal, *ibid.* p.223).

Robert Payne is more forthright:

"Krupskaya did what she had to do: she waged war against Stalin." (Payne, *op. cit.* p. 563).

On 22 December 1922, Stalin reprimanded Krupskaya over the telephone for feeding Lenin with selective scraps of information and threatened to bring the matter before the Central Control Commission of the CPSU. This telephone call formed the basis for Krupskaya to write to Kamenev complaining about Stalin's 'rudeness':

"Stalin subjected me to a storm of the coarsest abuse yesterday about a brief note that Lenin dictated to me ... I know better than all the doctors what

can and what cannot be said to Ilyich, for I know what disturbs him and what doesn't. And in any case I know better than Stalin ...

"I have no doubt as to the unanimous decision of the Control Commission with which Stalin takes it upon himself to threaten me, but I have neither the time nor the energy to lose in such a stupid farce." (N.K. Krupskaya, Letter to Lev Kamenev, 23.12.22, cited in M Lewin, op.cit.)

Knowing what did and did not disturb Lenin apparently did not prevent Krupskaya reporting the conversation she had had with Stalin to him, and on the 5th of March he wrote to Stalin as follows:

"You have been so rude as to summon my wife to the telephone and use bad language ... What has been done against my wife I consider having been done against me as well. I ask you, therefore, to think it over whether you are prepared to ... make your apologies, or whether you prefer that relations between us should be broken off." (Lenin, Letter to J.V. Stalin, 5.3.23, Collected Works Vol.45).

A note in the same volume of Lenin's Collected Works, p.758, says that Maria Ulyanova, Lenin's sister, wrote to the Praesidium of the 1926 Joint Plenum of the CC and the CCC to the effect that Stalin had in fact offered to apologise.

Trotskyist and other bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles have levelled the charge that Stalin suppressed Lenin's will. The facts, however, are just the opposite. On 18 May 1924, Krupskaya sent the 'will' to Kamenev, who passed it on to the General Secretary, Stalin. The latter, on 19 May, passed the same to the Steering Committee for the 13th Congress, due to begin on 23 May 1924. Let Stalin take up the story:

"Now about Lenin's 'will'. The oppositionists shouted here - you heard them - that the Central Committee of the Party 'concealed' Lenin's 'will'. We have discussed this question several times at the plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission, you know that. (A voice: 'Scores of times.') It has been proved and proved again that nobody has concealed anything, that Lenin's 'will' was addressed to the Thirteenth Party Congress, that this 'will' was read out at the congress (voices: 'That's right!'), that the congress UNANIMOUSLY decided not to publish it because, among other things, Lenin himself did not want it to be published and did not ask that it should be published. The opposition knows all this just as well as we do. Nevertheless, it has the audacity to declare that the Central Committee is 'concealing' the 'will'.

"The question of Lenin's 'will' was brought up, if I am not mistaken, as far back as 1924. There is a certain Eastman, a former American Communist who was later expelled from the Party. This gentleman, who mixed with Trotskyists in Moscow, picked up some rumours and gossip about Lenin's 'will', went abroad and published a book entitled After Lenin's Death, in which he did his best to blacken the Party, the Central Committee and the Soviet regime, and the gist of which was that the Central Committee of our Party was 'concealing' Lenin's 'will'. In view of the fact that this Eastman had at one time been connected with Trotsky, we, the members of the Political Bureau, called upon Trotsky to dissociate himself from Eastman who, clutching at Trotsky and referring to the opposition, had made Trotsky responsible for the slanderous statements against our Party about the 'will'. Since the question was so obvious, Trotsky did, indeed, publicly dissociate himself from Eastman in a statement he made in the press. It was published in September 1925 in Bolshhevik, No. 16.

"Permit me to read the passage in Trotsky's article in which he deals with the question whether the Party and its Central Committee was concealing Lenin's 'will' or not. I quote Trotsky's article:

"In several parts of his book Eastman says that the Central Committee 'concealed' from the Party a number of exceptionally important documents written by Lenin in the last period of his life (it is a matter of letters on the national question, the so-called 'will', and others); THERE CAN BE NO OTHER NAME FOR THIS SLANDER AGAINST THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF OUR PARTY. From what Eastman says it may be inferred that Vladimir Ilyich intended those letters, which bore the character of advice on internal organisation, for the press. In point of fact, that is absolutely untrue. During his illness Vladimir Ilyich often sent proposals, letters, and so forth, to the Party's leading institutions and to its congress. It goes without saying that all those letters and proposals were always delivered to those for whom they were intended, were brought to the knowledge of the delegates of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Congresses, and always, of course, exercised due influence upon the Party's decisions; and if not all of those letters were published, it was because the author did not intend them for the press. Vladimir Ilyich did not leave any 'will', and the very character of his attitude towards the Party, as well as the character of the Party itself, precluded the possibility of such a 'will'. What is usually referred to as a 'will' in the émigré and foreign bourgeois and Menshevik press (in a manner garbled beyond recognition) is one of Vladimir Ilyich's letters containing advice on organisational matters. The Thirteenth

Congress of the Party paid the closest attention to that letter, as to all of the others, and drew from it conclusions appropriate to the conditions and circumstances of the time. ALL TALK ABOUT CONCEALING OR VIOLATING A 'WILL' IS A MALICIOUS INVENTION AND IS ENTIRELY DIRECTED AGAINST VLADIMIR ILYICH'S REAL WILL, and against the interests of the Party he created' (See Trotsky's article 'Concerning Eastman's Book - After Lenin's Death', Bolshevik, No.16, September 1, 1925, p.68).

"Clear, one would think. That was written by none other than Trotsky. On what grounds, then, are Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev now spinning a yarn about the Party and its Central Committee 'concealing' Lenin's 'will'? It is 'permissible' to spin yarns, but one should know where to stop.

"It is said that in that 'will' Comrade Lenin suggested to the congress that in view of Stalin's 'rudeness' it should consider the question of putting another comrade in Stalin's place as General Secretary. That is quite true. Yes, comrades, I am rude to those who grossly and perfidiously wreck and split the Party. I have never concealed this and do not conceal it now. Perhaps some mildness is needed in the treatment of splitters, but I am a bad hand at that. At the very first meeting of the plenum of the Central Committee after the Thirteenth Congress I asked the plenum of the Central Committee to release me from my duties as General Secretary. The congress itself discussed this question. It was discussed by each delegation separately, and all the delegations unanimously, including Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinoviev, OBLIGED Stalin to remain at his post.

"What could I do? Desert my post? That is not in my nature; I have never deserted any post, and I have no right to do so, for that would be desertion. As I have already said before, I am not a free agent, and when the Party imposes an obligation upon me, I must obey.

"A year later I again put in a request to the plenum to release me, but I was again obliged to remain at my post.

"What else could I do?

"As regards publishing the 'will', the congress decided not to publish it, since it was addressed to the congress and was not intended for publication.

"We have the decision of a plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission in 1926 to ask the Fifteenth Congress for permission to publish this document. We have the decision of the same plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission to publish other letters of

Lenin's, in which he pointed out the mistakes of Kamenev and Zinoviev just before the October uprising and demanded their expulsion from the Party.

"Obviously, talk about the Party concealing these documents is infamous slander. Among these documents are letters from Lenin urging the necessity of expelling Zinoviev and Kamenev from the Party. The Bolshevik Party, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party, have never feared the truth. The strength of the Bolshevik Party lies precisely in the fact that it does not fear the truth and looks the truth straight in the face.

"The opposition is trying to use Lenin's 'will' as a trump card; but it is enough to read this 'will' to see that it is not a trump card for them at all. On the contrary, Lenin's 'will' is fatal to the present leaders of the opposition.

"Indeed, it is a fact that in his 'will', Lenin accuses Trotsky of being guilty of 'non-Bolshevism' and, as regards the mistake Kamenev and Zinoviev made during October, he says that this mistake was not 'accidental'. What does that mean? It means that Trotsky, who suffers from non-Bolshevism', and Kamenev and Zinoviev, whose mistakes are not 'accidental' and can and certainly will be repeated, cannot be POLITICALLY trusted.

"It is characteristic that there is not a word, not a hint in the 'will' about Stalin having made mistakes. It refers only to Stalin's rudeness. But rudeness is not and cannot be counted as a defect in Stalin's POLITICAL line or position.

"Here is the relevant passage in the 'will':

"I shall not go on to characterise the personal qualities of the other members of the Central Committee. I shall merely remind you that the October episode with Zinoviev and Kamenev was, of course, not accidental, but that they can be blamed for it personally as little as Trotsky can be blamed for his non-Bolshevism'.

"Clear, one would think" (The Trotskyist Opposition Before and Now, Speech delivered at a Meeting of the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the CPSU(B), October 23, 1927)(Stalin's emphases).

Conclusion

I conclude this section with the following words of Bill Bland:

"The fact that, despite Lenin's reputation as the world's leading Marxist, his call, in his 'Testament', for the removal of Stalin from the post of General Sec-

retary was rejected by the 13th Congress of the CPSU, says much about the circumstances in which the document came to be issued. BUT IT SAYS EVEN MORE ABOUT THE HIGH ESTEEM IN WHICH STALIN WAS HELD BY THE PARTY" (Bill Bland, *Lenin's Testament*, - an excellent paper presented to the Stalin Society).

Appendix 2

Trotsky and the Imperialist Press

Another way of shedding light on the counter-revolutionary essence of Trotskyism is to examine it in the context of the relations of Trotskyism with the bourgeois press. It is well known that the imperialist press denigrates and denounces all Marxian ideas and all Marxists. But how did this imperialist press treat Trotsky, allegedly the greatest Bolshevik after Lenin? Here are some examples:

Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* was in 1929, as it is today, a reactionary, right-wing, imperialist newspaper. On the Tory side it is one of the most effective organs of imperialist propaganda, exercising over the decades a tremendous imperialist influence on the politics of a significant section of the British working class. When tens of thousands of workers who were under the sway of its strident Toryism glanced at their *Daily Express* on 27 February, 1929, they found themselves reading the following headlines splashed across the front page:

"TROTSKY'S OWN STORY OF HIS EXILE FROM RUSSIA: Dramatic Revelations by Banished Revolutionary: How He Was Rushed To Turkey: Bitter Attacks on Stalin, His Chief Enemy: The Use of Force Over a Rebellious People: An Historic Document: Photographs of M. and Madame Trotsky: Trotsky's Own Exclusive Story, by Leon Trotsky.

"The Daily Express publishes today the first instalment of Leon Trotsky's own story of his banishment from the Bolshevik Russia which he did so much to create. It is a historic document. Trotsky, ill and exiled in Constantinople, where he is protected by Russian officials against the danger of assassination, has dramatically broken his long silence. He bitterly blames his arch-enemy, Stalin, Dictator of Russia, for the fate that has overtaken him, predicts Stalin's downfall, criticises the Soviets' present regime, and reveals the secret history of the developments which have led to his being a penniless political outcast."

The *Daily Express* went on to comment on Trotsky's articles thus:

"Their political and historical importance is remarkable, and at the same time they are full of vivid human interest that carries the reader from stage to stage of an astonishing narrative."

The following day the *Daily Express* again devoted its front page to Trotsky, with the headlines: *"Trotsky's violent denunciation of Stalin: 'Gravedigger of the Party': Amazing Outburst by Exile: 'I will hamper him': Defiant Challenges by Soviet Outcast: What I think of Stalin by Leon Trotsky."* Yet again on 1 March, 1929, the *Daily Express* devoted its front page to Trotsky.

Amidst an avalanche of sensationalist headlines and, as ever, striking a suitable pose, Trotsky began on 27 February, 1929, his articles with the following lines:

"Any policy with high ideas should avoid sensation, and my object in writing these despatches is not further to sensationalise my case, but on the contrary to stifle sensation by giving the public objective information as far as objectivity is possible in political matters.

"It is true that I am now adopting a different means of approaching public opinion than heretofore; but that is because I am in a different position from any I have ever before occupied...

"My object is not propaganda, but simply veracity. Before I undertook to write these articles I demanded entire freedom of expression. I will say what I think - or say nothing."

In the articles which followed these last quoted lines, Trotsky publicly launched his new political career. Other powerful imperialist powers in Europe and America were quick to follow the lead given by the *Daily Express* and put their columns at the disposal of Trotsky, allowing him to say 'what he thought'.

Commenting on this, the then latest development in Trotskyism, the Comintern journal *Impreco*, (International Press Correspondence), had this to say in its issue of 22 March, 1929:

"Since the end of 1928, the reactionary bourgeois press has been enriched by a new collaborator in the person of L.D. Trotsky. In the Daily Express, the organ of Chamberlain and of the Conservative Party in Great Britain, in the New York Herald and Tribune, the organs of American capitalists, in the ultra-right Dutch papers Algemeen Handelsblaad and Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant, as also in other reactionary bourgeois papers, served by the American Consolidated Press Agency, a series of articles by Trotsky has recently appeared, which were acquired by the agency for a substantial sum of American money. This has naturally aroused triumph in the bourgeois press, which could never have accepted that in 1929 they would have no less a colla-

borator than 'Mr Trotsky', as he is described below his portrait in the Daily Express.

"Yes, the bourgeoisie has reason to be glad. For a time the name of 'Mr Trotsky' will serve as a bait for the love of sensation on the part of the public which the bourgeoisie manages to keep in a state of benighted stupidity. And it is well worth paying Trotsky a few thousand or even tens of thousands of dollars for the articles in which he libels the Communist Party, the Soviet authorities and the Communist International.

"Of late years our class enemies have evinced great interest in the fate of Trotsky. Both the Social Democratic and the bourgeois press have promptly seized upon every invention, every libelous declaration of Trotsky, on all his attacks on the Party, on its leaders, on the Soviet authority and on the Comintern. His books and articles are prized by bourgeois publishers and bourgeois editors, who are glad to advertise them, seeing that the outward Left veneer of his writings is of no significance compared with their counter-revolutionary contents and in comparison with the objective counter-revolutionary role which these writings have played and still play in the hands of our class enemies."

The *Impreccor* article goes on to cite this observation of Theodore Dan, who was the leader of the Menshevik émigrés:

"The Social Democratic labour movement need have no fear in regard to the political activity of Trotsky. On the contrary, he is more likely to give the death blow to the Communist movement outside Russia and to induce the Communist workers to return to Social Democracy than to strengthen any Communist Party or to weaken the Social Democrats in any way."

Writing in a German Social Democratic paper, another Menshevik émigrée says the *Impreccor* article "assumes that Trotsky still has remnants of his Communist illusions, symptoms of War Communism, and the like, but points out that it is not these differences that must be remembered but rather the various points which bring Trotsky nearer to the Social Democrats. This approach, she says, "is based mainly on the fact that: 'Trotsky now derives his 'vital' slogans from the programme of the Russian Social Democrats. The Trotskyists are gradually finding the right path'".

The history of the last more than six decades has fully confirmed the confidence expressed in 1929 by the Menshevik reactionaries that Trotskyism would operate to the detriment of the communist movement and for the benefit of Social Democracy. Ever since, Trotskyism has continued to

function as a militant, anti- communist, 'left' spearhead of Social Democracy.

To continue with the *Impreccor* article:

"The reactionaries KNOW what they are doing. They KNOW WHY they publish the article of Trotsky. For the sake of the credulous he is at liberty to make the reservation: 'Before I started writing this article, I demanded the right of full freedom for my utterance. I will either say what I think or I will say nothing.' Everyone has the right to ask since when and why the bourgeois imperialist press has become a free tribune for such as profess themselves to be good Leninists. And if this 'truth' which appears today in the columns of the Daily Express ... has been paid for with the gold of the bourgeoisie, every worker will understand that this 'truth' is ADVANTAGEOUS to the bourgeoisie, otherwise it would hardly be paid for. Let Trotsky declare that he does not aim at propaganda but solely at the truth. Anyone who knows that Trotsky was subjected to the condition OF AVOIDING ALL REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA will know how to estimate the meaning of his declaration that propaganda was not his aim.

"And is it not curious that the British bourgeoisie is willing to pay tens of thousands of dollars for 'propaganda' to Trotsky whereas it organised its breach with the Soviet Union for no other reason than just on account of 'propaganda'? Is it not obvious that Mr Trotsky's sort of propaganda is absolutely different from the sort of propaganda for which Communists have been arrested and shot in all the capitalist countries of Europe and America? ...

"The Daily Express prefaces the article by a short remark: 'He reveals the secret history of the developments which led to his being a penniless political outcast.' Poor Mr Trotsky. How is it possible not to pity this man who is now penniless and obliged to make money out of his political conscience? There is nothing to be done. He who has engaged to serve new masters must also suffer such reservations, such as Trotsky would not so long ago have attacked in the strongest terms."

In its issue of 5 April, 1929, *Impreccor* reported that Trotsky's writings were finding their way even into "Fascist organs like the *Corriere della Sera* and in 'boulevard papers' like the *Paris Journal*. In America the articles of Trotsky are distributed by the *Current News and Features*, an auxiliary organisation of the *Consolidated Press* ... This agency controls a big newspaper in practically every city, and thus Trotsky has from the very beginning had the 'big' press on his side."

With regard to Trotsky's venomously anti-Soviet propaganda, in the dissemination of which he had the gleeful cooperation of the leading imperialist organs and press barons, it is worth while reproducing the following, albeit long, quotation from *The Great Conspiracy* - a splendid book by Kahn and Sayers:

"... As far back as 1903, Trotsky had mastered the propaganda device of what Lenin called 'ultra-revolutionary slogans which cost him nothing.'

"Now, on a world-scale, Trotsky proceeded to develop the propaganda technique he had originally employed against Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. In innumerable ultra-leftist and violently radical-sounding articles, books, pamphlets and speeches, Trotsky began to attack the Soviet regime and call for its violent overthrow - not because it was revolutionary; but because it was, as he phrased it, 'counter-revolutionary' and 'reactionary'.

"Overnight, many of the older anti-Bolshevik crusaders abandoned their former pro-Czarist and openly counter-revolutionary propaganda line, and adopted the new, streamlined Trotskyite device of attacking the Russian Revolution 'from the Left'. In the following years it became an accepted thing for a Lord Rothermere or a William Randolph Hearst to accuse Josef Stalin of 'betraying the Revolution' ...

"Trotsky's first major propaganda work to introduce this new anti-Soviet line to the international counter-revolution was his melodramatic, semi-fictional autobiography, My Life. First published as a series of anti-Soviet articles by Trotsky in European and American newspapers, its aim as a book was to vilify Stalin and the Soviet Union, increase the prestige of the Trotskyite movement and bolster the myth of Trotsky as the 'world revolutionary.' Trotsky depicted himself in My Life as the real inspirer and organizer of the Russian Revolution, who had been somehow tricked out of his rightful place as Russian leader by 'crafty', 'mediocre' and 'Asiatic' opponents.

"Anti-Soviet agents and publicists immediately ballyhooed Trotsky's book into a sensational world-wide best seller which was said to tell the 'inside story' of the Russian Revolution.

"Adolf Hitler read Trotsky's autobiography as soon as it was published. Hitler's biographer, Konrad Heiden, tells in Der Fuehrer how the Nazi leader surprised a circle of his friends in 1930 by bursting into rapturous praise of Trotsky's book. 'Brilliant!' cried Hitler, waving Trotsky's My Life at his followers. 'I have learnt a great deal from it, and so can you!'

"Trotsky's book rapidly became a textbook for the anti-Soviet Intelligence Service. It was accepted as a basic guide for propaganda against the Soviet regime. The Japanese secret police made it compulsory reading for imprisoned Japanese and Chinese Communists, in an effort to break down their morale and to convince them that Soviet Russia had betrayed the Chinese Revolution and the cause for which they were fighting. The Gestapo made similar use of the book ...

"My Life was only the opening shot in Trotsky's prodigious anti-Soviet propaganda campaign. It was followed by The Revolution Betrayed, Soviet Economy in Danger, The Failure of the Five-Year Plan, Stalin and the Chinese Revolution, The Stalin School of Falsification, and countless other anti-Soviet books, pamphlets and articles, many of which first appeared under glaring headlines in reactionary newspapers in Europe and America. Trotsky's 'Bureau' supplied a continual stream of 'revelations,' 'exposures' and 'inside stories' about Russia for the anti-Soviet world press.

"For consumption inside the Soviet Union, Trotsky published his official Bulletin of the Opposition. Printed abroad, first in Turkey, then in Germany, France, Norway and other countries, and smuggled into Russia by secret Trotskyite couriers, the Bulletin was not intended to reach the Soviet masses. It was aimed at the diplomats, state officials, military men, and intellectuals who had once followed Trotsky or who seemed likely to be influenced by him. The Bulletin also contained directives for the propaganda work of the Trotskyites both within Russia and abroad. Ceaselessly, the Bulletin drew lurid pictures of coming disaster for the Soviet regime, predicting industrial crises, renewed civil war, and the collapse of the Red Army at the first foreign attack. The Bulletin skillfully played on all the doubts and anxieties which the extreme tensions and hardships of the construction period aroused in the minds of unstable, confused and dissatisfied elements. The Bulletin openly called upon these elements to undermine and carry out acts of violence against the Soviet Government.

"Here are some typical examples of the anti-Soviet propaganda and calls for the violent overthrow of the Soviet regime which Trotsky spread throughout the world in the years following his expulsion from the USSR:-

"The police of the present-day leadership, the tiny group of Stalin, is leading the country at full speed to dangerous crises and collapse." (Letter to Members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, March 1930).

"The impending crisis of Soviet economy will inevitably and within the

very near future, crumble the sugary legend [that socialism can be built in one country] and we have no reason to doubt, will scatter many dead ... The [Soviet] economy functions without material reserves and without calculation ... the uncontrolled bureaucracy has tied up its prestige with the subsequent accumulation of errors ... a crisis is impending [in the Soviet Union] with a retinue of consequences such as the enforced shutting down of enterprises and unemployment.' - *Soviet Economy in Danger*, 1932.

"The hungry workers [in the Soviet Union] are dissatisfied with the policies of the party. The party is dissatisfied with the leadership. The peasantry is dissatisfied with industrialization, with collectivization, with the city.' - article in the 'Militant' (USA), February 4, 1933.

"The first social shock, external or internal, may throw the atomized Soviet Society into civil war.' *The Soviet Union and the Fourth International*, 1933.

"It would be childish to think that the Stalin bureaucracy can be removed by means of a Party or Soviet Congress. Normal, constitutional means are no longer available for the removal of the ruling clique ... They can be compelled to hand over power to the Proletarian vanguard only by FORCE.' *Bulletin of the Opposition*, October 1933.

"The political crises converge toward the general crisis which is creeping onward.' *The Kirov Assassination*, 1935.

"Inside the Party, Stalin has put himself above all criticism and the State. It is impossible to displace him except by assassination. Every oppositionist becomes ipso facto a terrorist.' *Statement from interview with William Randolph Hearst's 'New York Evening Journal'*, January 26, 1937.

"Can we expect that the Soviet Union will come out of the coming great war without defeat? To this frankly posed question, we will answer as frankly. If the war should remain only a war, the defeat of the Soviet Union would be inevitable. In a technical, economic and military sense, imperialism is incomparably more strong. If it is not paralysed by revolution in the West, imperialism will sweep away the present regime.' - *Article in 'American Mercury'*, March, 1937.

"The defeat of the Soviet Union is inevitable in case the new war shall not provoke a new revolution ... If we theoretically admit war without revolution, then the defeat of the Soviet Union is inevitable.' *Testimony at Hearings in Mexico*, April, 1937." (pp. 224-227, Red Star Press).

Some of the Trotskyist groups, in a vain attempt to justify Trotsky, have compared the latter's relation with the imperialist press to Marx's articles for the *New York Daily Tribune* in the 1850s. This comparison, however, will not stand scrutiny. Here are the differences:

The *Daily Express* was in 1929, as it is today, the organ of imperialist reaction, whereas the *New York Daily Tribune* was in the 1850s the organ of the most advanced democracy in the pre-imperialist phase of American capitalism - a period in which bourgeois democracy was still progressive and had significant progressive tasks on its agenda, for example the abolition of slavery. It had been founded by a group of Fourierist Utopian socialists and it campaigned against slavery and in support of the democratic movement in Europe. Mehring, in his biography of Marx, says that the *Tribune*, "by its agitation for an American brand of Fourierism raised itself above the exclusively money-grubbing activities of a capitalist undertaking." (p.227).

For Lord Beaverbrook, it goes without saying, no human activity could be nobler than money-grubbing. Whereas Marx got a few dollars for excellently written and thoroughly researched scientific pieces of work on revolutionary democratic movements in Europe and India, Trotsky's wallet was stuffed with imperialist blood money for his reactionary attacks on the first socialist country, which was at the time heroically building socialism in defiance of internal opposition and imperialist encirclement alike. Whereas Marx in his articles attacked and exposed all reaction, Trotsky attacked socialism in the USSR and his articles are singularly lacking in any exposure of imperialism. After all, Beaverbrook was not paying Trotsky to expose British imperialism: he was paying to attack the Soviet Union and the Comintern - the international communist movement - which is all that Trotsky was "free" to write in the *Daily Express*, and other imperialist organs.

In view of the foregoing, there is no comparison between Marx's *Tribune* articles and those by Trotsky in the *Daily Express* and other imperialist organs. We might be inclined to entertain such a comparison if, for example, Marx had, à la Trotsky, prostituted himself during the period of Bismarck's anti-socialist legislation by writing for the reactionary German gutter press articles attacking socialist leaders and received in turn huge amounts of money in appreciation for the same.

After his expulsion from the Soviet Union, Trotsky continued as he began with his articles for Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express*. Throughout

the 1930s he was imperialism's foremost anti-communist sensationalist propagandist. All his major works, from *My Life* in 1929 to his biography of Stalin (a hysterical diatribe against Stalin on which he was working just before his death) were all written for the consumption of the imperialist press.

In his anti-Soviet campaign, driven by an insatiable desire for personal revenge, Trotsky loses all credibility, even by the abysmally low standards of objectivity required of anti-communist journalism by the 'quality' press. In his *Diary in Exile*, Trotsky writes of Stalin in the following terms:

"The motive of PERSONAL REVENGE has always been a considerable factor in the repressive policies of Stalin ... His craving for revenge on me is completely unsatisfied ... This is the source of gravest apprehensions for Stalin: that savage fears ideas, since he knows their explosive power and knows his weakness in the face of them." (p.66).

Anyone who is at all acquainted with the writings of BOTH Stalin and Trotsky would know that whereas Stalin undoubtedly held Trotsky in contempt - the proletarian contempt for a petty- bourgeois intellectual attitudiniser - all the brooding and craving for personal revenge was indulged in by Trotsky. There is not a trace of brooding in Stalin's writings. Trotsky's writings of this period (1929-39) on Stalin and the Soviet Union, on the other hand, have the same subjectivist character as his writings on Lenin during 1903-17, when he felt continuously hurt by Lenin.

Driven by his "craving for revenge," Trotsky writes:

"After the bureaucracy had strangled the internal life of the party, the Stalinist tops strangled the internal life of the bureaucracy itself ..." "The Stalinist faction raises itself above the party and above the bureaucracy itself." (Kirov Assassination, pp. 25 and 12).

All this amounts to the following: the 'bureaucracy' has 'expropriated' the working class, and Stalin has 'expropriated the bureaucracy.' In other words, the working class of the USSR was ruled by a bureaucratic dictatorship, which in turn was under the personal dictatorship of Stalin, who, it is alleged, is even more alien to the interests of the proletariat than the bureaucracy. How did Stalin come to occupy this position of 'dictatorial' power? Not through political ability and fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, says Trotsky, but through a craving for absolutely personal power:

"Stalin measured every situation ... by one criterion - usefulness to himself, to his struggle for domination over others. Everything else was intellectually

beyond his depth ... Nor did he think through to the social significance of this process in which he was playing the leading role. He acted ... like the empiricist he is." (Trotsky: Stalin, p. 386).

So, if we are to accept this apology of an explanation, we are obliged to accept also that the tempestuous and momentous developments of the 1930s - socialist industrialisation and collectivisation - and the victory of the USSR over Nazi Germany took place under the personal dictatorship of a narrow-minded bureaucrat, a political mediocrity possessed with nothing other than a craving for absolute personal power, who somehow or the other managed to become the Soviet dictator! This is not an explanation but a mockery of one. This is not science but sorcery. Its value is confined to the expression of Trotsky's own brooding - an expression of his injured feelings as an 'unrecognised genius', as Engels would say.

There is not the slightest doubt that Stalin occupied an exceptional position in the Bolshevik Party. Although he was not the first person to occupy a position carrying such enormous power (a 'dictatorial position', if it pleases some), no one else held it for so long. As Lenin explained, the mere fact of personal 'dictatorship' does not tell us anything about its class nature. And yet there was a time (1925) when Trotsky grasped this elementary truth. In his pamphlet *Where is Britain going?* he writes thus:

"Following at the tails of those living non-lions who write leading articles in the Manchester Guardian and other Liberal organs, the leaders of the Labour Party customarily contrast democracy with any kind of despotic government, in the form of the 'dictatorship of Lenin', or the 'dictatorship of Mussolini' ... The Liberal vulgarians customarily say that they are against a dictatorship from the left just as much as from the right, although in practice they do not let slip any opportunity of supporting a dictatorship of the right. For us, however, the question is decided by the fact that one dictatorship urges society forward, and the other drags it backward. The dictatorship of Mussolini is a dictatorship of a prematurely rotten, impotent, thoroughly corrupted Italian bourgeoisie. It is a dictatorship with a broken nose. The 'dictatorship of Lenin' expresses the mighty pressure of a new historic class and its superhuman struggle with all the forces of the old society. If Lenin is to be compared with anyone, it is not with Buonaparte, and still less with Mussolini, but with Cromwell and Robespierre. One can say with a certain amount of truth that Lenin is the proletarian Cromwell of the 20th century." (pp.91-92).

And further: *"A fool, an ignoramus, or a Fabian may see in Cromwell*

ONLY a personal dictator. But in actuality, here, in the conditions of a profound social rupture, the personal dictatorship was the form adopted by a class dictatorship, and that class which alone was capable of freeing the kernel of the nation from the old shells and husks." (p. 97).

Thus it is clear that the explanation of the 'Stalin dictatorship' is the same as that of the 'Lenin dictatorship', for no other explanation makes any sense. Trotsky, who had an accurate explanation in 1925 of the 'Lenin dictatorship', had, by the time he came to explaining the 'Stalin dictatorship', become *"a fool, an ignoramus, or a Fabian"*, who saw in Stalin *"only a personal dictator,"* ignoring *"the conditions of a profound social rupture"* and the working class *"which alone was capable of freeing"* society from *"the old shells and husks."*

Trotsky, in his craving for revenge, characterises Stalin as a savage. The power of the savage is fantasy, for he lives in a make-believe world, in which he imagines that he can control the forces of nature through mimicry - that he can bring about rain by imitating a cloudburst. Stalin, on the other hand, exercised real power - a power which was by no means exercised by the ineffective methods of a savage. Stalin's power was derived from the Soviet working class. His personal authority was no more - AND NO LESS - than an expression of his leadership of the party of the proletariat (the CPSU) in the world-historic task of socialist construction. Stalin led this struggle against bitter assaults of the 'left' (Trotskyist) and right (Bukharinite) opposition. Stalin's Leninist line of socialist construction and collectivisation won the day, and practice confirmed the correctness of this line. In the course of this bitter struggle for the victory of the Leninist line, Stalin emerged as the most representative spokesman of the CPSU and of the Soviet proletariat. It is this leadership of the struggle, so ably provided by him, which gave him immense, and unique, authority and power.

The following quotation from an excellent pamphlet of the late 1960s, produced by an anti-revisionist group, correctly traces the source of Stalin's power to the Soviet proletariat:

"The source of Stalin's power was the working class. His personal power, in fact, was nothing more than his effective leadership of the working class in the building of socialism.

"Stalin led the Russian working class for thirty years. These were years of continuous, rapid and fundamental social change in the Soviet Union. In a stagnant society a personal dictatorship based on military power may continue

for a relatively long period by force of inertia. But the force of inertia can explain nothing about Stalin's position. At no time would the force of inertia have maintained him in his position for a year.

"In a period of revolutionary change the continuance in power of an individual political leader can only be explained by his effective leadership of the class whose interest is the motive power for this change. There was only one class in the Soviet Union whose interest required the abolition of capitalism and the commodity system, and that was the working class. If Stalin's power was not an expression of his effective leadership of the working class, then it was entirely miraculous in character." (On Trotskyism, Irish Communist Organisation, p.xxvii).

As time went on, Trotsky became more and more embittered and frustrated. *"The final debacle of the Russian Fifth column at the Moscow trial of the Bloc of the Rights and Trotskyites,"* say Kahn and Sayers, *"was a stunning blow to Trotsky. A note of desperation and hysteria began to dominate his writings. His propaganda against the Soviet Union grew increasingly reckless, contradictory and extravagant. He talked incessantly about his own 'historical rightness'. His attacks against Josef Stalin lost all semblance of reason. He wrote articles asserting that the Soviet leader derived sadistic pleasure from 'blowing smoke' in the faces of infants. More and more, his consuming personal hatred of Stalin became the dominating force in Trotsky's life. He set his secretaries to work on a massive, vituperative Life of Stalin."* (*The Great Conspiracy*, p.334).

Ten years after Trotsky's death, his Trotskyist biographer gives this account of Trotsky's literary activities in the last year of his life:

"Financial difficulties [not of food, clothing and shelter but the problems of financing his counter-revolutionary outfit] led him to a strange quarrel with Life magazine. At the end of September 1939 ... one of Life's editors came to Coyoacan [Trotsky's Mexican fortress] and commissioned him to write an article on Lenin's death [Trotsky had just finished the Chapter in Stalin suggesting that Stalin had poisoned Lenin, and this version was to be published in Life]. His first article appeared in the magazine on 2nd October. Although it contained relatively inoffensive reminiscences, the article raised the ire of pro-Stalinist 'liberals', who flooded Life with vituperative protests. Life printed some of these to the annoyance of Trotsky, who maintained that the protests had come from 'a GPU factory' in New York, and were defamatory of him. He nevertheless sent in his second article, the one on Lenin's death; but Life

refused to publish it. Ironically, the objections of the editors were reasonable enough: they found Trotsky's surmise that Stalin had poisoned Lenin unconvincing; and they demanded from him 'less conjecture and more unquestionable facts'. He threatened to sue Life for breach of contract, and in a huff submitted the article to Saturday Evening Post and Colliers, where he again met with refusals, until Liberty finally published it. It is sad to see how much time in his last year the irate and futile correspondence took. In the end Life paid him the fee for the rejected article." (Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast*, p.446).

Trotsky's biography of Stalin is a collection of brooding gossip slung together in a manner so sensationalist, so scurrilous and patently hysterical and devoid of foundation, as not to be acceptable - not only to the imperialist press organs but even to his doting biographer, Isaac Deutscher, who finds it prudent to concede that:

"... in composing the portrait [of Stalin], he uses abundantly and far too often the material of inference, guess and hearsay. He picks up any piece of gossip or rumour if only it shows a trait of cruelty or suggests treachery in the young Djughashvili. He gives credence to Stalin's schoolmates and later enemies who, in reminiscences about their childhood, written in exile thirty or more years after the events, say that the boy Saso 'had only a sarcastic sneer for the joys and sorrows of his fellows' ... or that from 'his youth the carrying out of vengeful plots became for him a goal that dominated all his efforts'. He cites Stalin's adversaries who depict the youngster and the mature man as almost an agent provocateur.

"There is no need to go into many examples of this approach. The most striking is, of course, Trotsky's suggestion that Stalin had poisoned Lenin." (*Ibid.*, p. 453).

Deutscher is unable to reconcile himself to Trotsky's caricature of Stalin. So much had the allegedly brilliant Trotsky degenerated by 1939 that even his admirers and idolaters felt uncomfortable and embarrassed by his literary activity. Deutscher finds Trotsky's depiction of Stalin "implausible" because:

"The monster does not form, grow and emerge. He is almost fully-fledged from the outset. Any better qualities and emotions ... without which no young man would ever join a persecuted revolutionary party, are almost totally absent. Stalin's rise within the party is not due to merit or achievement; and so his career becomes very nearly inexplicable. His election to Lenin's Politburo,

his presence in the Bolshevik inner cabinet, and his appointment to the post of General Secretary appear quite fortuitous." (Ibid. p. 455).

From 1929 to 20 August 1940, the day he died, Trotsky rendered an anti-communist lackey-service of inestimable proportions to the imperialist propaganda machine, and while departing from this world, he fittingly entrusted his archives to the imperialist bourgeoisie. Whereas Marx had given everything to Engels, the latter passed everything on to the German Social Democratic Party (revolutionary at the time). Likewise, Lenin and Stalin bequeathed everything to the Bolshevik Party. Trotsky sold his archives to Harvard University for \$15,000, where they continue to be used as 'research' material in the ceaseless anti-communist propaganda of international imperialism.

And during all this period, Trotsky's anti-communist literary activity was supplemented by practical activity, meticulously co-ordinated through intimate ties between Trotsky's so-called Fourth International and the Axis Fifth Column network. Let Kahn and Sayers take up the story:

"From the fortified Coyoacan villa, Trotsky directed his world-wide anti-Soviet organization, the Fourth International.

"Throughout Europe, Asia, and North and South America, intimate ties existed between the Fourth International and the Axis Fifth Column network:-

"IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Trotskyites were working in collaboration with the Nazi agent Konrad Henlein and his Sudeten Deutsche Partei (German Sudeten Party). Sergei Bessonov, the Trotskyite courier who had been a counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in Berlin, testified when he was on trial in 1938 that in the summer of 1935 he had established connections in Prague with Konrad Henlein. Bessonov stated that he personally had acted as an intermediary between Henlein's group and Leon Trotsky.

IN FRANCE: Jacques Doriot, Nazi agent and founder of the fascist Popular Party, was a renegade Communist and Trotskyite. Doriot worked closely, as did other Nazi agents and French fascists, with the French section of the Trotskyite Fourth International.

IN SPAIN: Trotskyites permeated the ranks of the POUM, the Fifth Column organization which was aiding Franco's Fascist uprising. The head of the POUM was Andreas Nin, Trotsky's old friend and ally.

"IN CHINA: Trotskyites were operating under the direct supervision of the Japanese Military Intelligence. Their work was highly regarded by leading

Japanese Intelligence officers. The chief of the Japanese espionage service in Peiping stated in 1937: 'We should support the group of Trotskyites and promote their success, so that their activities in various parts of China may benefit and advantage the empire, for these Chinese are destructive to the unity of the country. They work with remarkable finesse and skill.'

'IN JAPAN: Trotskyites were called the 'brain trust of service'. They instructed Japanese secret agents at special schools on the techniques of penetrating the Communist Party in Soviet Russia and of combating anti-fascist activities in China and Japan.

'IN SWEDEN: Nils Hyg, one of the leading Trotskyites, had received a financial subsidy from the pro-Nazi financier and swindler, Ivar Kreuger. The facts of Kreuger's subsidization of the Trotskyite movement were made public after Kreuger's suicide, when the auditors found among his papers receipts from all sorts of political adventurers, including Adolf Hitler.

"Throughout the world, the Trotskyites had become the instruments by which the Axis intelligence services sought to penetrate the liberal, radical and labour movements for their own ends." (The Great Conspiracy, pp. 331-2).

The same authors emphasise that even after Trotsky's death, the Fourth International continued its fifth column activities. After giving examples from Britain and America, they add:

The American foreign correspondent, Paul Ghali of the Chicago Daily News, reported from Switzerland on September 28, 1944, that Heinrich Himmler, chief of the Gestapo, was making use of the European Trotskyites as part of the planned Nazi underground for post-war sabotage and intrigue. Ghali reported that fascist youth organizations were being trained in Trotskyite 'Marxism', supplied with false papers and arms and left behind Allied lines with orders to infiltrate the Communist Parties in the liberated areas. In France, Ghali revealed, members of Joseph Darnand's fascist Militia were being armed by the Nazis for terrorism and post-war Fifth Column activities. 'This scum of the French population,' Ghali's report added, 'is being now trained for Bolshevik activity in the tradition of Trotsky's International under the personal orders of Heinrich Himmler. Their work is to sabotage allied communication lines and assassinate De Gaulist French politicians. They are being instructed to tell their fellow-countrymen that the present-day Soviet Union represents only a bourgeois deformation of Lenin's original principles and that it is high time to return to sound Bolshevik ideology. This formation of groups of red terrorists is Himmler's most recent policy, aimed at creating a

fourth international, amply contaminated by Nazi germs. It is aimed against both British and Americans and Russians, particularly the Russians." (*Ibid.* p.33).

Trotsky's theoretical and organisational blunders were compounded by his insufferable arrogance and a belief in his own infallibility. To give the reader a taste of Trotsky's nauseatingly puffed-up arrogance, typical of the petty-bourgeois intellectual he was, we conclude this appendix with three quotations from Trotsky's *My Life*, all of which reveal him to be what he really was - a poseur and an attitudiniser.

During the 1905 Revolution, Trotsky returned to Russia and became a prominent member of the St Petersburg Soviet, then under the control of the Mensheviks. At 26 he emerged from the experience with the conviction that he was destined to be the leader of the Russian revolution, already talking in terms of his "fate" and his "revolutionary intuition." More than 20 years later, he wrote:

"I came to Russia in February of 1905; the other émigré leaders did not come until October and November. Among the Russian comrades, there was not one from whom I could learn anything. On the contrary, I had to assume the position of teacher myself... In October, I plunged headlong into the gigantic whirlpool, which, in a personal sense, was the greatest test for my powers. Decisions had to be made under fire. I can't help noting here that those decisions came to me quite obviously ... I organically felt that my years of apprenticeship were over in the years that followed I have been learning as a master learns, and not as a pupil ... No great work is possible without intuition. ... The events of 1905 revealed in me, I believe, this revolutionary intuition, and enabled me to rely on its assured support during my later life ... In all conscientiousness, I cannot, in the appreciation of the political situation as a whole and of its revolutionary perspectives, accuse myself of any serious errors of judgment."

On 21 January 1924 Lenin died. Trotsky, who was at the time recuperating in the Caucasus from a mild attack of influenza, did not return to Moscow for Lenin's funeral, staying instead at the seaside resort of Sukhum. He records:

"At Sukhum I spent long days lying on the balcony facing the sea. Although it was January the sun was warm and bright ... As I breathed the air in, I assimilated with my whole being the assurance of my historical rightness ... " (*My Life*).

Trotsky concluded his book with this final paragraph, striving to strike a new pose - this time by going back to Proudhon, the petty-bourgeois market socialist and father of modern anarchism:

"... *Proudhon*," says Trotsky, *"had the nature of a fighter, a spiritual disinterestedness, a capacity for despising official public opinion, and finally, a many-sided curiosity never extinguished. This enabled him to rise above his own life ... as he did above all contemporaneous reality. On April 26, 1852, Proudhon wrote to a friend from prison:*

"The movement is no doubt irregular and crooked, but the tendency is constant. What every government does in turn in favour of revolution becomes inviolable ... : I enjoy watching this spectacle, in which I understand every single picture; I observe these changes in the life of the world as if I had received their explanation from above; what depresses others elevates me more and more, inspires and fortifies me; how can you want me then to accuse destiny, to complain about people and curse them? Destiny - I laugh at it; and as for men, they are too ignorant, too enslaved for me to feel annoyed at them."

"Despite their slight savour of ecclesiastical eloquence, those are fine words. I subscribe to them." (*My Life*).

At least when Proudhon felt the urge to rise above *"all contemporaneous reality"*, he did so in private correspondence. For his part, Trotsky, when he struck this pose, laughing at destiny and despising men and women as *"too ignorant"* and *"too enslaved"*, he did so in the imperialist press, that is, through the very instruments for the perpetuation of ignorance and slavery. No wonder he was handsomely rewarded by the Beaverbrooks of the world for his attempts to keep the working class in benighted ignorance.

Trotsky's striving at striking a Proudhonist pose reminds us of this penetrating observation by Marx:

"... all facts and personages of great importance in history occur, as it were, twice ... : the first time as tragedy, the second as farce." (*The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*).

In 1939, Trotsky was in touch with the Congressional Committee headed by Representative Martin Dies of Texas. Set up to investigate un-American activities, the Committee had become a forum for anti-Soviet propaganda. Trotsky was invited to testify as an 'expert witness' on the menace of Moscow. The *New York Times* of 8 December 1939 quoted Trotsky as saying

that he considered it his political duty to testify before the Dies Committee. Arrangements were discussed for Trotsky's travel to the US. The plan, however, fell through. Less than eight months later, Trotsky was murdered by one of his own followers, Jackson, in the heavily fortified villa at Coyoacan in Mexico.

APPENDIX 3

A Trotskyist Murders Trotsky

Late in the afternoon of 20 August, 1940, in a heavily fortified villa at Coyoacan (Mexico), Frank Jacson, one of Trotsky's followers, murdered his leader, Trotsky, by smashing his head in with an Alpine pickaxe. Trotsky's murder by one of his own disciples became the occasion for the Trotskyites to attribute yet another imaginary crime to Stalin's agents - the murder of Trotsky. As always, reality is very different from its portrayal by Trotskyism. Here are the facts:

In September, 1939, a European Trotskyite agent travelling under the assumed name of Frank Jacson (his real name was Jacques Mornard van den Dresche) arrived in the US. Jacson had been recruited into the Trotskyite movement while a student at the Sorbonne in Paris by Sylvia Ageloff, an American Trotskyist. In 1939 he was contacted in Paris by a representative of the so-called Fourth International and told to go to Mexico to serve as one of Trotsky's 'secretaries'. Jacson was met on his arrival by Sylvia Ageloff and other Trotskyists and taken to Coyoacan, where he started working for Trotsky. After his arrest, Jacson told the Mexican police:

"Trotsky was going to send me to Russia with the object of organising a new state of things in the USSR ... Our mission was to bring demoralisation in to the Red Army, commit different acts of sabotage in armament plants and other factories."

Jacson never went on his terroristic mission to the Soviet Union. Instead he accomplished one at Villa Coyoacan. Let Sayers and Kahn take up the story:

"Arrested by the Mexican police, Jacson said he had wanted to marry Sylvia Ageloff, and that Trotsky had forbidden the marriage. A violent quarrel, involving the girl, broke out between the two men. 'For her sake', said Jacson, 'I decided to sacrifice myself entirely.'

"In a further statement, Jacson declared:-

"... instead of finding myself face to face with a political chief who was directing the struggle for the liberation of the working class, I found myself before a man who desired

nothing more than to satisfy his needs and desires of vengeance and of hate and who did not utilize the workers' struggle for anything more than a means of hiding his own paltriness and despicable calculations ... in connection with his house, which he said very well had been converted into a fortress. I asked myself very often, from where had come the money for such work ... Perhaps the consul of a great foreign nation who often visited him could answer this question for us

...

"It was Trotsky who destroyed my nature, my future and all my affections. He converted me into a man without a name, without country, into an instrument of Trotsky ... Trotsky crushed me in his hands as if I had been paper."

"The death of Leon Trotsky left only one living candidate for the Napoleonic role in Russia: Adolf Hitler." (The Great Conspiracy, pp. 335-336, 1946).

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